THE MODERN REVIEW

(A Monthly Review, and Miscellany)

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

VOL. LXXI. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE
1942

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8; Foreign Rs. 11-8.

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Phone: B. B. 3281
Address: 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta

Single Copy As. 12
Annual Subscription Rs. 8-8

THE MODERN REVIEW

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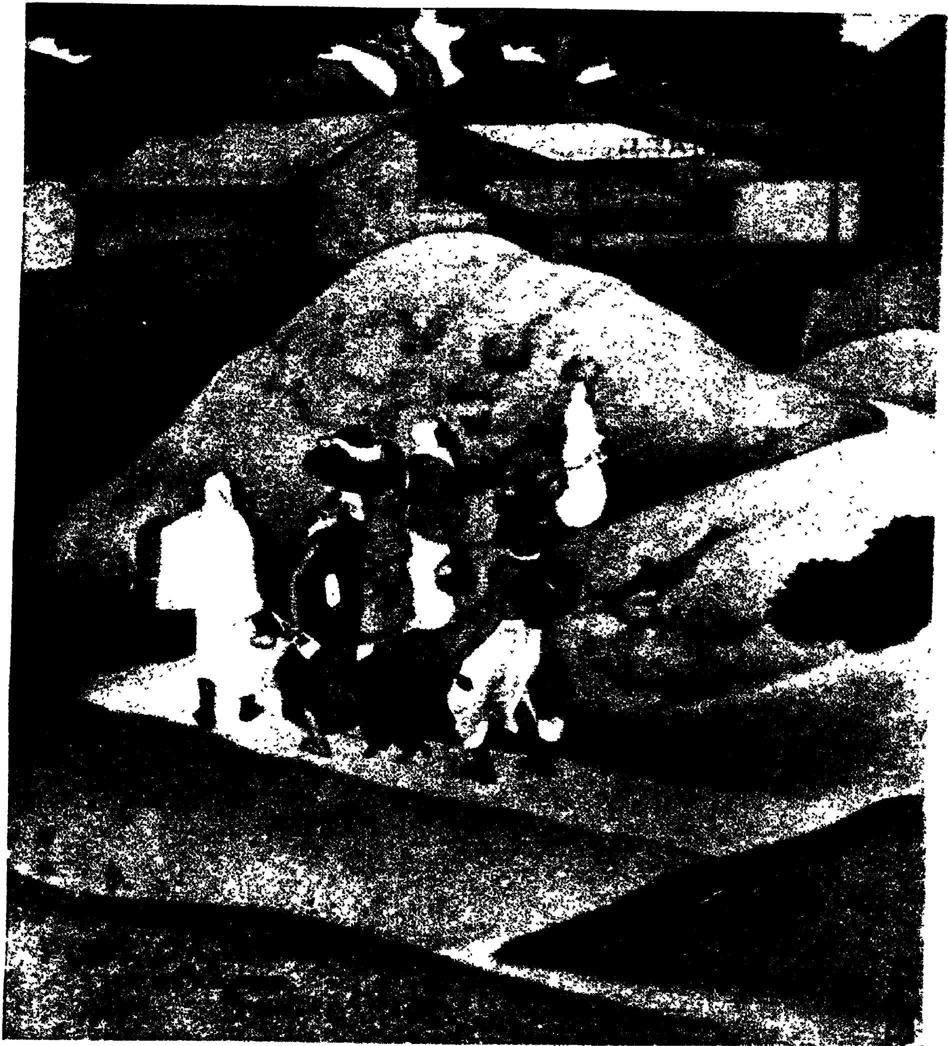
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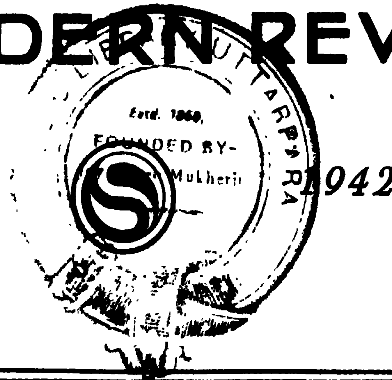
Prabasi Press Calcutta

PILGRIMS RETURN
By Heramba Ganguli

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1942

VOL. LXXI, No. 1 WHOLE No. 421



NOTES

What Man Has Made of the World

Primitive man appeared in the world with some intellectual, moral and spiritual endowments. His own efforts and natural forces have combined to develop these intellectual, moral and spiritual powers. From these have resulted man's culture and civilization. All his literary and artistic creations, his scientific theories, discoveries and inventions, his philosophical speculations, and his ethical and spiritual conceptions are part of his civilization. All forms of government and social organization are also included in the concept of civilization. All the high ideals of the individual, the family, the tribe, the nation and of mankind as a whole stand to the credit of man. He deserves credit for the partial realization of these ideals. The conception of all mankind as a unit bound together by the force of universal love and fellowship is one of the highest known to man. *Maitri*, universal sympathy and fellowship with others, is the supreme message of humanity. It includes in its scope not only all mankind but all other sentient beings also. It was uttered by Gautama Buddha in India.

This is the bright side of man's achievement. But there is a dark side, too, which we are witnessing today.

Human greed, fanaticism, false scientific theories, racial pride, the spirit of domineering, and hatred have set not only individual against individual, but community against community, nation against nation, people against people, and race against race, too. The intellectual powers of man and his capacity for organization have been used for the work of destruction. Scientific discoveries and inventions which ought to have been employed for making the world a better, more beautiful and happier place to live in, have been utilized for a far different purpose. That has been possible because man's moral and spiritual progress has not kept pace with his intellectual advancement.

Neither in the sky above, nor on the surface of the land we live in, nor underground, nor on the surface of the ocean, nor below it, is there now a place of refuge where man can live in peace and heave a sigh of relief.

If the blue sky above us, bedecked with all its luminaries, had been made visible to our wondering eyes only once in a thousand years, or once every hundred or ten years, or even only once a year, what a miracle of sublime beauty it would have appeared ! But the fact of its being a daily phenomenon has made us insensible to its grandeur and marvellous beauty. And now a worse thing has happened. Instead of looking at the sky to gratify our aesthetic sense or our feeling of reverence for the Supreme Architect, we turn our fearful eyes upward to see whether enemy aeroplanes are approaching to hurl bombs over our heads ! We dig under ground or in mountain caves, not for meditation in quest of spiritual treasures, as many have done in India, or not even mostly for extracting mineral substances for enriching society, but for seeking shelter from destructive weapons hurled at us. Men dive beneath the surface of the

waters of the ocean, not for collecting pearls and other precious things above all, but also for destroying the various kinds of ships belonging to those whom they consider their enemies.

Though hatred seems to be in the ascendant, love will be ultimately victorious. That is the faith of all believers. But mere passive belief will not do. Believers must propagate the doctrine of universal love by precept and example and must be prepared to face death in all its various forms to make their faith triumphant.

Japan's Strength and Daring

When we think of the vast expanses of China, of the United States of America and of the British Empire, Japan appears very small in comparison. The population, too, of Japan is small compared with the population of any one of the three aforesaid States, not to speak of the combined population of them all. Yet Japan has dared to declare war against and strike both the United States of America and the British Empire, in addition to being at war with China. It was thought that Japan's resources were all but exhausted owing to her sanguinary conflict with China, which does not show any sign of coming to a close even after more than four years' duration. But recently a British authority has disclosed that Japan has in store three years' stock of food and quantities of petrol and other essential requirements of warfare which would last for fourteen months.

After more than four years of war, China is stronger, better trained and organized and better developed than before. So, it is not that Japan felt that her work of conquering China was about to be accomplished and, therefore, struck at two such great powers as Britain and the United States of America. She feels equal to tackling three great nations single-handed. We say single-handed, because though Germany is in theory a friend and ally of Japan and may help her, yet Hitler's forces are far off and are mostly occupied with meeting the onslaughts of Soviet Russia. And there is a probability of Russia, too, being arrayed against Japan. The Netherland Indies are already effectively fighting Japanese aeroplanes.

Japan acted wickedly and unwisely in attacking China. She has been wrong, too, in attacking America and Britain. We believe the finale will show that she has been very unwise, too, in declaring war against the U. S. A. and the British Empire, though she has been successful in her initial attacks.

It is, however, not our principal object in this note to dwell on the moral or the military aspect of her aggression. We wish mainly to direct attention to the foundations of her strength. For strong she undoubtedly is, though not so strong as in her pride and her overweening ambition she may consider herself to be.

It is not yet a century since Japan started in her career of modernization. At first she modernized herself as regards her industries and agriculture and her banking and other branches of business. Perhaps she began to modernize herself in matters of national defence and offence, too, *pari passu*. How was she able to make a sound and good beginning and make continued advance along the lines chalked out by her Elder Statesmen ?

She could make a successful beginning and march forward, because she made herself one people. Before Japan's New Era began, the Japanese had a caste system of their own, somewhat like the Hindu system of caste. The *Samurai*, or the warrior caste, were the highest and a privileged class. At the call of patriotism they gave up all their privileges. The Japanese had a caste or class, called *Eta*, whose members were "untouchable" like the Pariahs or Panchamas of South India. All the most despised occupations were relegated to them. They were socially segregated and segregated as regards their dwelling-places also. Japan started on her career of renovation and national progress by the social elevation of the *Eta*. They were made socially as good as the Samurai. They have years ago become as "touchable" as any other class in Japan.

Before the inauguration of Japan's New Era trading and similar occupations were despised by the upper classes. But with the inauguration of the New Era the members of the Samurai began to take to manufacturing industry, banking and other business.

Another thing which has made the process of unification of the Japanese people easy is the absence of communalism and religious separatism in Japanese society. The main religions in Japan are Buddhism and Shintoism, but there are Christians and Muslims, too. But no Japanese becomes estranged from his family or his friends, merely because his religious belief is different from theirs. Members of the same family professing different faiths may and do live together under the same roof.

We do not know all the reasons why "religious teaching" is prohibited in Japanese schools. But presumably one reason is the idea that all Japanese children must be taught and encouraged to consider themselves as members of the Japanese nation, *not* as members of separate religious communities. At the same time the Shinto temples and the Buddhist

monasteries minister to the spiritual needs of the people.

In order that all Japanese may be inspired with patriotic sentiments, may *knowingly* do what is necessary for national advancement and feel that they are equal members of the same nation, knowledge was spread in Japan in the widest commonality. His Majesty Emperor Mutsuhito, the first Emperor of the New Era, expressed a desire that there should not be a single village in his empire without a school, nor a single family in it with any illiterate member, barring, of course, infants and naturally defective persons. Arrangements were made for implementing this desire, with the result that at present there is almost cent. per cent. literacy in Japan among both sexes. Ample provision exists for the highest general education of all who are intellectually fit for receiving it, as well as for all kinds of industrial and other vocational education.

Japan's Elder Statesmen themselves acquired knowledge and sent students abroad to acquire knowledge of what had been done in the progressive, powerful and prosperous countries of the world to make them so, in order that Japan may be able to do the same by suitable adaptation. The knowledge thus acquired was put to the fullest use.

The prosperity of Japan is the result of the co-operation of her people and her indigenous and National Government. The latter has given the fullest aid and encouragement to all agricultural, industrial, banking and other business enterprises.

If Japan had rested content with making her own people enlightened and prosperous, the whole of Asia would have rejoiced. But her imperialistic ambition and her adoption of the aggressive methods of the West to gratify it has earned her the curses of the whole continent.

She has, no doubt, been encouraged and strengthened in her daring by the example of Britain. If that island, containing a smaller population than Nippon, could be the mistress of the greatest empire in the world, why should not a more populous island in the East aspire to build a similar empire ? That seems to have been her line of reasoning. But imperialism itself is bad. A federation of free States is the only way to secure world freedom, world peace, and world prosperity.

Release of Politicals No Substitute For Self-Rule

It is not that the release of political prisoners is entirely useless. But it is no substitute for self-rule. Far from being a substitute for self-rule, it does not even indicate an approach towards self-rule. For men and women continue to be released from jail or clapped into jail at the sweet will of the authorities. Sometimes political prisoners, like Sjt. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, a leader of the "authorized" Congress party of Bengal, are arrested as soon as they come out of jail. Such being the case, release from prisons in the ordinary sense is only a synonym for re-entry into the vast prison which India is—as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru aptly put it on coming out of prison.

Apart from the pleasure which the release of political prisoners gives to their families and friends, it enables distinguished leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Babu Purushottamdas Tandon, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, as also those who are less known to fame, to hearten all patriotic sons and daughters of India with their fearless and hopeful pronouncements and thus encourage all to continue freedom's fight.

Freeing and Fettering Go On Together

What little relief was felt by the public on account of the release of many political prisoners, including some of the most distinguished, has been turned into bitterness by the arrest and detention without trial of many men of note. Among them the case of Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose has claimed public attention most, as he is the leader of a political party, namely, the Forward Bloc, and as his party has two dailies under its control. His detention has been rightly condemned by men of all parties and no party.

Before the formation of the new Bengal cabinet, he, like some other political leaders, had conversations with the Bengal Governor, and it was understood that he would be one of those called upon to accept office as a Minister and would agree to do so. As he was at the head of a party vowed to unremitting, relentless and uncompromising fight with British imperialism, his attitude had a special significance, and was welcomed by the public. But just as people were on the tiptoe of expectation to find his name announced as one of the Ministers, they were surprised to read the news of his arrest and detention, on the alleged ground of political contact with Japan.

When was this so-called political contact discovered ? Was it a sudden and accidental discovery ? Such convenient accidental discoveries are sometimes made, no doubt—particularly in India-in-bondage. In our last issue we have specified a chapter of such accidental happenings,

relating to Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose. If the discovery of Sarat Babu's anti-British political contact with Japan was not sudden, but had been made before the Bengal leaders' conversations with the Governor commenced, it is rather curious that the latter carried on momentous consultations with a political suspect. But if the discovery was sudden, it is still more remarkable that it was made just in the nick of time to prevent him from becoming a Minister. No wonder, people suspect that this so-called political contact with Japan was a crude device to prevent the formation of a Hindu-Muslim coalition party in Bengal. The device has, however, failed. (24. 12. 1941.)

The Detention of Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag

It is not only politicians who are at present receiving the kind attentions of the British authorities in India, who appear to have become particularly panicky owing to reverses in Malaya and adjacent territories. They have taken away from their homes men like Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, who is not known to have ever delivered a single political speech or written a single political article, and Mr. Devapriya Valisinha, a Ceylonese gentleman devoted solely to the cause of Buddhism, who is secretary to the Mahabodhi Society of which Sir M. N. Mukerji is President.

As Dr. Nag is neither the leader nor a member of any political party, his detention has not received the amount of public attention it should. So it is necessary to give some detailed information to show that his case deserves attention.

For about three weeks now,—we write this on the 25th December, 1941—Dr. Kalidas Nag has been in detention without the formulation of any charge against him and, of course, without trial. When the news of his removal from home appeared in the papers, all who know him and read the news, officials and non-officials alike, were surprised and shocked. For he has been known as a cultural ambassador of India to all the continents. He has no political party affiliations here or abroad. He has the non-political international cultural type of mind and, as a cultural worker, has served men and women of all countries, religious communities, and classes, known to him.

In Calcutta *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Hindusthan Standard*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Bengali daily), *Yugantar* (Bengali daily) and *Bharat* (Bengali daily), among others, have criticized the Government for depriving him of his personal liberty. The last-named paper has published a very telling editorial on the subject. We have noticed that outside Bengal the non-party weekly *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, which has served humanity for more than half a century, has commented on Dr. Nag's detention along with some other relevant topics in an editorial paragraph which is quoted below.

> **More Detentions.**—As the result of agitation in Great Britain and in India, satyagraha prisoners have been and are being released. What is more, slogan-shouters are not being arrested and prosecuted. They shout their slogans until they are tired and no one is the wiser or sadder for the performance. Although Congress leaders declare that the releases are of no consequence, yet as a matter of fact there is considerable relief felt because of them in wide circles. Unfortunately, when things were thus taking a favourable turn, the news of the detention of Mr. Sarat Bose and some others on the ground of suspected sympathy with the Japanese, has tended to counteract the effect of the release of the satyagraha prisoners. Mr. Sarat Bose, according to the organ of his party in Calcutta, was to have been appointed Minister for Law and Order in the newly formed Huq Cabinet. The timing of his arrest was calculated to raise the suspicion that the move was intended to prevent his appointment. Mr. Fazlul Huq and his colleagues in the new Ministry, have taken up Mr. Sarat Bose's case and they may be expected to do everything possible to see justice done to him. But the cases of Dr. Kalidas Nag and Mr. Valisinha, the Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta, who have also been arrested and detained, are of more importance, though they have not attracted the amount of public attention which Mr. Bose's detention has. Dr. Kalidas Nag is a scholar and a historian of repute of Indian influence in the Far East from ancient times. To him we owe much of the information about Indian influence in Java, Indo-China and other countries, including China and Japan. His sympathy with Japan is that of a scholar and antiquarian and has nothing to do with contemporary events. Mr. Valisinha is a Ceylonese and his residence in India is entirely for the purposes of promoting interest in Buddhism in the land of its birth. His arrest is likely to produce resentment in Buddhist countries, which at the present time is not likely to help the cause of Britain. Unwise statements have been made by prominent Englishmen describing the war as a crusade for the protection of Christianity and European civilization. It behoves the Government of India to exercise the greatest care to prevent acerbation of religious sentiments as much in Eastern as in Western Asia.

There is a belief in some quarters that as the Mahabodhi Society, a Buddhist association, was about to celebrate its Jubilee, as Dr. Nag and Mr. Valisinha were chosen honorary secretary and honorary treasurer of the celebration, and as Japan is a Buddhist country, therefore they have been arrested! Following the same line of argument, all workers for similar Christian celebrations should be arrested because Germany is a Christian country! If it be said that Dr. Nag has visited Japan and has had cultural contact and connection with Japan and has been detained for that reason, the numerous non-Indians and Indians who have visited Germany and have had cultural contacts and



Standing on the deck of a steamer bound for the Far East : *From left to right*—Nandalal Bose, Kalidas Nag, Rabindranath Tagore, Kshitimohan Sen

connections with that country should have been deprived of their personal liberty long ago. If past cultural contact with at-present-hostile Buddhist Japan is considered a valid ground for punishing Dr. Nag, his cultural contact with friendly Buddhist China and with allied Christian America ought to entitle him to honours and rewards at the hands of the British Government.

The Institute of International Education of New York on Dr. Kalidas Nag

Some years ago the Institute of International Education of New York, of which he was a Visiting Professor in 1930-31, briefly summarized Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag's career as follows :

"Dr. Nag has had an unusually scholarly career in India, Europe, and the Far East. From 1915 to 1919, he was Professor of History at the Scottish Churches College in Calcutta, and in 1920 was Principal of Mahinda College, Galle, Ceylon. The same year he made a survey of the archæological relics of Anuradhapura, Sigiria, Dambulla, Polannaruwa, Kandy, and other cities in Ceylon, and presided over the Tamil Young Men's Conference at Jaffna.

"From 1921 to 1923, he studied in Europe, working mainly in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Bibliotheque de la Sorbonne, College de France and Ecole du Louvre of Paris, and in the British Museum and the India Office Library of London. In 1923, he published his thesis on 'Les Theories Diplomatique de L'Inde ancienne et l'Arthasastra,' which was published in two editions, earning his Doctorate 'Tre honorable' at the University of Paris and an award of 2,000 fr. from the Osiris Foundation of the University.

"During his stay in Europe, Dr. Nag took part in numerous International Congresses. In 1922, he read a paper on the *Humanization of History,* at the third International Congress of Education at Geneva. In 1923 at the Peace Congress of Lugano, he discussed *Greater India—a Study in Indian Internationalism.* He attended the Congress of German Orientalists in Berlin, and spoke at the Peace Congress at Prague. In 1923, he represented the University of Calcutta at the International Congress of Libraries and Librarians at Paris.

"He visited the galleries, museums, and important universities of England, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Germany, and Spain. He made a tour of the Scandinavian countries, lecturing at the Oriental Institute of Christiania (Oslo), the Historical Academy of Stockholm, and the Students Congress in Trondhjem (Norway). In Spain, he addressed the Literary Academies (Ateneos) of Barcelona and Madrid.

"In 1923, he visited Alexandria, the Cairo Museum, Memphis, the Saqqara Tombs, the Hebrew University organizations, and the National Library and Museum of Jerusalem. The same year he was appointed Lecturer

in the Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta.

"The year of 1924, Dr. Nag spent in the Far East. He was appointed Honorary Professor of the Visva-Bharati and invited by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to accompany him in his Far Eastern Mission. Commissioned by the University of Calcutta to examine and study the remains of ancient Indian Art and Culture, he visited the historical sites of Burma and Malaya, of China and Japan, of French Indo-China and of the Dutch East-Indies. He lectured at the National University of Peking, the University of Keifeng (Honan), the National College of Shanghai, the Pan-Pacific Club of Tokyo, and at several institutions of Indo-China, visited the temples of Java and toured the island of Bali.

"From 1925 to the present, Dr Nag has been lecturing at the University of Calcutta on the Art and Archaeology of India and Greater India, and the Social and Constitutional History of Ancient India, and gave a course in European History entitled *Democracy and Nationalism*. He has also lectured at other Indian universities and learned societies, and at the All-India Orientalists' Conference, at Lahore and the All-India Science Congress at Calcutta.

"He furthered the foundation of the Greater India Society of Calcutta, and organized the publication of a series of books and bulletins on Hindu Cultural Colonization. He has published translations from Auguste Rodin, Romain Rolland, and other French authors, and from Tagore's *Balaka* into French in collaboration with the French Poet, P. J. Jouve."

Some of Dr. Kalidas Nag's Other Activities

In 1930-31 Dr. Nag was invited by the Geneva School of International Studies, by the Indian Institute of Prague, by the University of Rome and the Royal Academy of Italy, and delivered lectures on Indian Art and Culture. So as Visiting Professor to the Institute of International Education, New York, he lectured at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Metropolitan Museum of New York, at the English-speaking Union at the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and other clubs as well as at the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, Chicago, Evanston, Los Angeles, California, Oregon. Montana, etc. He inaugurated the Indian Department, Hawaii University, Honolulu, as its Visiting Professor, and was elected Honorary Trustee of the Pan-Pacific Union, Honolulu. The result of his investigations at the art academies and museums of Europe and America was published by the University of Calcutta as *Art and Archaeology Abroad* (1936).

In commemoration of the Septuagenary of Rabindranath Tagore, the *Golden Book of Tagore* was published by Dr. Nag as Honorary Secretary, and Mahatma Gandhi, Albert Einstein, Romain Rolland, Costis Palamas and Sir J. C. Bose acted as sponsors to that unique volume of International fellowship.

At the request of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Dr. Nag organized in 1934 the first International Relations Club at the University of Calcutta and fostered the spirit of objective study of International affairs.

In 1934-36 Dr. Nag helped in organizing the Bengal Chapter of the Indian P.E.N. Club, served as a member of its All-India Linguistic Committee and of the Board of the All-India Literary Academy with Mahatma Gandhi as President. He was a member of the official Bihar Education Reorganization Committee (1939-40). As an Indian delegate to the XIV International P.E.N. Congress at Buenos Aires, Dr. Nag fostered academic exchange and cultural relations of India with Latin America.

Along with Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and a Muslim delegate Dr. Kalidas Nag *was sent by the Government of India* as a delegate to the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference, Sydney, Australia, in 1938. He took advantage of that voyage to Australia to visit New Zealand and the Philippine Islands also. As the result of his travels in and visits to the museums of the countries bordering the Pacific Occean, such as China, Japan, the Philippines, and some countries and States of North and South America, he has published a few months ago his work on *India and the Pacific World*.

The countries which he has visited and has had cultural contact with include China, Japan, the Philippines, Java, Bali, Australia, New Zealand, Indo-China, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Egypt, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Italy, Greece, Ireland, Switzerland, France, Austria, Brazil, the Argentine, U. S. A., etc. So, if hereafter any of these countries became anti-British and if India continued to be subject to Britain at that time, he would run the risk of being deprived of freedom in the same way as now!

As he has lectured on invitation at the Universities of Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Nagpur, Mysore, Andhra, Hyderabad (Osmania), and at the cultural centres of Lahore, Srinagar (Kashmir), Patiala, Poona (Bhandarkar Research Institute), Baroda, Gurukul Kangri (Hardwar), Manipur, Gauhati, Sylhet, etc., he is pretty well known to cultured circles in the provinces and principal States of India.

In Calcutta he is officially connected with the Calcutta University as Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in its Post-Graduate Department. He is president of the Students' Weekly Service of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and honorary lecturer at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. He is also member of the Executive Council of and Historical and Archaeological Secretary to the Royal Asiatic

Society of Bengal. He has been an honorary lecturer in history of Rabindranath's University of the Visva-bharati and a member of its *Samsad* or governing body.

Who's Who *at the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference, Sydney, 1938,* at which Dr. Nag was a Government of India delegate, contains the following information relating to him :

Professor of History, Scottish Church College, Calcutta, 1915-1919; Principal, Mahinda College, Galle, Ceylon, 1919-1920; Represented India at the Third International Congress of Education, Geneva, 1921 and at the International League for Peace and Freedom, Lugano, 1922. Represented the University of Calcutta at the International Congress of Libraries and Librarians, Paris, 1923. Joined the Post-Graduate Department, Calcutta University, 1923. Founder-Secretary, the Greater India Society, 1926-1930. Lecture tour through Europe and America, 1930-1931 as the Ghose Travelling Fellow of the Calcutta University; Temporary Collaborator (XI Assembly Session), League of Nations, Geneva, and Visiting Professor, Institute of International Education, New York, 1930-1931. Represented India and the P. E. N., Bengal, at the International P. E. N. Congress of Buenos Aires, 1936. Inaugurated the Indian Department as the Visiting Professor to the University of Hawaii. Elected Honorary Trustee of the Pan-Pacific Union, Honolulu, 1937. Member Delegate, the British Commonwealth, Relations Conference, Sydney, 1938.

Publications : French thesis. *Les Theories Diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthasastra,* (1923). French translation from the original Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore's "Balaka" *Cygne* (Paris 1924). *Greater India* (Calcutta 1926). Editor : *India the World,* an organ of Internationalism and cultural federation, 1932-1936. Co-operating with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, contributed to its Bulletin, Notes on the Monuments and Museums of the Far East. *Art and Archaeology Abroad* (Published by the University of Calcutta, 1937).

Mahatma Gandhi On War Alarm and Panic

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement :

"As the war approaches the Indian border, people begin to get scared. I have a typical letter from Assam and others from various parts. They expect guidance from me as a war resister and director of satyagraha.

"So far as satyagraha is concerned in areas such as Assam, responsible Congressmen should not offer satyagraha, but should devote themselves to steadying those who are under Congress influence.

"As to the guidance of those who would listen to the Congress or me, the people will presently have directions from the Working Committee. But so far as I am concerned, I am quite clear that the people should refuse to be scared even though bombs may be dropped in their midst. For the time being at any rate, the danger is to be expected only in the big cities. Those who do not wish to run any risk, would do well *quietly* to leave their cities.

"It is wrong to make a rush during every scare and crowd the railway stations. The railway staff cannot possibly cope with sudden rushes. **It is unmanly to rush to save oneself. A wise and brave man will wait till the last man is safely out.**

"What I have said applies to all Congressmen and others. **I would not like it to be said of us as a nation that we run about like mad men on the approach of the slighest danger.** We must face bravely any situation that may befall us.

"Congressmen who are war resisters will remain at their posts and offer such assistance to the people as is within their power. They will run, at any risk, to the help of those who may be injured.

"Whilst I have been and am still against Congressmen joining A. R. P. organizations, I have never thought or suggested that Congressmen should leave points of danger or fields of service. It is not necessary to belong to any Government organization to be able to render effective service without expectation of reward or praise. **The chief thing is to preserve complete equanimity, no matter what danger faces us.** This is especially so for those who are war resisters and fear no enemy."

Gandhiji On America's Entry Into The War

In response to a request from abroad for a statement on America's entry into the war, Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement:

BARDOLI, Dec. 20.

"I have been asked for a brief statement on the entry of America in the war. It is not possible for me to join the chorus of current opinion. I cannot welcome this entry of America. American tradition singles her out as an arbitrator and mediator between the warring nations. By her territorial vastness, amazing energy, unrivalled financial status and owing to the composite character of her people, she is the one country which could have saved the world from the unthinkable butchery that is going on. I do not know whether America could have avoided the entry. I have no data for giving a decisive opinion on the question. I have only expressed my fervent wish that it might have been possible for her to play her natural part. It is tragic to contemplate that with America as party to the war there is no great power left which can mediate and bring about peace for which I have no doubt the peoples of all lands are thirsting. It is a strange phenomenon that the human wish is paralyzed by the creeping effect of the war fever."—*A. P.*

Gandhiji says, "I cannot welcome this entry of America" into the war. No humanitarian can be glad that, one by one, all the great powers have become involved in this war. Still less could one have been pleased that all the lesser powers which some big belligerents thought must be on their side have been either conquered or cowed down to subordinate their will to that of some big power or powers.

There is some risk of being misunderstood if language is used which may be interpreted to mean that America had any real choice in the matter and that she chose to become a belligerent. It was not she who struck the first blow. She was attacked and that led to her entry into the war. Gandhiji himself says, "I do not know whether America could have

avoided the entry. I have no data for giving a decisive opinion on the question." Nor have we. What may be said is that if America were absolutely for non-violence under all circumstances, she could have avoided fighting, knowing that the result of such abstention would in all human probability have been subjugation by Japan—at least for the time being. Long before America became actually a party to the war, she had ceased to be non-violent even in theory; for she had been helping Britain all along with money and war materials and machines in order to enable her to fight.

Gandhiji is absolutely right in stating that "It is tragic to contemplate that with America as party to the war there is no great power left which can mediate and bring about peace, for which, I have no doubt, the peoples of all lands are thirsting."

Sir T. B. Sapru's Message to U. P. Non-Party Conference

"It cannot be agreeable to any of us to think that, in 1941, we find ourselves relegated to the position which we occupied some 50 or 60 years ago," says Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a message to the U. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference. He means that there is in the provinces now as 60 years ago no popular element in the Government. He adds:

"Now that a move forward has been taken at the Centre, and a greater move may be expected in the course of time there, I see no reason why our provinces should continue to be administered under Section 93 (of the Government of India Act of 1935). It should not be beyond the range of practical politics to restore a constitutional form of government.

"I hope your conference will also emphasise what, to my mind, is too obvious for words—I refer to the new danger which has arisen to India. I feel that literally the war is at our gates.

"If, even on an occasion like this, we cannot sink our differences and increase our war efforts in the interests of our own country, I should be in despair about the future. Our mutual differences can stand over. Even our grievances against the British Government should not stand in the way of rendering service to our country at this juncture."

Why Indians Are Mere Spectators

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, ex-Premier of Madras, commenting at Delhi on the Viceroy's speech at Calcutta, asked:

"What is the good of the Viceroy saying that India is no more a mere spectator of the bursting of war clouds? He and his predecessors have made us mere spectators.

"One and a half years ago, when the Congress almost unanimously, and, with the support of the entire Congress Working Committee, presented a scheme at Poona for the more efficient defence of India and the identification of the whole nation with it, the British Government turned a deaf ear to it and made the August counter-offer to which reference has been made *ad nauseam*.

"Had the Congress offer at Poona been accepted and acted upon wholeheartedly, the entire situation in India would have been different, and the face of India, by now, tremendously altered. The Japanese attack would then have produced other reactions than a mere scare.

"The Governor of Burma has appealed to the people to fight from the jungles and in the towns and in the villages. Has ever such an appeal been heard except when it came from the courageous leaders of the people? Guerilla warfare and house-to-house fighting has never been known to be produced to the order of a foreign civil service.

"But it is no use referring to the failures of the past. Even the Viceroy confessed at Calcutta on Monday, that his appeal of August 8 did not secure the response for which he had hoped. A statesman does not rest content with such regret or confession. He must find out the causes for the phenomenon which, however deplorable, he confesses to be a fact, and find remedies for the causes.

"Differences between the British Government and India are not, in any sense, domestic differences and they cannot be forgotten or solved unless the British Government make up their mind at this critical moment to act in a great and courageous manner. The soldier spirit and not the spirit of a conveyancing lawyer must inspire the British Government, if they wish to justify their rule over India until the present crisis."

Though war has not yet (December 28, 1941) come to India, it is at India's doors. When and if it comes to India, even then the people will be really mere spectators though hundreds of thousands of Indians may be fighting at the bidding of their employers. For no Indian will even then have, as none now has, any determining voice or any say as regards the means and methods to be adopted to repel the aggressors.

The Meaning of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme

BARDOLI, Dec. 23.

"My handling of civil disobedience without the constructive programme will be like a paralysed hand attempting to lift a spoon," observes Mahatma Gandhi in a 27-page pamphlet on constructive programme and its meaning and place, just published.

Civil Disobedience, Gandhiji continues, is not absolutely necessary to win freedom through purely non-violent efforts, if co-operation of the whole nation is secured in constructive programme. But such good luck rarely comes to nations or individuals.

Civil disobedience, he adds, in a nation-wide non-violent effort has three definite functions. It can be effectively offered for redress of a local wrong. It can be offered without regard to effect, though aimed at a particular wrong or evil, by way of self-immolation in order to rouse local consciousness or conscience. In place of full response to constructive effort it can be offered, as it is being offered at present.

Concluding, Gandhiji says: Civil Disobedience is stimulation for fighters and is a challenge to the opponent. In terms of independence without co-operation of millions by way of constructive effort, it is mere bravado and more than useless.

The pamphlet dwells at length on thirteen items in Gandhiji's constructive programme, namely, communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, khadi and other village industries, village sanitation, basic education, adult education, uplift of women, education in health and hygiene, propaganda of Rastrabhasa, love of one's language and working for economic equality.—*U. P.*

Liberal Leaders' Statement On Government's Attitude Towards Hindus

BOMBAY, Dec. 22.

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (Liberal Leaders) have issued the following joint statement from Madras.

As members of Liberal party we are interested in the scales being held even between all communities. The ban on Hindu Mahasabha's meeting at Bhagalpur, so far as we can judge, is without justification and seem to give undue importance to possible Muslim opposition. The clear right of one community ought not to be placed at the mercy of another community. The Viceroy and the local Governor will at the present juncture be promoting the lasting interest of those communities by giving proper protection to the forthcoming meeting of the Mahasabha and avoiding the suspicion of partiality.—*A. P*

Ban on Hindu Mahasabha Session

The Bihar Government's ban on the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur was utterly unjustifiable. The Hindu Mahasabha is an all-India body. It has not been proclaimed an unlawful association or assembly. It was not going to hold its session at Bhagalpur to do anything unlawful. It was simply going to exercise its right of expressing its opinion on various political problems demanding solution. Other bodies, *e.g.*, the U. P. Non-Party Conference, the Liberal Federation, the All-India Women's Conference, the Muslim League, have either recently exercised the same right or are going to do so. Why then should the Hindu Mahasabha alone be prevented from exercising this right? The Muslim League has been repeatedly proclaiming its non-co-operation with the war efforts of the British Government, but no ban has been placed on its activities. On the other hand, the Hindu Mahasabha has again and again offered its co-operation with the war effort, but its Bhagalpur session was banned, and that on grounds which will not stand any examination. It was asserted that the time chosen for the session coincided with the period of the Bakrid festival of the Muslims, and, therefore, there might be communal trouble on the occasion. But the Hindu Mahasabha was not going to Bhagalpur to cause any trouble. If trouble were to arise it would have originated with the Muslims. It is those who may be responsible for any trouble who ought to be restrained by the Government, not those who may be put to trouble. The exercise of civic and political rights by any community should not depend on the favour of any other community.

An armed police force more than a thousand strong and some soldiers also have been drafted to Bhagalpur and its neighbourhood to arrest and put under restraint the Hindu leaders, delegates, volunteers and visitors, and leaders like Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Dr. Moonje, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Bhai Parmanand, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Mr N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Ganganand Sinha, Mr. Deshpunde, and others have been arrested. Would not the police and military forces employed for the purpose have been sufficient to quell disturbances created by the Muslims, if any? Perhaps the Bihar Government has been unjust to the Muslims of the Bhagalpur district, who form only 10.5 per cent. of the population. Perhaps they would themselves have had the good sense not to create trouble. A hint from the Government would have been helpful in that direction. In any case show of police and military force wouid have sufficed to prevent trouble. But a course like that adopted by the Bihar Government would be anywhere an indirect encouragement to troublesome persons.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, leader of the Congress party in Bihar, knows his province and its political situation well. He said in the course of a statement on the ban on the Hindu Mahasabha session:

"We all knew that the Bakrid period is an anxious period, but it cannot be believed that a session of the Hindu Mahasabha would create any additional difficulty. The Government plea was that the session of the Mahasabha itself would necessitate drafting of a police force which might render arrangements in other places more difficult. It is obvious now that prevention of the Mahasabha has necessitated a much larger concentration of police force at Bhagalpur than its holding would have necessitated. But above all there is absolutely no reason that the annual sessions should be prevented.

"If any one wanted to interfere with it and create trouble he should have been restrained and not the Mahasabha against which nothing has been alleged. There is yet time and Government can prevent serious developments if it so desires. I do not accept the politics of the Hindu Mahasabha but there is no reason why it should be deprived of its right to meet and express its opinions. I would say the same if similiar rights of any other organisation are similarly assailed It is a clear case of discrimination against the Hindu Mahasabha."

Bhagalpur Session of the Hindu Mahasabha

It is a matter for satisfaction that the Bihar Government's ban on the Bhagalpur session of the Hindu Mahasabha did not deter the leaders, delegates, and visitors from going to that city.

They proceeded to it in the certain expectation of being arrested, and hundreds of them have been arrested. We congratulate them.

In spite of the Bihar Government's demolition of the Mahasabha pandal in Lajpat Park and its garrisoning the park with a police force, an improvised session of the Sabha was held elsewhere in Bhagalpur, of which the following account has appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*:

A number of people collected at a road crossing adjoining Lajpat Park and Mr. Krishna Ballabh Narain Singh addressed the gathering. Mr. K. B. N. Singh, who was one of the deputies of Mr. Savarkar, read out a part of Mr. Savarkar's presidential address and declared the assembly as the official 23rd session of the Hindu Mahasabha.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

The meeting adopted six resolutions, including one protesting against the Government ban on the session and the another condemning the partition of India advocated by the Muslim League. Mounted military police broke the meeting and Mr. Krishna Ballabh Naram Singh and five others were taken into custody.

Several more unsuccessful attempts were made by the delegates to hold meetings in Bhagalpur this afternoon. In six places at least the crowd were dispersed by the police as soon as they assembled, says the *Associated Press*.

Mr. Savarkar's Undelivered Address

The Associated Press of India has published important extracts from the address prepared but not delivered by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, president of the Hindu Mahasabha. On the questions of the militarization and industrialization of the Hindus he writes:

"The war which has now reached our shores directly constitutes at once a danger and an opportunity which render it imperative that the militarization movement must be intensified and every branch of the Hindu Mahasabha in every town and village must actively engage itself in rousing the Hindu people to join the army, navy and air forces and the different war craft manufactures."

Claiming that the programme of militarization of Hindus formed the most important and urgent item on the immediate programme of the Mahasabha, Mr. Savarkar said: "Japan's entry into the war against Britain and the United States need not cause any change in the attitude taken by the Hindu Mahasabha towards war effort calculated to contribute to Indian defence. The Hindu Mahasabha holds fast to the belief that, just as Britain, Germany, Italy, America or even Russia have gone to war with no altruistic aim but only in pursuance of their national interests, Japan too proves no exception so far as the motive which drove her to the war is concerned."

When every nation in the world is following the policy of self-interest and self-aggrandisement, India too must adopt a policy dictated solely by the interests of promoting her own interests, present and future.

From this point of view, situated as we Hindus are at present, our best national interests demand that so far as India's defence is concerned, Hindudom must ally unhesitatingly in a spirit of responsive co-operation with the war effort of the Indian Government in so far as it is consistent with Hindu interests, by joining the army, navy and air forces in as large a number as possible and by securing an entry into all ordnance, ammunition and war-craft factories. Militarization and industrialization of our Hindu nation ought to be the first two immediate objectives which we must pursue and secure to the best of our power, if we want to utilise the war situation in the world as effectively as possible to defend the Hindu interests."

JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO WAR

Mr. Savarkar went on to say that Japan's entry into the war exposed India directly and immediately to the attack by Britain's enemies and consequently, "whether we liked it or not, we shall have to defend our own hearth and home against the ravages of the war and this can be done only by intensifying the Government's war effort to defend India. Hindu Mahasabhaites must, therefore, rouse Hindus especially in the Provinces of Bengal and Assam as effectively as possible to enter the military forces of all arms without losing a single minute."

As regards Hindu rights,

Asserting that the independence of India, indivisibility of India, representation in proportion to the population strength, public services to go by merit alone and the fundamental rights of freedom of worship, language, script, etc., guaranteed to all citizens alike form some of the basic principles on which the Hindu Mahasabha takes its stand, Mr. Savarkar said that the Hindu Mahasabha sought not an inch more than what was legitimately due to it or than what it was willing to concede to all non-Hindu minorities in India in strict proportion to their population strength. But it followed from this very just and legitimate conception of true nationalism that the Hindu Mahasabha should not yield an inch of what was legitimately due to the Hindus on ground of national equity to the Muslims or anyone else simply because they did not happen to be Hindus.

On the election issue, Mr. Savarkar wants that Congressmen who are Hindus should not contest Hindu seats, for they seek election not as Hindus but as Indian nationalists professing the Congress creed. The Mahasabha president wants that Hindu constituencies should return only Hindu Mahasabha members.

Regarding the Bihar Government's ban on the Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur, he observes:

"I earnestly hope that inasmuch as the cause the Hindu Mahasabha is going to fight out at Bhagalpur, is essentially the cause of civic liberty so far as the question of resisting with all legitimate means, this ban is concerned—not only all Hindus irrespective of party affiliations but even our Christian, Parsee, and Jewish countrymen, in fact every Indian citizen who values the cause of the fundamental right of citizenship of free association and realises that the Government policy of encouraging fanaticism at the cost of the legitimate rights of honest and law-abiding citizens constitutes a common-danger to all citizens alike, will extend their sympathy and co-operation and strengthen the hands of the Hindu Mahasabhaites in this their struggle to assert the fundamental rights of citizenship on an issue which is of common interest to all Indian citizens alike."
—*A. P.*

Hindu Mahasabha Session Held Despite Ban

An official account of the 23rd session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur has been issued by the General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha and published in many dailies by the Associated Press of India. It was held on the 25th December last in the spacious compound of Debi Babu's Dharmashala. Lala Narayan Dutt, Treasurer of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee, presided. About 2000 delegates from all the provinces of India and a large number of visitors and volunteers attended the session. Eight resolutions were passed.

"The deliberations continued for two and a half hours in a peaceful atmosphere after which the President and some other delegates left the meeting to attend another meeing at Lajpat Park. The meeting, however, was being continued by some young men when a Police Sergeant with some Constables entered the compound and arrested the following four persons:

"Mr. Nagendra Nath Nandi, Mr. Gokul Chandra Das, Mr. S N. Penshal and another.

"Meetings are being held at each quarter of this town and processions are being led by youths though armed constables and mounted police are guarding the streets.

"About 1,000 delegates and volunteers were arrested up-to-date. Many others, who were arrested today were subsequently discharged shortly after being taken to the police station." *A. P*

Calcutta Mammoth Meeting to Condemn Bihar Government's Ban on Mahasabha

A crowded meeting was held on the 26th December last at the Calcutta University Institute Hall to condemn the Bihar Government's ban on the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur. Sjt. P. N. Brahma, Mayor of Calcutta, presided. The meeting was attended by influential Hindu members of all Nationalist parties, including members of the official Congress Party, the Forward Bloc, the Congress Nationalist Party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and some Nationalists who belonged to no party. The following resolutions were passed:

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta records its deep indignation and expresses its strong condemnation of the utterly unjust, unwise and reactionary policy of the Government of Bihar in banning the All-India Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur which has deprived the Hindus of their elementary right of association and which has created dissatisfaction in the country as a whole and particularly among the Hindu community.

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta also resents the arrest of Hindu leaders, delegates, volunteers and visitors on their way to attend the said session which was not a prejudicial act in any sense of the term, and for which there was no justification whatsoever except a false sense of prestige and the effect whereof has been to throw the whole country into a state of turmoil which is most undesirable at the present moment."

Among the speakers at the meeting were Sjt. N. K. Basu (doyen of the Calcutta High Court Vakil's Bar, who proposed that the Mayor take the chair), Sir M. N. Mukherji (who moved the first resolution), Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee (who moved the second resolution), Sjt. Kiran Sankar Roy (leader of the Bengal Congress Assembly party), Sjt. S. N. Banerji (leading barrister-at-law), Sjt. Hemendraprasad Ghosh (Editor of the daily *Basumati*), Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.L.A. (Central), Swami Satyananda of the Hindu Mission. Sjt. Debendranath Mukherjee (Councillor, Calcutta Corporation) and the Mayor. Sjt. N. K. Basu expressed the opinion that the Bihar Government's action was clearly illegal. Many speakers expressed satisfaction at the bold stand taken by the Hindu leaders and rank and file and congratulated them on their courage. The view was also expressed that the Bihar Government's anti-Hindu attitude did not stand alone—a similar attitude was marked in certain actions of the Madras and U. P. Governments. The Bengal Government had made itself famous by such an attitude. The British Government's anti-Hindu attitude was an indirect proof of the growing solidarity and strength of the Hindus of India, who under various party names have been in the vanguard of the fight for India's freedom and have, therefore, incurred the greatest displeasure of British imperialists and aroused their apprehension most.

Muslim Organ Condemns Bihar Government's Ban

Star of India, Calcutta's Muslim evening daily, which is known to be the organ of Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin's Bengal Muslim League party, has condemned the Bihar Government's ban on the Hindu Mahasabha session in a leading article, which begins thus:—

We see neither prudence nor justice in the arrest and detention of Mr. Savarkar by the Bihar Government. The Mahasabhaites were entitled to hold their conference, but the Government, having gratuitously got the jitters, stood their ground more for prestige than for the smooth passing of affairs. The right of association, free speech and lawful demonstration cannot be easily sacrificed for the advantage of a hide-bound officialdom, and every citizen will resent the conduct of the Government in trenching upon this constitutional right. What have they gained by preventing the "letting off of steam" and driving it underground? Nothing calamitous would have happened by the holding of the session for which they had made due preparations. While a common right is cherished by all the people of India, we see some Hindus cloaked in the senatorial toga of Liberalism introducing a new twist in the situation.

They insinuate that the Muslims had yearned to see the Bihar Government upset the plans and that it is to oblige them that all this meddling and muddling has been done. The "Liberal" leaders speak of official "partiality" and ask the Government not to place "the clear right of one community at the mercy of another." It is an impudent foisting of blame where it does not belong.

At One

All the constituent nationalities comprising India, Caste-Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, "Panchamas," etc., value the right of opinion and organization equally. Just as Muslims could resent a ban on the lawful functioning of their organization through the preposterous bungling of the authorities, they would sympathize with the plight of any other community thwarted of its elementary rights.

Sjt. Sarat Bose Removed to Madras Presidency

Just as the effect of the release of some satyāgrahi and other political prisoners, whatever its character and degree, was destroyed by the re-arrest after release of Sjt. Surendramohan Ghose and the arrest of Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Sjt. Devapriya Valisinha etc., and of the Hindu leaders and delegates in Bihar, so the effect of the removal of the Deoli prisoners to their respective provinces has been reduced to a nullity by the removal of Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose to some unknown jail in the Madras Presidency. This removal was so sudden that Sjt. Bose "could not find enough time to take all his clothing he was allowed for his use inside the jail, nor had he been able to bring a fresh set of clothings from his own house." Further, owing to the suddenness of his removal, neither his wife nor his eldest son could see him before his departure either at the jail or at the railway station.

All this is not a proof of the strength of the Government, but a sign of the panicky condition of its mind.

Fresh Ministerial Crisis in Bengal?

The formation of the new coalition ministry in Bengal was welcomed on all hands as it gave promise of at least communal peace in the province. But owing to the Bihar Government's action against Dr. S. P. Mukherji at Colgong and the advice given by Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose to Sjts. Santosh Kumar Basu and Pramathanath Banerji to resign from the ministry, a fresh ministerial crisis seems to have become imminent. We read in the *Hindusthan Standard* (December 27):

On receipt of the news of Sj. Bose's removal, Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister who is also in charge of the Home Department and Hon'ble Mr Santosh Kumar Basu went to the Presidency Jail to see Sj. Bose. But they could talk to Sj. Bose only for a very short while. Hon'ble Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerji, Revenue Minister, was away from Calcutta yesterday.

The *Associated Press* states:

The removal of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose from Bengal to his place of detention in Madras has given rise to certain developments, which threaten a fresh ministerial tangle in the province.

It is learnt that prior to his being removed to Madras on Friday afternoon, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose advised the Hon'ble Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu and the Hon'ble Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerji, newly appointed Ministers representing the *Forward Bloc* in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, to resign their Ministership immediately. Mr. Bose in his message to Mr. Basu added that this however, did not mean any change in their policy of wholehearted support to the present Ministry in Bengal.

It is further learnt that the news of Mr. Bose's removal from Calcutta reached the Chief Minister Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq shortly before he was taken out of the Presidency Jail. Mr. Huq at once got in touch with the Secretaries of his Department and asked them if the order of Mr. Bose's removal could be delayed at least by a day. He was told that the Bengal Government were simply carrying out the orders of the Government of India. Mr. Huq then telephoned Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member to the Government of India, who is now in Calcutta, but failed to get him

Being unsuccessful in his attempts to get the order of Mr. Bose's removal stayed temporarily, the Chief Minister rushed to Howrah Station, accompanied by the Hon'ble Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, to see Mr. Bose off.

On return from the station, Mr. Huq sent the following telegram to the Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, who is now at Colgong.

"Your presence immediately necessary Calcutta for considering matters affecting Cabinet. Please come immediately."—*A. P.*

The episode shows the flimsy character of the so-called Provincial Autonomy and how little power even a Provincial Chief Minister has even in his own province.

Perhaps there is a bureaucratic plot to bring about a situation in Bengal which would give an appearance of plausibility to the suspension of the constitution and the assumption of all powers by the Governor in the province, as has been done in Assam and may be done in Sindh. Or, there may be a plot to bring in Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin as chief minister with men of his party as ministers. If so, it would have been better if Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose had not advised Sjts. Santosh Kumar Basu and Pramathanath Banerji to resign.

Bihar Government Campaign to Rehabilitate Impaired Prestige

It was not only at or near Bhagalpur that by order of the Bihar Government delegates and visitors to the Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur had been arrested. Similar arrests have been made at Monghyr, Dumka, Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, etc. It would seem as if the Bihar Government had begun a campaign against the

Hindu Mahasabha to repair and restore the British prestige damaged and impaired at Hong Kong, Malaya and Burma.

Provinces "Develop a Vigorous and Independent Life of Their Own"

Paragraph 26 of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Vol. 1 (Part I), 1934, observes with reference to what has afterwards come to be known as Provincial Autonomy :

"We have spoken of Unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but in transferring so many of the powers of Government to the Provinces and *in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own,* we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity." (Italics ours—EDITOR, *M. R.*).

The Bihar autonomous province under its autonomous Governor has been so encouraged to *develop a vigorous and independent life of its own* that it arrested the Fnance Minister of its neighbouring province and several ex-Ministers of other provinces !

August 1940 Offer Still Remains Open !

In the course of a recent speech His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, assured the Indian public with great condescension and generosity that the offer made in August, 1940, still remained open. No political party in India would touch this offer when originally made even with a pair of tongs. Similar has been the attitude of all Indian political parties whenever the offer has been repeated—and it has been repeated more often than we can call to mind. Why then take the trouble to repeat it again ? If Lord Linlithgow or his chief Mr. Amery cannot say anything new, let them at least be so merciful as either not to refer to that luckless offer again or to withdraw it.

All-India Bengali Cultural Reunion

The All-India Bengali Cultural Reunion, known as Prabāsi Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan, held its 19th session at Benares last week. Its first session was held in the same city under the presidentship of Rabindranath Tagore. At this session reverential and fitting homage was paid to the sacred memory of the great poet, sage, seer, philanthropist and humanitarian. The President-elect, Sjt. Kedarnath Bandyopadhyaya, an octogenarian Bengali author and humorist of distinction, could not be present in person owing to unavoidable reasons. Therefore during the earlier part of the sitting Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhushan acted as president and Sjt. Atul Chandra Gupta afterwards took the chair. Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy opened the proceedings after "Bande Mātaram" had been sung in full by a choir of Santiniketan boys and girls led by Sjt. Santideva Ghosh. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhushan, chairman of the reception committee, read his address. The address of the president was read by Sjt. Mahendranath Ray. All the sectional presidents—Professor Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar of philosophy, Sjt. Atul Chandra Gupta of literature, Dr. Surendranath Sen of history, Professor Amiya Charan Banerji of science, Sjt. N. N. Rakshit of Greater Bengal, Sjt. Birendra Kishore Ray Chaudhuri of music and Srijuktā Nirupama Devi of the Women's section were present. A day was set apart as Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Day. In its proceedings Pandit Kshitimohan Sen was quite appropriately chosen to take the leading part.

At this Bengali Reunion cultured Bengali ladies and gentlemen assemble from all parts of India. Besides the addresses of the chairman of the reception committee, the general president and the sectional presidents, papers on various subjects are read, lectures delivered and discussions held. Every day the delegates take their meals together. There are musical entertainments and generally some drama is played. In some of the places where previous sessions were held there were Art Exhibitions also. Cultured non-Bengali ladies and gentlemen of the towns where the sessions have been hitherto held have everywhere been invited to grace the sitting with their presence. This commendable practice was followed at Benares also.

Sino-Japanese War

For some time past the Sino-Japanese war has been almost an unbroken record of Chinese successes. This was the case even before Japan began her campaigns against the British Empire and the United States of America. Now that Japan is at war with two such great powers, she would not be able to use all her resources against China. Hence the latter may be able to score more victories against her enemy.

As we have said repeatedly, the Chinese people and their leaders have won the respect and admiration of all lovers of freedom in the world by their sustained patriotism and courage, their ever increasing attention to training and discipline, their power of organization and the unremitting attention which they have been paying even in the midst of such a life and death

struggle to spread literacy and education in the country and to develop all her natural resources.

The nonchalant way in which members of the Chinese "Suicide Brigade" are shown in a photograph handling bombs hurled at them from Japanese aeroplanes as if they were play-things is typical of Chinese youth. Their upturned thumbs show their defiant spirit. No aggressor can prevail against such determined and daring patriots.

The German-Soviet War

The Germans sprang a surprise upon the Russians in utter disregard of the mutual understanding which they had come to a short time before the commencement of hostilities. As Russia was unprepared, it was not a matter for surprise that the Nazis at first carried everything before them. The wonder rather is that the Russians could anywhere withstand the attacks of the huge German armies, thoroughly trained in up-to-date modern methods of warfare, fully mechanized, equipped with large numbers of tanks and armed with the best weapons of warfare. Perhaps no other armies than those of Russia could have resisted onslaughts like those made by the Nazis on Leningrad and Moscow day after day, week after week, month after month. And now the Germans appear to be on the brink of a total collapse so far as their Russian campaign is concerned.

Like the Chinese, the Russians have won the respect and admiration of all lovers of liberty by their patriotism, courage and fighting qualities. Their pact with Poland has been very praiseworthy. It is to be hoped that at the end of the war, when Germany has been defeated, the whole of Poland will become unified and be constituted a free republican State.

Brief telegrams have appeared in the dailies to the effect that conversations have been going on between Japan and Russia. It is to be hoped that Russia will not be prevailed upon to help Japan in any way in her imperialistic and militarist designs.

Anti-Hindu Mentality of the British Government

At the moment of penning these few lines, the ban of the Bihar Government on holding of the annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur and the arrest of Veer Savarkar, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, ex-Minister of the Punjab, Meher Chand Khanna, ex-Minister of the N.-W. Frontier Province, Mr. B. G. Khaparde, ex-Minister of the Central Provinces, and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the Finance Minister of Bengal, Dr. Moonje, Bhai Paramanand, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and a host of Hindu leaders, delegates and volunteers, the indiscriminate lathi charges by the mounted police, &c., are occupying our mind.

The ban of the Bihar Government is not an isolated act of the Bihar Governor or the Bihar bureaucracy. If the Bihar Government was in the wrong—and we say they are in the wrong, it was the duty of the Viceroy to set it right. But he maintained a sphinx-like silence, without even the excuse of seeming to interfere with actions of a popular Ministry. The ban seems to be a part of a plan to belittle the Hindus. In Bihar the right of the Hindus to associate with one another was negatived.

The Hindus have the right to carry religious procession at Nellore. It was prohibited; the Hindus were shot at; and they have been made to pay punitive tax. In Madras the right of the Hindus to carry processions, especially religious processions over public thoroughfares was negatived.

A no-confidence motion was passed in the Assam Legislature against Sir Md. Saadullah. Instead of asking the Hindu Rohini Kumar Choudhury to form the ministry; or dissolving the Assembly to ascertain public opinion, action has been taken under Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act; and the local Governor has assumed direct charge. Whatever little power has been conceded under the 1935 Act must not be exercised by or in favour of the Hindus.

The Bengal Hindus demanded suspension of constitution on account of the harmful communal activities of the Muhammadan Ministry. No action was taken. Even the special powers of the Governor for the protection of the minorities (here the Hindus) were not used, when there was a wholesale exodus of the Hindus to the Native State of Hill Tipperah after the Dacca riots.

There were many murders of the Hindus at Sukkur in Sind; and an exodus of the Hindus. The special powers of the Governor were forgotten. Now over the appointment of this or that European, the same powers are being freely used.

The Kumbha Mela takes place at Allahabad once in twelve years. There is always a rush of pilgrims at the time, spread over a month. On account of the war, it was and is being notified in advance, even from before the treacherous attack of Japan, that no special facilities would or will be allowed to the pilgrims; no special trains would or will run for their benefit; even when there are more than 18,700 passenger carriages, excluding military cars, dining cars,

and saloons, etc. Where are the soldiers who are to be carried from this point to that point on account of the war? The Ganga Sagar Mela is being virtually prohibited. Well and good.

Now look at the other picture. The number of Muhammadan pilgrims to Hedjaz during the last two years of the war was about 5,000 and 5,500 respectively. This year the number exceeds the sum total of the previous *two* years. These pilgrims are being allowed to take gold with them; although all export of gold is otherwise prohibited. Special protection is to be given to these pilgrim ships from submarine and air-attacks. The British Government at London and the Delhi Government are subsidising the shipping companies to keep down the cost of pilgrimage. May we ask why this discrimination in the treatment of the Hindu and the Muhammadan pilgrims?

The Independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal is helping the British Government with men and money. Of the independent or semi-independent Muslim States, Rashid Ali in Iraq, Reza Shah in Iran, the Grand Mufti in Palestine; and the Druses and rebels in Syria, all opposed the British advance. The other Muslim States, including Turkey, are at best neutral.

Why then this discrimination against the Hindus; and in favour of the Muhammadans?

J. M. D.

December 25, 1941

Japan's Initial Successes in War with America and Britain

Japan's initial successes in the Hawaii and Philippine Islands and in Malaya and Hong Kong have resulted in some loss of American and British prestige. Americans and Britishers must have felt humiliated. Not having any expert knowledge of warfare we cannot say whether such loss of prestige and such humiliation could have been prevented. Singly both America and Britain are more than a match for Japan.

When Japan struck a blow at America, the latter was not engaged in fighting any foe, whereas Japan had been already at war with China for more than four years. Hence Japan's military pre-occupation was far greater than that of America. Yet Japan could strike the first blow at America. How was it that America could be taken unawares? True, it has been said that Japan attacked America treacherously while conversations were still being carried on between the two. But such "treachery" is not a new thing in the history of nations in general, nor in the history of Japan or of America in particular. And in warfare surprise attacks, like ambushes, are considered legitimate. Hence, America was guilty of culpable carelessness in leaving any vulnerable points in her territories unguarded or insufficiently guarded. She ought also to have taken quite sufficient care to see that islands like Guam, Wake, etc., did not fall into enemy hands.

As regards Britain, there was for her the excuse that she was pre-occupied with her anti-Nazi war in Europe and Africa. But, on the other hand, the human and material resources of her far-flung empire were and are incomparably great. She could have raised far larger armies, including air forces, than those of either Germany and Russia, thoroughly mechanized them and fully equipped them with the best up-to-date weapons of war. With such forces she could have made Hong Kong, Malaya, Burma and India practically invulnerable. But perhaps she could not trust India—a very large and thoroughly equipped Indian army might endanger her supremacy in India! She thought making Singapore invulnerably strong was quite sufficient for the safety of her eastern possessions.

It is not clear why she allowed Japan to practically establish suzerainty over Indo-China unopposed and took no steps to prevent her from landing large masses of troops there and establishing air bases in those regions. Perhaps, if Britain had stood in the way of Japan's ambition in Indo-China, it would have precipitated war with Japan, for which Britain was not then ready. But war with Japan has come all the same, and found Britain unprepared for it. Britain's forbearance (?) has not prevented it.

Why again did Britain allow Japan to steal a march over her in Thailand? She should have tried to prevent Japan's entry there either by treaty with Thailand or by occupying that country. That might no doubt, have precipitated war with both Thailand and Japan, for which Britain was not then prepared. But war with Japan has come all the same, catching Britain unprepared for it.

It may be objected that it would have been unjust to practically annex Indo-China and Thailand. Certainly it would have. But we are not here discussing any ethical question. No imperial power has ever allowed ethical codes and scruples to stand in the way of any unethical measures necessary for safeguarding or extending its empire. When we say Britain ought to have practically annexed Indo-China and Thailand, we do not say that that could be the dictate of her conscience—if nations have a conscience—the dictate, that is to say, of what Kant has called the categorical imperative; what we in our ignorance of strategy mean is that

Britain could have forestalled Japan by doing what is suggested above. In any case the situation would not have been worse than it is today by Britain acting in the above-mentioned way.

To complain of Japan's treacherously launching an attack before declaring war is useless. War is not, has never been *in history*, like an amicably arranged boxing bout or wrestling match in which the contending parties are given equal advantages. War is an attempt to overcome the enemy by fair means or foul. We are not aware that any nation on earth—not certainly any nation in Europe—has throughout its history consistently refrained from acting against the rules of morality. On the one side of the medal there has been not unoften "treachery" and on the other, want of vigilance and careful preparation.

British Non-Official "Anxiety" to End Deadlock

Now that war is at India's doors and Japan has had some initial successes, there is great "anxiety" displayed in the British press, not only by such organs as the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily Herald*, the *News Chronicle* and the *New Statesman and Nation*, but even by *The Times* itself, that every effort should be made to end the "deadlock" here. Some Members of Parliament and other individuals also have expressed a desire that a settlement should be arrived at with India. The publication in the *Daily Herald* and in the *News Chronicle*, both of London, of two separate articles by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has intensified this anxiety and desire.

We have no data to question either the sincerity of this "anxiety" or the earnestness of this "desire." But it is not only British nature but also human nature in general that such anxiety is relieved and such desire ceases to be felt when the occasion for them ceases to exist. So, it is no injustice to the British nation to observe that we do not expect any good result to be produced by the present attitude of some British journalists and individuals, particularly as the British persons in authority do not appear to share that mentality in the least. When Britain comes out victorious at the end of the war, as we hope and trust she will, she will manage to forget India's aspiration.

The general belief among "pro-Indian" Britishers has been and is that if the Secretary of State for India or the Governor-General of India or both, or the British Premier definitely promises India Dominion Status at the end of the war within a short definite period, the "deadlock" will end. This idea is wrong. We know that no pledge of any British ruling person, no pledge of even the British Sovereign, is necessarily binding on the British Parliament, which is the final authority. Moreover, many such pledges and promises have been broken. We do not bank on pledges. A Parliamentary statute promising Dominion Status at the end of the war would be better, but that also can be repealed or amended. So India cannot bank on it either.

Dominion Status of the Westminister Statute variety meant something substantial before the war; it still does so to some extent. If Britain had made a *timely* declaration of a promise of Dominion Status, it might have produced some good effect. But "Too Late" is written on many a British promise or even so-called "boon" to India. Promise of Dominion Status at the end of the war, will not do the trick now. If not any promise, however definite and dated, but actual Dominion Status were conferred on India right away now, that would have some effect. Something like it, but falling short of it, was proposed by the Congress by its Poona resolution. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Non-party Leaders' Conference also asked for something similar. But the British Government loftily turned a deaf ear.

Nobody knows what the world situation will be at the end of the war. Nobody knows what the British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations will be like at its conclusion. Nobody knows how it will end. Most probably the Allies will win. It may be that when the war is over, Britain will succeed in hoodwinking both America and Russia into the wrong belief that she has given India self-rule. But the chances are that she will not succeed. There will be a demand for a federation of free states. India will agree to be a member of that federation as an independent State with equal status. Perhaps the present British Dominions will also become members of such a federation with status equal to that of Britain—their status now is not exactly equal to that of Britain.

It is a British delusion, if there be really such a delusion, that the Muslim League is as powerful as the Congress—that it can deliver the goods better than or even as well as the Congress. Taking all the provinces of India together, if there were general elections in the country now, the Congress will capture the majority of the seats. In Bengal, perhaps, the Hindu Mahasahba will capture some of the seats at present held by Congressmen. But, on the whole, if the British Government wants to end the deadlock, it must treat with the Congress.

Madras Session of National Liberal Federation of India

At the Madras session of the National Liberal Federation of India, which commenced on the 26th December last, the president Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, an ex-Minister of Bengal, expounded the philosophy of Liberalism, and, freed from the trammels of office, denounced the Pakistan fantasy, severely criticized provincial autonomy, dwelt on the bane of the Communal Decision, criticized the Government of India Act of 1935, pleaded for unity on the basis of constructive nationalism, considered the Atlantic Charter disappointing, and concluded by observing:

"In the sphere of politics the transfer of power to Indians is necessary; in the field of economics, primary efforts should be made for the augmentation of national wealth with equitable distribution amongst all who make dynamic efforts at production; in social matters, we should rise from the slough of listlessness and make our society more vigorous and responsive. I feel that the time is high for an active rally around the flag of constructive nationalism for the attainment of our objectives.

Report of National Council of Women in India

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a copy of the seventh biennial report (for 1938-1940) of the National Council of Women in India. It gives much useful information relating to the constitution, personnel and activities of the Council. There is a detailed report of the seventh biennial conference of the National Council of Women in India held in New Delhi from the 27th of November to the 2nd December, 1940. This is followed by the resolutions passed at the conference. These dealt with various topics, such as village welfare, legislation, social questions and protective agencies, labour, health and child welfare. The Report also contains the welcome address of Mrs. Sultan Singh, chairman of the reception committee, H. E. the Marchioness of Linlithgow's speech at the opening of the session and the presidential address of H. H. the Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi of Travancore, as also Sir Maurice Gwyer's address. The Hon. General Secretary's report and Hon. Organizing Secretary's report follow these speeches. The reports of the following Branch Councils and Affiliated Societies are included in the volume.

Bengal Presidency Council of Women, Bihar Council of Women, Orissa Women's League of Service, U. P. Council of Women, Delhi Provincial Council of Women, Bombay Presidency Women's Council, C. P. Council of Women, Sindh Council of Women, Barwani State Women's Council, All-India Girl Guides Association, National Young Women's Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon, Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in India, and Trained Nurses Association of India.

There are also accounts of the work done by the Standing Sectional Commitee on Child Welfare, Standing Sectional Committee on Legislation, Standing Sectional Committee on Labour, Standing Sectional Committee on Press, and Standing Sectional Committee on Village Welfare.

The National Council of Women in India and its Branches and Associated Bodies have done much good work for which they deserve praise. The field is vast, and it is to be hoped the Council will have an ever increasing number of active members so that with specialization and concentration all the various problems facing not only the women of India but the male population also may be adequately tackled

Sixteenth Session of All-India Women's Conference

The presidential address delivered by Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit at the 16th session of the All-India Women's Conference held at Coconada, is brief but workmanlike. Though we have our own sorrows, sufferings, grievances and disabilities, womanlike she extends sympathy to the war-affected countries.

The war rages unabated and draws nearer to our country. Suffering and sorrow go through the world hand in hand leaving desolation in countless homes in many countries. Let us spare a moment to send a word of sympathy and greetings to all those people whose countries are today involved in war.

The address sounds a clear anti-war note—not in particular against the world war that is now raging, but war in itself, as a few sentences extracted below will show.

"For several years now our Conference has passed resolutions expressing its opinion against war as a method of solving international problems. At each session we have spoken in eloquent terms of the necessity for a united front by the women of India in condemning the forces of aggression."

"Wars do not come upon one unawares. They are the inevitable consequence of certain policies. A war is the result of certain economic and other causes. So long as governments persist in such policies so long will wars, with all the tragedy they involve, recur from time to time.

"In the West our sisters are thinking deeply over these problems. Progressive organisations are trying to find a better way of adjusting human and national relations in the post-war world. The great forces arising in the world today will ultimately help to shape the new world which will come into being after the war. It is in planning for a new world order that women should take their share, and for this it is necessary to know how we shall approach the problem. Unless we

can define our attitude today it will not be possible to share in the task of building up to-morrow."

"As women we have a special responsibility cast on us. We must decide whether we shall ally ourselves to the forces of life, or those of death. Are we going to join the group that by their acquiescence make wars possible? Shall we bear sons only that they may murder other women's sons and help to maintain a system which stands self-condemned? Or shall we raise our united voice in favour of a brave new world where human life and human liberty receive the respect which is their due, where progress and security are within the grasp of each individual? The choice is before us. The future, not for women only but for humanity as well, is what the women of today make of it. Let us not treat this matter lightly."

As regards the programme of work before the members of the Conference, she pleaded for co-ordination with similar organisations in order to prevent overlapping in the work that is done and avoid "quite unnecessary opposition and jealousy." She is in favour of concentration of attention on one or two problems each year instead of passing a large number of resolutions on a variety of subjects. She suggests concentration of attention on the removal of illiteracy at least for one year. She has mentioned village work, too.

The Price of Cloth

Immediately after the declaration of the present war the price of a candy of cotton weighing 784 lbs. was Rs. 300/-. A pair of 'dhotis' of good quality sold then at Rs. 2/-. At the moment of writing, *i.e.*, on the 25th December, 1941, the corresponding price of cotton is Rs. 230-8-0 while that of a pair of 'dhotis' of the same quality is Rs. 4/-. This strange disparity between the prices of the raw material and the manufactured article proves beyond doubt that the mill-owners for whose benefit the country through its representatives in the legislature has imposed upon itself a self-denying ordinance in the shape of a high tariff wall are making huge profits while the distress of poor and middle class people for want of clothing beggars description. The Honourable Sir A. P. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, Government of India, sometime ago spoke in a humorous vein of the necessity of a standard cloth (too coarse by the way for ordinary use) at a fixed price. Nothing tangible has been done in the matter yet. The problem is serious and affects millions. Can not the Government of India, by legislation if necessary, compel the mills to sell all their goods at a reasonable profit in these abnormal times? The impression will otherwise gain ground that the Government gets a share of the inequitable profits, not to say plunder, through the Excess Profits Tax and remains a silent spectator of the sufferings of the masses.—Siddheswar Chattopādhyāya.

Deliberations of the Congress Working Committee

We had a desire to place before our readers the resolution or resolutions of the Congress Working Committee at its sittings at Bardoli, with comments, if necessary. But as the morning papers of the 29th December, 1941, state that the Committee's deliberations have not yet concluded, we are unable to do so.

New Collection of Rabindranath's English Poems

Besides the poetical and prose writings of Rabindranath Tagore in English published during his life time in book form there are many poems and prose articles, discourses and letters of his in English which have not yet been collected and published in the form of books. Visva-bharati, we are glad to be able to state, has undertaken their collection and publication. Most of them lie scattered in the back issues of *The Modern Review*, the *Visva-bharati Quarterly*, and *Visva-bharati News*. Some of them have never before appeared in print. The first collection to be published will be that of his poems. These are almost all translations from his Bengali poems done by the Poet himself, a few being by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, revised and approved by the Poet. This volume will appear this month.

Fresh Volumes of Rabindranath's Collected Bengali Writings

The ninth volume of Rabindranath Tagore's collected Bengali writings has just been published. Visva-bharati began their publication during the Poet-seer's lifetime. It was estimated that they would fill 25 volumes. But it is probable that the estimate will be exceeded, because among other reasons the Poet wrote much in prose and verse after the estimate was made.

This ninth volume contains *Sisu* (poem), *Prāyaschitta* (play), *Yogāyog* (novel), *Adhunik Sāhitya* (essays), besides an Appendix containing an article on Memorial Meetings held after the death of celebrities and another on the Worship of the Formless Deity. There are also introductory notes on the writings published in this volume and an alphabetical index.

There are four illustrations. Rabindranath's eldest child and daughter Srimati Mādhurīlatā Devī was noted for her majestic beauty and mental gifts, of which one can get some idea from two of the illustrations. His youngest son

Samindranath was a very handsome and intelligent boy. He appears in two of the illustrations. There is a group photograph of the male members of the Jorasanko Tagore Family taken 37 years ago, after the ādyasrāddha ceremony of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore.

Rabindranath objected to the re-publication of his juvenile writings on the ground of their immaturity and poor quality (of course, in his opinion). But those who revere him and love his productions did not agree and urged him to agree to their re-publication on various grounds. He reluctantly yielded to their importunities and agreed to the republication of these writings in a separate series. Accordingly they are published as *Achalit Sangraha*. The second volume of this series has just appeared. It is a bulky volume of 722 pages royal octavo (a page measures 10 inches by 6½ inches). The contents are too numerous to mention here. In the publisher's foreword is given the letter which Rabindranath wrote to him after the publication of the first volume of *Achalit Sangraha*. The four illustrations represent Rabindranath in different periods of his life.

William Adam's Reports, 1835 & 1838

William Adam's "*Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (*1835* and *1838*), including some acount of the state of education in Bihar and a consideration of the means adapted to the improvement and extension of public instruction in both provinces" are the only sources of authentic information relating to the state of education in Bengal and Bihar in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, and have, therefore, great historical value. But these "Reports" are very difficult to procure. Therefore, by their republication the Calcutta University has rendered a public service. They have been ably edited by Professor Anathnath Basu, M.A. (London), who is in charge of the Teachers' Training department of the Calcutta University. He has enriched the volume with an Introduction of 67 pages. The volume also contains the Rev. J. Long's *Brief Review of the Past and Present State of Vernacular Education* in Bengal.

The two Tables in Appendix B are very interesting. Table I shows the number of indigenous elementary schools during the period under report in the Natore sub-division alone of district Rajshahi. How many schools are there now?

Why Sarat Chandra Bose Was Removed From Bengal

There has been some speculation as to the reasons for removing Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose from Bengal. One obvious reason is to make it more difficult for his relatives to see him than if he were kept in Bengal. But other reasons are not unthinkable. Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal's Chief Minister, and some other Bengal Ministers have promised to do their best to secure his early release. The removal of Sjt. Bose to a province entirely outside their jurisdiction places extra obstacles in the way of their efforts to release him. They cannot now even see him easily to learn from him what he may have to say in defence of himself against any definite allegations against him which may come to the knowledge of Mr. Huq or any of his colleagues. There may be another reason. If Sjt. Bose had been kept in the Presidency or any other Bengal jail, the Government of India could not with any decency have prevented the Bengal Ministry having any interviews with him. The conversasions in the course of these interviews could and most probably would have influenced the Ministry. That was not desirable from the Government point of view.

If this surmised reason be correct, it is an indirect compliment to Sjt. Bose's intelligence and ability as a political leader.

Churchill's and Wavell's Flight to America and China: Nobody's Flight to India

Prime Minister Churchill of Great Britain flew across the Atlantic for the second time to obtain advice and other help from President Roosevelt in the allied offensive-defensive operations against the Axis Powers, including Japan now. For a similar purpose, Commander-in-Chief Wavell of India flew to China to confer directly with Field Marshal Chiang Kaishek.

The object of both flights was to obtain the fullest moral and material support for Britain.

Is the fullest *moral* and material support of India not wanted? No British authority in London need have undertaken a flight to India to secure it. Even a flight of imagination is not necessary to ascertain and understand how India's fullest support can be had. The British authority in New Delhi can learn all about it from India's greatest political leaders—if he does not already know it, without leaving his palace for an actual flight or without any imaginative flight either.

The reason why India's free and full moral and material support is unwanted and despised is that India is not free but in bondage.

Official Admission that Burma is Part of India

The message of the Associated Press of India announcing that General Sir Archibald

Wavell, Commander-in-Chief of India has assumed the responsibility for the defence of Burma, contains the following sentence :

General Wavell's assumption of the Burma Command emphasises the importance of Burma to the defence of India, of which it is really an essential part, said a Military Commentator speaking at General Wavell's headquarters soon after the announcement was made today.

Burma was formally separated from India purely in British interests. Burmans have nothing substantial to gain by it. Burma cannot stand alone. Those Burmans who welcomed separation should now reflect on the situation.

Indian Historians' History of India

BENARES, Dec. 22.

The following statement has been issued by Shri Jaychandra Vidyalankar, Secretary of the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad (Anjuman-i-Tarikh-i-Hind) :

The arrangements made by the Parishad for the writing of a comprehensive History of India in 20 volumes by Indian scholars were announced in a prospectus published in January last. An Editorial Board consisting of seven prominent scholars was set up for planning and guiding the whole work The Editorial Board and the Council of the Parishad met in Calcutta in April last and considered distribution of various volumes amongst scholars specially qualified to take them up. Negotiations were started soon after and agreements entered into with a number of scholars. We are now in a position to announce that the following seven volumes have been definitely taken up by the scholars mentioned against them :

Vol. I—The Land, the People and Pre-History.—Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Dikshit, Director-General of Archæology in India, New Delhi.

Vol. II—Aryan Settlements and the Vedic Age.—Shri Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Allahabad.

Vol. IV—Nanda and Maurya Empires—Prof K. A. Nilakantha Sastri Madras and Dr. Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri, Calcutta.

Vol. V—Sungas, Satavahans and Sakas—Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta, and Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Madras

Vol. VI—The Age of Vakatakas and Guptas.—Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Dacca, and Dr. Anant Sadashiv Altekar, Benares.

Vol. XII—The Age of Akbar.—Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Vol. XV—Later Mughals and Early Peshwas.—Rao Bahadur Govind Sakharam Sardesai and Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

The editors of volumes, in their turn, have in many cases already worked out with the help of the Editorial Board, distribution-schemes of their particular volumes, allotting different chapters to authors specially qualified to contribute them. In the case of two volumes the actual writing work has progressed a good deal. The work on others is in various stages of progress. Negotiations are proceeding for appointment of editors of some other volumes too. We are trying our best to bring out two volumes during the year 1942.

All-India Students' Conference

PATNA, Dec. 27.

A clarion call to take a deep interest in students' union and social problems and organise a trained and disciplined volunteer organisation was made by Mr. Yusuf Meherally in course of his presidential address to the seventh session of the All-India Students' Conference (Shah group).—*A. P.*

No Enquiry Into Lathi Charge on Gauhati Students

A communique states that the Governor of Assam is satisfied that no useful purpose can be served by any inquiry into the *lathi* charge by the police on Student processionists at Gauhati. This *lathi* charge has caused bitterness throughout the country. Public opinion is that it was entirely unjustified. In the circumstances the Assam Governor's opinion cannot but cause fresh resentment.

Suspension of Constitution in Assam

The motion of no-confidence on the Saadulla Ministry in Assam was tabled before that Ministry decided to resign. The passing of the motion and the resignation of the Ministry were practically simultaneous—if we are not mistaken, the motion was passed first.

The Governor of Assam has suspended the constitution and assumed all powers of government himself. He was not legally right in doing so, as Sjt. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, ex-Education Minister; has shown that he was able to form a stable ministry. He told the Governor that in a House of 107 members he could count upon the solid support of as many as 59 members and that he was prepared to face the Assembly just on the formation of the ministry by him. As regards the war effort, he told the Governor that the Congress party would lend its support to such measures as would be connected with the defence of the civil population, the maintenance of internal peace and order, and the like. Only on rare occasions in which the Assembly might be called upon to vote certain war measures other than those described above, the Congress Party would probably sit neutral, in which case he would carry the Assembly with him with the support of his own Party and that of the Europeans.

In the circumstances it was the clear constitutional duty of the Governor to invite Mr. Chaudhuri to form a ministry.

Mr. Churchill As Champion of Democracy !

In the course of his recent speech to the Senate of the United States of America Mr. Churchill is reported to have said :

"I was brought up in my father's house," "to believe in democracy. 'Trust the people,' was his message. Therefore, I have been in harmony all my life with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly and I have

steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of *Government of the people, by the people and for the people.*"

The democracy which Mr. Churchill believes in is white democracy. The objector may say that if Mr. Churchill were subjected to cross-examination, he would have to admit, because of the Far Eastern situation, that he believed in Yellow democracy also. To deprecate Chinese democracy would alienate the Chinese people, whose friendly assistance Great Britain now stands in sore need of. But under no circumstances can Mr. Churchill be convicted of faith in Indian democracy or the democracy of any people who are held in bondage by Britain.

When he said, "I have been in harmony all my life with the tides *which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic* against privilege and monopoly," he was literally truthful. The tides which flow on three sides of India are not Atlantic tides, and, therefore, Mr. Churchill can support white privilege and monopoly in India whilst opposing privilege and monopoly on both sides of the Atlantic.

Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg ideal of "Government of the people, by the people and for the people" was meant to be applicable to all peoples of the world, whatever their race, complexion and country. But Mr. Churchill does not believe in the government of the Indian people, by the Indian people and for the Indian people. Therefore, in quoting Abraham Lincoln he was guilty of blasphemy.

All-India Conference of University Teachers of English

Our first care should, of course, be our own mother-tongue and its literature. Sanskrit, and also Pali, and their literature, as enshrining the ancient cultural and spiritual wealth of India, should also be studied. Unless we are rooted in our past we wither or remain stunted. But for contacts of all sorts with the world outside India, as well as for interprovincial intercourse of all kinds in it we should know English, which is the most widely spoken and by the largest number of men among Western languages.. Even if India's present and past political connection with Britain did not make it necessary for us to know English, we should still have derived advantage from a knowledge of the English language and its great literature—a literature created by and for free men. China and Japan are independent countries, they are not subject to Britain or the U. S. A. Yet in their schools, English is taught as a second language.

For all the reasons briefly indicated above. it is necessary for us and our children to learn and teach English. Whatever is worth doing is worth doing well. The All-India Conference of University Teachers of English, which held its first session at Lucknow and its second at Lahore a few days ago has, therefore our hearty support. The second session was presided over by Professor Nirmal Kumar Siddhānta of Lucknow University. He delivered an able speech, of which the first paragraph shows in part the importance of English :

> The University student in this country cannot do without proficiency in at least one Western language which, for various reasons, has got to be English. Even if we refuse to think of its importance as the language of the state, of official intercourse and of communication between people of different provinces, we have to think of the position of English language in the world today. It is spoken by over 200 million people, the only language outstripping it in numbers being Chinese. Among the western languages (if we take the figures of a few years back) its possible rivals are German spoken by 87 millions, Spanish by 65 and French by 45. In the last 150 years the number of people speaking German has been trebled, those speaking Spanish and French doubled, but the number speaking English has increased ten-fold.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions which are of special interest to teachers. An interesting discussion took place in the course of which Prof. Ajwani of Karachi struck a somewhat unfamiliar, though not entirely new note when he "pleaded that American writers should be given more prominence in India." Rabindranath Tagore in his Foreword to Dr. J. T. Sunderland's *Emerson and His Frieds* wrote more than a year ago :

> "Our Universities in pursuing the study of English literature often fail to realize that the great continent of America has produced its own literature in English, and that acquaintance with American thought is necessary for our mental equipment."

One of the reasons why English literature produced in America is so poorly, if at all, represented in the courses of studies in English in Indian Universities, is that the Professors who are members of the Boards of Studies in English themselves have very inadequate acquaintance with it. *How can they be expected to prescribe books which they are themselves incompetent to lecture upon, not having studied them?*

At the conclusion of the Conference Professor Diwan Chand Sharma, General Secretary of its reception committee, while thanking all concerned, laid special stress on the value of the new social contacts they had made and the old ones they had renewed.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee Warmly Welcomed At Howrah Station

We are glad to learn that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has returned to Calcutta. He re-

ceived a warm welcome at Howrah station. He has richly deserved it.

Dr. Kalidas Nag Allowed to Return Home

We are glad to note that Dr. Kalidas Nag was allowed to return home in the evening of the 29th December last. His detention was a silly move on the part of whomsoever might have been responsible for it. (Dec. 30, 1941.)

Mr. Devapriya Valisinha Released But Served With Notice

Mr. Devapriya Valisinha, General Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society, who was taken into custody following the declaration of war by Japanese on Britain, was released on Monday. (Dec. 29, 1931).

Immediately after release, Mr. Valisinha was served with a notice by the Deputy Commissioner, Security Control, under the Defence of India Rules, imposing certain restrictions on his movements as also directing him to abstain from making "pro-Japanese propaganda of any character."

Mr. Valisinha, who has been ill since his arrest, was removed to hospital on his release today.—*A. P.*

But the previous question is, did he ever make any pro-Japanese propaganda *of a political character?* It is not known that he ever did.

Japanese Bomb "Open" City of Manila

Though the Philippine Government declared Manila an "open" city, the Japanese have been wickedly and barbarously bombing it and doing great havoc. They refused to recognise it as an "open" town and declared that they would cease to bomb it if the Philippine army stopped all resistance and co-operated with the Japanese army, which means that the Philippines must not only surrender but must in addition help Japan in her war with the United States of America and Briain! No wonder Manila citizens laughed at this Japanese declaration.

Passing Away of Amrita Sher-Gil

The untimely death of Shrimati Amrita Sher-Gil of Lahore will be widely regretted. An exhibition of her paintings, some of which were reproduced in *The Modern Review* some years ago, was held at Lahore after her death. It was opened by Mr. Justice Dalip Singh, who paid a fitting tribute to her memory.

Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar Felicitated

The invaluable contributions of Sir Nilratan Sircar to the cause of the country in general and to the spread of medical education in particular were referred to when on the occasion of his 80th birth-day felicitations were offered to him on behalf of the Carmichael Medical College Silver Jubilee Reception Committee on the 17th December.

In the course of his reply Sir Nilratan said:

Under Heaven's guidance, I believe this institution has a bright future before it and it will be able to fulfil its mission and prove itself worthy of the needs of my mother country."

Education in India, 1939-40

NEW DELHI, Dec. 11.

Altogether 1,130,062 boys and 257,027 girls reached the literacy stage during 1939-40, according to the survey of the progress of education in British India. This marked an increase over the previous year by 12,842 boys and 18,469 girls.

The number of primary school for boys in 1939-40 was 161,810 as compared with 159,281 in 1938-39, showing an increase of 2,529. The number of primary schools for girls, however, decreased by 541. Enrolment of boys and girls during the year under review advanced by 353,262 and 222,065 respectively.

The year also witnessed an increase of 1,527 special schools for boys and of 201 for girls. The number of boys under instruction in these schools rose by 45,429 and of girls by 5,818.

There was an increase of 287 in the number of middle schools for boys (both English and vernacular) and of 75 in the number of such schools for girls. The enrolment of boys in these schools advanced by 51,937 to 1,176,928 and of girls by 21,598 to 226,385.

HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

The number of high schools for boys increased from 3,129 in 1938-39 to 3,246 in 1939-40, showing an increase of 117. In the case of girls' schools the increase was 48, from 417 in the previous year to 465 in the year under review. The total number of boys reading in high schools rose by 64,228 to 1,108,509 and of girls by 16,410 to 147,379

The total number of arts colleges in the whole of British India, both for men and women, rose from 289 in the previous year to 304 in 1939-40. The number of men under instruction rose from 100,770 to 109,921, showing an increase of 9,151. In the case of women, scholars in arts colleges in the previous year numbered 7,976 and in 1939-40 they were 9,615, showing an increase of 1,639.

The number of professional colleges increased by two, from 79 in 1938-39 to 81 in 1939-40. The total number of men under instruction also went up by 1,593 and of women by 92.

The total educational expenditure in 1939-40 was Rs. 29,08,76,000 as compared with Rs. 27,81,99,000 during the previous year. The share of public funds in the increased expenditure was to the extent of Rs 79,17,000, of fees Rs. 46,35,000 and of other sources, which include private benefactions, Rs. 1,25,000.

Sir Akbar Hydari's Tribute to Rabindranath Tagore

The loss of Rabindranath Tagore has left India, nay the whole world, poorer, observed Sir Akbar Hydari, Member for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, while presiding over the annual general meeting of the Viswa-Bharati at Santiniketan on the 21st December last. The meeting was held in the mango grove.

After recital of a vedic hymn and confirmation of "ideals," Sir Akbar, addressing the Viswa-Bharati members, said:

"A heavy responsibility was laid upon me quite unexpectedly when I was invited to act as chairman here where you had been accustomed to be addressed by that great soul who has left India, nay the whole world, poorer. I had the privilege of knowing Gurudeva many years ago when I was on the first rung of the official ladder. One of my deepest and sweetest memories is of the warm hospitality given by Gurudeva when I visited him together with my wife. I regard this a peculiar privilege to have come and visited this institution. I do hope that its achievements in spiritual and artistic spheres will duly obtain the widest recognition. I feel like one who owes a great deal to Gurudeva, a debt of gratitude which I can never repay. I pray that you may continue Gurudeva's great work and help this institution to make its mark so that India may again take its rightful place in the community of nations."

SERENE ATMOSPHERE

Prior to his departure for Delhi in the evening Sir Akbar Hydari interviewed by the *Associated Press* representative said: "What impressed me most during the visit here was the atmosphere of inaffable peace, so serene, so philosophic, at the same time so artistic. The institution has reached the highest phase of Indian art not merely in external paraphernalia but also in the manner of living and ways of thought."

THE ESSENTIAL MAN

"As time goes on" Sir Akbar added, "I am quite sure that Dr. Tagore's contribution towards making India great in the eyes of the whole world will be better realized and more fully understood. His personality, as expressed through the ideals and achievements of the institution he had created and fostered, shows, as nothing else can, the essential man, the great lover of humanity and culture.

He concluded: "I do hope that the institution will be helped in every way to develop on lines visualized for it by its great founder. As one, who revered him, I did my little best when I obtained a grant for the Vidyabhavana from the Nizam's Government.

"Now tha the Poet is no more it should be everybody's endeavour not only to maintain, but also to stabilise and develop this institution which he has bequeathed to the future generation as a precious gift and trust."—*A. P.*

Secretary's Report at Visva-bharati Annual Meeting

SANTINIKETAN, Dec. 21.

Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has been elected President of the Visva-Bharati for three years. This official resolution was adopted *nem con* at the annual Parishad (general meeting of the members of the Visva-Bharati) held this morning at the Mango Grove under the presidentship of Sir Akbar Hydari.

As our readers know, this election has our support.

The secretary's annual report showed progress in all directions. The financial position of the institution is, however, not satisfactory. The report states:

It is very consoling to feel not only that people all over the world have shared our loss, but that there is also a widespread desire to come to the help of the Visva-Bharati. We are certain the Sadasyas will agree that the most suitable memorial to the Pratisthata-Acharya would be to strengthen the basis and ensure the permanence of this Institution, a work which, in his own opinion, was the Pratisthata-Acharya's greatest contribution to the cause of the motherland. Those who are trying to devise ways and means of perpetuating his memory should realise that as our finances stand today we have every year to meet on an average, a deficit of over Rs. 30,000 in our ordinary budget. To wipe out this deficit once for all by the creation of a suitable endowment as well as to provide funds for further developments, on lines consonant with the aim and purpose of the Institution, would be a great work and we commend it to the serious attention of the friends and well-wishers of the Visva-Bharati.

A Rabindranath Chair of Bengali Literature has been founded, and other arrangements made for perpetuating his work and memory.

As regards ourselves, we have already made arrangements for endowing a Rabindranath Chair of Bengali Literature at Santiniketan to mark the last birthday anniversary of the Pratisthata-Acharya. The Samsad earmarked a sum of Rs. 10,000 for the proposed endowment and an appointment is shortly to be made. Proposals have also been mooted for the mechanical recording of the songs of the Pratisthata-Acharya in their authentic tunes and for setting up a Rabindra Museum at Uttarayana for housing, amongst other things, manuscripts, photographs, newspaper-cuttings, books, magazines, letters and such other materials for future study of the life and work of the Pratisthata-Acharya.

Chinese gifts to Visva-bharati even in the midst of a devastating war in China, as detailed below, cannot but evoke warm appreciation:

In my report last year I stated that we had the privilege of a visit by His Excellency Tai Chi-Tao. Before leaving for China His Excellency gave a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Visva-Bharati out of which he desired Rs. 1,000 to be spent towards amelioration of the distress of the famine-stricken people of Birbhum, Rs. 3,000 for repairs to the marble seat of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore at the Chhatimtala at Santiniketan and the remaining sum of Rs. 6,000 for the extension of the Cheena-Bhavana Hall and premises. His Excellency's gift was followed by further donation of £1,000 (equivalent to Rs. 13,333) from the National Government of China and of Rs. 9,000 from Mr. Chen Yen Chen of Singapore, both for the purpose of extension of the Chinese Hall.

On behalf of Visva-bharati, the Secretary offered heartfelt thanks to Mr. Leonard K. Elmhirst and his noble wife for continuing their grant in spite of terrible financial strain due to the war. They have been the greatest helpers and benefactors to the Institution. Not only Visva-bharati but the whole country should be grateful to them.

What a pitiful and shameful contrast to the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst does the melancholy meanness of the erstwhile Bengal Ministry present, as indicated below!

The financial year 1940-41 closed with a deficit of Rs. 15,650.

It is a matter of regret that on my applying for the renewal of the educational grant for the year 1941-42, I have again been given the usual reply in the negative by the Government of Bengal. I do hope, however, that at the hands of the new Ministry which promises to usher a new era in Bengal, the activities of the Visva-Bharati will receive greater recognition and an annual recurring grant will be only vouchsafed to us.

C. F. Andrews Memorial Hospital

We are glad to learn that the sponsors of the C. F. Andrews Memorial Fund have agreed to the expenditure of Rs. 18,000 for the construction of a hospital, to be named after Dinabandhu Andrews, out of the money so far contributed to the fund. The hospital will give much relief to poor people. So will "Dinabandhu Wells" when excavated.

"The British Need This Ally (India)......"

The New Statesman holds that Britain requires to have India as an ally as certainly as she needs Russia as an ally.

London, Nov. 3.

The *New Statesman*, in an article headed "War Nears India," discusses the Indian political situation in relation to the war. After remarking that the demand of the Burmese Premier U Saw for a plain undertaking that Burma shall become a Dominion immediately after the war, should startle nobody, the *New Statesman* says, "if the Government temporises (as it probably will) or refuses, U Saw suggests the consequences may be unpleasant and even dangerous. "Japan," as he put it, "is very clever."

An Adroit Way

This, says the *New Statesman* is an adroit way of recalling to mind that the Japanese have used the Buddhist faith to establish fraternal ties with the Burmese "who might, if we follow U Saw's train of thought, be as happy in Japanese "co-prosperity" system as in the British Empire unless indeed we choose to make them equal partners with the full status of a dominion. This sharp reminder of some possibilities, latent in the new situation in Asia, may be salutary if it leads our Government to review our political as well as our military defences."

War Nears India

Pointing out that battle is approaching India as well as Burma the *New Statesman* adds if the Russians should have to yield much more ground near the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, India's mood might weigh in the final issue as heavily as many armoured divisions. Reiterating the plea for a reconciliation and that Britain should come to an understanding in India, the paper says, it is dangerous as well as unworthy to delay.

"The war has swung eastwards and this Empire is no longer the only great power involved on our side. We gather that a feeling is growing in the younger generation, which is not pacifist in Gandhi's sense, and also on the left that it is intolerable that their great nation, as the hour of her destiny approaches, should remain a passive spectator of a struggle in which her future is involved as directly as our own.

A conference of Indians living in England, many of them young men and most of them adherents of the Congress, met recently in London and proposed that India should in every way actively support the war effort if it can be done with self-respect. They believed it is hard for us to judge that a parallel movement on the same lines is gaining ground in India and even within the Congress. If that is so there is hope; if we are worthy of the leadership we claim, we shall welcome it and come to terms with it. Of course there must be complete and generous amnesty.

Defeat of Nazis

But if India is ready to fight not for us and not for King-Emperor but for herself and the defeat of Nazi racialism, she will do it gladly and proudly only under a National Government of her own. We do not suggest and never have suggested formal constitutional change in wartime. Things can be done by turning the Viceroy's Council in effect into a National Cabinet.

Only one further step would be required to undertake that this National Government shall prepare and carry through the process of self-determination after the war in negotiation with this country which pledges itself to respect India's decision, whatever it may be. On those terms alone, can we hope for the full co-operation of India in the war that will decide her future together with our own. The British need this ally as certainly as they need Russia.—*Reuter.*

Rabindranath Tagore's School Text-books

The Publication Board of Visva-bharati has included Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali, English and Sanskrit text-books for school children in the second volume of *Achalit Sangraha*. We do not think this is quite appropriate. The secretary to the Board himself says in his foreword that they cannot be called *achalit* or 'non-current' as most of them are still used or are fit to be used in schools. As they cover 448 pages of the volume, they could very well claim separate publication.

"The Statesman" Proposes A Composite Government

Calcutta, Dec. 25.

The urgency for an immediate settlement of Indian affairs is stressed by the *Statesman* in a leader today.

The paper thus suggests: "If we can get a Government which contains Mr. Jinnah and his friends and the Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachariar and Mr. Savarkar, and if the British Government will say that in the event of such a Government being formed the Viceroy will be given the same rank in India as Mr. Oliver Lyttleton in Cairo and Mr. Duff Cooper in Singapore, will in fact be a Resident Cabinet Minister himself and not be controlled by the Secretary of State, then the object will be achieved. For the legislature will do whatever such a Government asks it to do, and although within the four corners of the Indian constitution the Government is not responsible to legislature, exactly as much or as little responsibility to it will be attained as exists in England today, or in any other country at war."—*A. P.*

THE SUPREME MESSAGE OF HUMANITY UTTERED IN INDIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

IN man's history, different races reveal gradations in realisation. European countries, from the outset, have sought fulfilment outside, and, with greed at the helm, set forth to amass wealth by plundering other peoples, especially in Asia and Africa. Science, the helpmate of true self-realisation, has been dragged from pure pursuit of knowledge and turned into an instrument for spreading worldwide disaster. Where this process of devastation will end, I do not know. On the other hand, some races have, with comparative ease, followed their own peaceful intent and saved their soul from violent turmoil. They have not striven to prove man's glory by contention and fight, they have considered warfare as barbaric. China is the great example. For many centuries she has enriched her mind by creating literature, incomparable art and deep philosophical thought. The conduct of her peoples has revealed their inward nature, and that has also been the secret of their supremacy. Today that great civilisation is in grievous clash with greed using scientific weapons.

I believe that when this conflict will be ended, China will once more establish the eternal ancient peace on earth. Those who have concentrated on greed, even if they are victorious, will perish in self-defeat. Greed's finality is *Mahati binashtih*—the Great Destruction. Mutual suspicion and rapacity being savagely primitive, stupefy the mind; even when hurt, such habits are not easily cured. This cruel lesson of history we must learn, both individually and as a nation, and meditate thereupon. For Western contagion is spreading fast among our people in India, defeating our spiritual heroism. From our sages we got the supreme *mantra*, "Shāntam, Shivam, Advaitam"—these three aspects of truth are held together. Peace, Beneficence, and Unity among all mankind; the significance of this message reveals man's Religion. The imperatives of Peace we must express without fear or hesitation. Unite we must, in mutual love, in beneficent conduct. Fervently I hope that this message, given from the depth of our ancestors' heart, will remain as text for our contemplation and be the messenger of peace in humanity.

The civilisation which gives permanence to things external in place of spiritual truth injures others by its greedy accumulations, and that injury recoils upon itself. Where is the finality of such assault and reprisal? Even if one such civilisation turns out victorious over its rivals, it must still further entrench its stronghold of greed; if it is defeated, it must pursue aggressive passion with greater intensity. Such civilisations cannot be called civilised, for civilisation is the wealth of all mankind. In this War, the leaders of one side at least profess that they are fighting on behalf of mankind. But the characteristic feature of greed is that it does not recognise as human beings those who are outside its narrow boundaries. For to those who cannot accept spiritual truth as the objective, the sense of human relationship is obscured by callosity. Unity with mankind, that is to say, *maitri*—universal sympathy and fellowship with others, fails to arouse their enthusiasm. We must remember that India, devoted to Lord Buddha, once sent its emissaries to far-away lands; they braved mortal dangers in the mission of good-will; they did not set out to plunder other people's wealth.

According to Western literary code, epics are based on war. In *Mahābhārata* also the greater part of the story is occupied with description of war, but its finality is not in war. It does not portray vindictive hilarity on the part of the Pāndavas at the recovery of lost property from seas of blood. On the contrary, we see the victorious Pāndavas leave their conquered wealth to the cremation-fire of the Kurukshetra battlefield and take to the road of renunciation; they enter the realm of Peace. That is the supreme message of *Mahābhārata*. And this message is for all men of all ages. Selfish enjoyment has to be purified by renunciation. True civilisation offers invitation to all in its rejoicing, barbarism prides itself on exclusiveness. But greed is blind, and today it over-rides the greater part of humanity. Through the difficult process of self-realisation man must find his way to civilisation and, attaining dignity of truth, spread humanity in this world.

The Age is inclement, savagery waves its banner and stampedes on the sanguinary fields of death. But let us not mistake the convulsions of hysteria as symptom of power. For long, mankind has accepted greed's accumulations as wealth and lost itself in the mirage of possessiveness. To preserve the store-houses of greed,

world-wide rearmament and warfare have been launched. Those store-houses, however, are being shattered today, crushing humanity under their ruins.

I have no more to say, neither have I the strength to do so. The supreme message of humanity has been uttered in our land and I take leave by repeating this message.

[Santiniketan celebrates its anniversary on the 7th of *Paush* every year. This article was Rabindranath Tagore's last anniversary message, given in December, 1940. Reproduced from *The Modern Review*.]

INDIA'S SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE WAY TO IT

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Nowadays class conflicts in the West are mostly of economic origin. Miners, dock labourers, railway men, now and again, raise disturbances, for which new laws have to be made, or old laws suspended; the militia are sometimes called out, and blood shed. In that part of the world there are two parties concerned in such conflicts—those who create, and those who try to quell, the disturbance; there is no third party with a high sense of humour, to look on and mock at them from outside.

There was also a time in England, whilst its constitution was still in the process of consolidation when conflicts used to occur between Protestants and Roman Catholics, during which fair play was not always in evidence. As a matter of fact the Catholics had for long to submit to all kinds of disabilities. Even today, the people of England, as a whole, have to bear the cost of maintaining a particular religious denomination, which is manifestly unfair to those outside it. But if today these and other inequalities no longer lead in England to chronic breaches of the peace, it is because all sections of its people now enjoy in common a system of government that they can call their own. Had they been ruled by an outsider, all these loose joints in their system would have knocked together, making permanent fractures in it.

In the earlier history of British politics the antagonism between Scotland and England was not a little bitter; for they had real differences in language, temperament, and historical memories. But their reconcilement was brought about, because the system of goverment at which they arrived was subject to their joint control; wherefore their energies were turned towards common defence and welfare. On the other hand, because the people of Ireland had not been conceded equal rights with those of England, such union between England and Ireland was never found possible.

These instances of conflict in the West may partly explain, but can never wholly justify, our own national weaknesses. For it has to be admitted that in our country there is too rigid a line of demarcation between Hindus and Moslems. Where Truth is departed from, there comes in evil and with it punishment. If religion, instead of abiding in the heart, is allowed to put its emphasis on memorised texts and outward observances, it becomes the greatest of all obstacles to peace.

I can only hope that our religions will not for ever continue to lay such stress on external observances. Another hope is that if ever Hindus and Moslems can have a common ideal of national welfare, and that ideal can find concrete shape in some system of common government, then their external differences will become negligible compared with the unification arising out of common endeavour and fellow-feeling.

I once happened to have an Englishman as a fellow passenger in a railway compartment. Talking of the then Behar communal riots, he told me with great gusto the story of a British captain twitting a local zamindar with the words: "You can't even control your own tenants, and yet you people want Home Rule!" I did not hear what the zamindar replied, but could imagine him saying: "No, Sir, we don't want Home Rule while we are so unfit, so worthless. Meanwhile be pleased to do the controlling for us." To my companion I simply said: "These riots have not occurred during Home Rule. The mind of that hapless zamindar must have turned enviously to the troops of which the Captain had command. For one to retain the means, and another to attain the end,—this is an unheard-of division

of labour. Moreover, what of the communal riots under the very shadow of Fort William in Calcutta ? Those surely were as much a matter of shame to the government as to the governed."

Just here is our grievance. We have no responsibility for our own self-defence because our defence has been taken off our hands by an outside power. That is what is emasculating us, making us both weak and resourceless. If the condition to which we have thus been reduced be made the occasion by this same power for sneering at us, we are precluded, it is true, from giving any effective reply, but what we say in our own minds is far from parliamentary. If we had power and responsibility it would have been equally to the interest of Hindus and Moslems to maintain them intact; both parties would have taken good care not to allow license to go unchecked, and India would have made strong the foundation on which she stood.

As matters are, if on the turning of the next page of India's history, the British power were to break, and leave, amidst the ruins of its strong government, millions of weak men and women,—unused to self-reliance, incapable of self-defence, bereft of self-confidence, unfit for self-improvement, while all around them would be newly awakened powers, skilfully organised in accordance with their recently learnt lessons,—then, if for a time these hapless millions are lost in confusion, on whom must be cast the guilt of their sad fate ?

Or if we make the contrary supposition, that while governments all over the world are changing, the steel frame of the British government in India will alone endure for ever, then are we to contemplate with equanimity the prospect of an India eternally disunited, with no tie between its different sections of common endeavour and public service, with all their hopes and aspirations doomed to pettiness, their faculties warped and stunted, their future hopelessly hemmed in by the stone walls of an alien policy ?

Up till now, under British rule, we have had unified government but not unified responsibility,—that is why our union is from the outside. Such union does not bring us near, it merely keeps us side by side, so that the least shock knocks us against one another. It is an inert, material, not a live, functioning union. It is like the proximity of men sleeping on the same floor, not of men awake and marching together along the same road. There is nothing in it for us to glory or rejoice in. We may stoop low to give thanks for it, but cannot be uplifted by it.

Our old society of village communities kept us alive to our public duties. No doubt the public of those days was a limited one, inasmuch as our vision did not extend beyond the bounds of our village. Still, within those bounds, the wealthy acknowledged the responsibility of their riches, the learned of their knowledge; the whole community had a claim on the attainments of each. It is in such expansion of individual achievement that men can take pride and find their joy.

At the present day, all responsibilities of our countrymen have been shifted from within to the outside. The government is the only appraiser of our merits, defender of our persons and property, regulator of our health and well-being, dispenser of reward and of punishment. What is and what is not Hindu, is determined in their courts of law; even our intoxicants are provided for us by them; and if tigers molest our villagers, that gives a good opportunity for sport to the local magistrate and his friends.

As a result, we can no longer bear the burden of our own social regulations. The Brahmin still exacts his fees, but does not advance learning. The landlord extorts his rents, but does not make the prosperity of the tenants his concern. The upper classes insist on being paid due respect by the lower, but do not look after their welfare. Our expenditure on social ceremonies is as heavy as ever, but the vast sums so spent do not circulate within the community. Communal conflict, social ostracism, the sale of religious services,— all these social evils are rampant. The cow we are feeding no longer gives us milk, but viciously turns its crooked horns on us.

But the point is not really whether government from within is more or less efficient than government from without. If men had been merely so many pieces of stone, the question would have been how best to arrange them for serving some purpose. But men must live and grow and progress. That is why it cannot but be admitted that this destruction of initiative and opportunity for self-fulfilment, that makes despondency lie heavy as stone on the breasts of our people, is not only cruel, but vitiates the true end of government.

The self-determination we hanker after is not for the sake of wielding or flaunting power over others, nor for arming ourselves to exploit weaker peoples; nor are we obsessed with any insane desire to prove our vigour and enthusiasm for killing those who are alien to us. We are quite content to wear as our insignia the epithet of "mild Hindu" that has been conferred on us by the militarist West. We shall not flinch

to bear the thorns of material loss that beset the pursuit of spiritual gain, though our rulers may twit us for it.

All we yearn for is our natural right and responsibility of serving our motherland. The soul-destroying deprivation of these is what is gnawing at our hearts and driving us to desperation. Hence the irrepressible eagerness of our youths to avail themselves of any opportunity to serve their countrymen. Manhood cannot flourish in the shade of protected orderliness. The deepest urge of all life is to exert itself in progressing onward. In all great peoples the acceptance of toil and tribulation, the dedication of self for the sake of great enterprises, is seen as a turbulent desire that foams and roars on its course, reckless of success or failure, removing from its path, or cascading over, all obstacles. This grand sight it is impossible to keep hidden away even from political cripples like ourselves.

That is why for our youths, in whom this life-force is naturally welling up, the torture of its being remorselessly cooped up within their bosoms is greater than the pangs of death itself. Sufficient outlet for this surging force cannot be found in volunteering for occasional flood- or famine-relief work. It is only in the various pursuits of everyday life that it can find adequate room for expansion. Otherwise, its suppressed cravings become vitiated in the heat of hopeless heart-burning, giving rise to the secret violent activities that once spread over the country. This in turn leads the authorities to view with dire suspicion any organised attempt at national self-development.

Any gift implying the grant of self-determination to India, involving a diminution of British interference, is bound to be whittled down and shrunk dry before it reaches us, if it is not altogether mislaid in transit,—whence the skeletons of good intentions that strew the desert pathway of India's destiny. Those who have usurped the power of such obstruction are obsessed with their own might, their minds and hearts made impervious to the plaints of the people of India by a hard crust of racial exclusiveness. India for them means only a magnified government or merchant office.

It seems anomalous to imagine that the British should wish to keep our signt away from the grand vision of Freedom, when we consider that their own history, for the last three hundred years or so, has been one long continuous pageant of such heroic endeavour. This anomaly can, however, be explained if we take care to remember that it is not the English people known as *great* who are ruling India, but that we are the subjects of those of them who, steeped from their youth in the acid of bureaucratic tradition, have been corroded into mere official men, reduced for us to the small measure of their special purposes.

The great Englishman has no immediate contact with India. Between him and us intervenes the small Englishman. So we only catch glimpses of the great Englishman in the sky of English literature while the only sight he gets of us is through the reports of the bureaucratic offices and their books of account; that is to say, India is for him represented by a mass of statistics—figures of exports and imports, income and expenditure, births and deaths, how many policemen there are to keep the peace, how many jails there are for breaches of the peace, the lengths of railway lines, the heights of college buildings. There is no department of the India office through which the things that are far greater than all these can reach any human creature in England.

In spite of all present appearances to the contrary, I steadfastly cherish the hope and belief that East and West shall meet. But to that end we, also, have our duties and responsibilities. So long as we are small, the Englishman will remain small and try to terrorise us, for in our smallness lies his strength. But the coming age is already upon us, when the unarmed shall dare to stand up to the fully armed. On that day the victory will be not to him who can slay, but to him who can accept death. He who causes sorrow shall go under, and he who can bear suffering shall gain the final glory. Meeting crude force with soul force, man will then proclaim that he is not beast, but has overpassed the limitations of natural selection. The duty and the responsibility has been cast on us to prove these great truths.

[Reproduced from *The Modern Review.*]



INDIA AND WORLD ORDER

By SRIVATSA

THINKERS and publicists in America and England, including France till her fall, have been busy discussing the future of the world after the war. Such unofficial and informed discussions are both necessary and important, for, the international statesmen upon whom will fall the responsibility of reorganizing the post-war world will need reliable bases upon which to build. Indeed, some at least of the mistakes of the peace settlement of the last war could have been avoided if only the statesmen could give more time to the vital problems calling for their decisions. We in India cannot be indifferent to contemporary thought on post-war settlement, firstly, because our country, like any other, is an integral part of the world, and, secondly, because having been rightly or wrongly caught into the vortex of the conflict we cannot be indifferent to its outcome.

But, for a correct appraisal of our position in the world-to-be, it is necessary to know why and with what aims the present war is being fought. In other words, are any ideologies involved in the conflict, or is it merely the inevitable clash between rival imperialisms, the one side struggling to maintan the *status quo* and the other to reverse it ? Obviously, it is impossible to expect unanimity of opinion on such a controversial issue, but thinking people all the world over have no doubt whatsover that all this sacrifice and suffering is undergone not for sustaining an achieved civilization. One is inclined to agree with Mr. Basil Mathews, the author of the book entitled *We Fight for The Future* that the evils in the existing order even of the most progressive democracies are such as to forbid any of us to fight for things as they are. He further says :

> "In spite of all the advances towards freedom and justice and the control of nature for the good of man, the enjoyment of these things is still denied to the majority of the human race. What is at stake is something far greater than the *status quo*."

Much of the realism in our discussions would be lost if we cannot know how the German leaders will react upon the world in the event of their victory, but, should they seek to implement their oft-expressed views on the exclusive superiority of their own people, the world would most assuredly be a poor place to live in under Nazi hegemony. We must, in the absence of a fuller knowledge of German attitude to world peace, confine our discussions to the point of view of the British Empire, whose attitude as the only surviving Power among the Allies is of the utmost importance.

There is little doubt that the present war is very popular in Great Britain and the Dominions. The British people in patricular are indignant that so soon after the tragedy of 1914-18 the German leaders should have imposed upon them another war of greater frightfulness. Moreover, they realize that Nazism is a challenge to British leadership of the world. The support of the Dominions to England's war efforts is naturally informed by enlightened self-interest. Their statesmen realize the grave risks to which their countries would be exposed by the weakening of the British Empire, for, in these days of power politics no small and weak nations can long hope to maintain their integrity. When the Premier of New Zealand, for example, exclaimed, " We greet Britain, our Motherland and the Mother of Nations," he had surely the interest of his own country present in his mind.

The British people should show tolerance if others, less fortunately circumstanced than themselves and the Dominions, but still living in their 'Commonwealth of Nations,' feel less enthusiastic about the war. War, as Anatole France said, is a serious matter, and war with the thorough-going Germans is terribly serious. You cannot ask people to go and get their bodies killed and mutilated on the battle-field unless you enlist their enthusiastic support to your cause. To a people aspiring for national freedom, nothing is a more valuable *quid pro quo* than the immediate grant of that freedom. Unless this is done they naturally decline to believe that any great moral issues are involved in the conflict.

The African, for example, views the present war as a conflict between rival imperialisms. Mr. George Padmore, an able and informed West Indian citizen of African descent, who spent three months in a Nazi prison, writing in the American monthly *The Crisis* argues thus :

> "The British and French imperialists are no more concerned about the Czechs. What they *are* concerned about is the preservation of their colonial empires and the monopoly which they enjoy in the exploitation of cheap colonial labour. They certainly have not gone

to war to defend democracy, which they themselves deny to hundreds of millions of coloured peoples in Africa, India, West Indies, Indo-China, Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, and other territories too numerous to mention."

We can fully understand Mr. Padmore's bitterness, for, today the African suffers from three-fold wrongs. Firstly, the whiteman refuses to treat him as a human being. Mr. Joyce Cary, whose knowledge of African conditions is first-hand, in a recent book entitled *The Case for African Freedom* says:

"The first white settlers in South Africa described the natives as vermin and set out to hunt them down as we hunt rats."

Secondly, in the economic exploitation of their country by the whites, the Africans have little or no share except as labourers. The result is that

"Africa, already a vast slum among the nations, is growing poorer every day and cannot save herself. She is sinking deeper into wretchedness, disease and famine, while the world's demands upon responsible Governments, the world's conscience, become every day more impatient of excuse."

Lastly, the Africans are treated as interlopers and undesirables in their own country with no political rights whatsoever. Says Mr. Cary:

"Even at the outbreak of this war, men could still say in public that the negroes had no right in Africa. That they had no sovereign rights, in their own country, was so much a matter of course to Europeans, that no one threw any doubt upon it."

In their discussions on the world order, the majority of writers hardly do justice to the African. Mr. Wickham Steed represents the prevailing feeling when he suggests that all the colonial possessions of all powers should be placed under a federal trusteeship for the welfare of their inhabitants and in order to secure equality of access to raw materials for members of the federations. How anything, other than an exploitation of the African people, can be achieved so long as Africa continues to be the focus for racial animosity is a riddle that cannot be easily solved.

In India the problem is much more complex. As in Africa, 'political immaturity' cannot be pleaded against India's case for freedom. The present political deadlock in the country is the direct outcome of the refusal of the Government to implement its oft-repeated promises of elevating India to the status of a self-governing Dominion. Since the commencement of this war, the Government has unfortunately been taking one false step after another. In the first place, the Viceroy presented Indians with a *fait accompli* by declaring their country at war with the Axis Powers. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1939 the Parliaments of all the four Dominions were allowed full freedom whether or not to take part in the war. Eire decided to remain neutral and her decision has not been contested. Constitutionally the Viceroy was, of course, within his rights in declaring India a belligerent, but the disregard of Indian feeling, which his action implied, to quote Professor R. Coupland,

"inevitably inflamed the wound which inequality of national status inflicts on Indian patriots' mind."*

In the second place, the Government did not consider it necessary to make *amende honorable* for disregarding the Indian public on such a vital question by assuring the country's freedom within a reasonable period of time. And lastly, it countenanced all the blatantly aggressive sectional and communal interests in the country and refused to embark upon any constitutional reforms unless there was agreement with all the reactionary elements in the land. On this point the observation of Mr. Edward Thompson that

"The Moslem League has gained in the same fashion as Congress, since it became the Government practice to treat its President, Mr. Jinnah, as a kind of Moslem Mahatma"

is most apposite.

The point that bears constant repetition is that the attitude of the Indian nationalist in the present crisis has not only been correct but rectitudinous. He has refused to take advantage of England's difficulties and intensify the national struggle with a view to embarrass the Government. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had the whole of Indian opinion behind him when he wrote on 21st September 1939 in these terms:

"For us to bargain in the spirit of the market-place would ill serve our cause or suit India's dignity at a time of world peril. Our freedom is too precious to be bargained for, but it is too precious also to be ignored or put aside because the world has gone awry."

Mahatma Gandhi also spoke in the same strain. Overwhelmed by the feeling that a terrible disater had fallen upon Europe, he made the famous declaration that he was not thinking of his country's freedom at the moment. He was sure that it would come. The Nationalists' attitude has evoked the admiration of fair-minded Englishmen. Mr. Edward Thompson,

* "The India Office," wrote Pt. Nehru, "and the Government of India still live in an age that is long past: they neither grow, nor learn, nor remember. Even the shock of war has not had much effect on their mental processes or their ancient ways. They take India for granted, not realizing that nothing can be taken for granted in this cataclysmic age, much less India, which, though quiet on the surface, is shaken by the manner of forces and vital urges."

for example, in his admirable little book *Enlist India for Freedom* says:

"We are very lucky to have had at the head of the Congress men who cared supremely for ethical issues and put them even above patriotism. There has been statesmanship there all along waiting until we could produce statesmanship here to answer it and work with it."

Paradoxically enough, this unexceptionable attitude of the nationalist has been most embarrassing to the Government. The Congress resolutions on war have won universal praise both for their wisdom and moderation and yet by a strange fatality the most important among them have been withheld from the British public. Mr. Lionel Fielden, formerly Controller of Broadcasting in India, in a recent article in the *New Statesman & Nation* drew attention to the fact that the plea of the Congress Working Committee in September 1939, which

"will surely pass into history as one of the most eloquent, just and moving pages in the English language"

was almost completely withheld from the British people. All this tragic lack of imagination on the part of the Government can only be explained by the fact that it has not yet made up its mind to part with power in favour of Indians. With this mental background, it has been all along trying to perform the impossible feat of getting everything from India without conceding her anything in return.

Naturally, all this has added to the complexity of the Indian problem. Whereas the attitude of the nationalist has been clear and correct for all the world to see and judge for itself, the Government in its anxiety to make its case look equally righteous, has been suffering the fate of the enmeshed bee struggling to get out of the spider's net. Since the outbreak of the war we have had a plethora of promises, pledges and pronouncements by Government spokesmen both here and at the India Office. They promise us everything but add the inconsequential condition that the petition for freedom should bear the signature of all the four hundred millions of us, men, women and children. It is interesting to record how the Englishmen themselves react to some of these pronouncements. In a comparative analysis of the Congress' and the Viceroy's statements, Mr. Edward Thompson makes these interesting observations:

"It would be cruel" he says, referring to the Viceroy's statement, "to criticise such composition; its breathlessness and lameness; its grotesque imagery; its confusion and mixture of thought. The statement left on readers the savage impression that its ambiguities were a deliberate smoke-screen, under cover of which the author meant to get clean away from the point under discussion."

Mr. Thompson wrote these words in 1940, and, notwithstanding the later developments in the shape of extended executive councils and defence councils, the tendency of the Government to 'get clean away' from all its solemn promises is still active.

On this question of British pledges and India's freedom, one must be capable of a good deal of clear thinking. India is not merely the brightest jewel in the British Crown but the most useful and indispensable.* Imperialists from the days of John Company down to the present day have made no bones about their attitude to Indian freedom. The moderates, while recognizing the justice of India's case for Swaraj, have steadily declined to press for its achievement. "If India wants freedom let her have it, but pray not in our lifetime." This in essence is their attitude. And as these ideas are inherited by each succeeding generation of British politicians, it makes no difference whatsoever to India whether the Conservative, the Liberal or the Labour Party comes to power. On the Indian question, the British unite in forgetting their party alignments. Genuine sympathisers of India—and there are many of them—have so far scarcely made themselves felt by the British public.

The continued retention of India has to be justified at all costs, for, apart from the fact that it is all so preposterous for a small island to exercise its dominion over a considerably bigger country with an older civilization, control over such a vast and fertile land is bound to tip the balance heavily in favour of Great Britain, thus provoking jealousy among other Powers. As if by way of an answer to these objections, Britain gives four reasons for withholding India's freedom, and they are the problems of (1) the Minorities, (2) the Princes, (3) the Defence and (4) British vested interests. It is, of course, impossible to deal with them in detail in this article, but a few observations on each of them are necessary for the purpose of my thesis.

The communal or the minorities problem is the *bete noire* of Indian politics, although there is nothing inherently insoluble in it if its perpetuation were not one of the constant cares of Government. The problem is essentially one of Hindu-Muslim relations. The Muslims, who number eighty millions and have majorities in four Provinces, cannot, without violence to language, be called a minority. Apart from the

* In 1898, Lord Curzon wrote thus: "India is the Pivot of our Empire. If this Empire lost any other part of its Dominion we could survive, but if we lost India, the sun of our Empire would be set."

fact that they profess a faith which is different from Hinduism, they form an integral part of the Indian population. They are the nationals of India and have no homelands outside it; they are drawn from all the ethnic groups found in the country; they speak all the languages spoken by the Hindus and share with them a culture that has been evolved by centuries of living together. Moreover, economically their destinies are interlinked with those of their other countrymen. It is all fantastic to speak of minority rights and of the necessity for safeguards in a country that is politically unfree. Dr. K. B. Krishna in his book *The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India* argues thus:

"It (India) is at present a colony of British imperialism. It is not a sovereign state. It is politically a minority, an immense numerical majority ruled by a microscopic numerical minority. Imperialism is the exploiter, and India the exploited. Under this condition what is the problem of minorities in India?"

Indian nationalism did not grow on communal lines and nothing is a more eloquent testimony to this than the fact that the National Congress started in 1885 grew in strength with such amazing rapidity by 1909 that the Government found it necessary to seek all possible means for weakening it. The Act of 1909 is therefore, of tremendous significance. It did not merely give the Muslims the right to vote for their own co-religionists. It did more; it succeeded in importing communalism into the political life and the administration of the country. Thus, communalism in its present crystallised form had its origin in 1909, and readers of Minto's biography and the accounts of the intrigues between Indian communalists and British die-hards at the Indian Round Table Conferences will realize that the minorities problem is not only the offspring of imperialism but also its favourite child. Yet, Professor Coupland writes that the Hindu-Muslim

"antagonism had been growing *pari passu* with the growth of self-government."*

We see the evil consequences of communal representation in the present political deadlock in the country.† Muslim extremism is no longer interested in the percentages of representation for the community in whose name it proposes to speak. It seeks to sabotage national unity by disrupting the country and calling the resultant wreck Hindu India and Muslim India. The Pakistan scheme has not yet been placed before the world in any concrete form; it is still a mystical concept to which the Muslim League with all its new-fangled zeal is seeking adherents. But, all this agitation for partition is in essence the fruit of frustrated ambitions. Writing on this subject Pt. Nehru says:

"Communalism began in India by a demand for a specified share in services and in representation in the Legislatures. It has now developed into an openly anti-national, anti-democratic movement, demanding the partition of India. . . . It discovered that what it had valued most in the past—separate electorates brought little good. In fact, they weakened minority groups. Then by the very force of the logic of hatred and separation that it had pursued, it had to go to the extreme of demanding a partition of India."

The Pakistan idea is, however, far too fantastic to succeed despite all the fanaticism with which it is advocated and the support which it is receiving from influential quarters.‡ Mr. Amery may, for obvious reasons, describe it merely as a counsel of despair and refuse to denounce it in more explicit terms, but the movement of world forces is much too strong for this subversive idea to succeed. It is being increasingly realized that nationalism of an intensive type is an evil and that the hope and salvation of mankind lie in its developing what

* The Professor has recently written a little book entitled *Britain and India,* which contains extremely garbled accounts about this country. It is easy to see that such books are intended for American readers whose anti-British feeling with reference to India is deep-seated. America's support to the war is the most vital factor in the situation, and her conscience must be satisfied by telling her of Indian 'unfitness' for freedom. Of course, Mr. Amery excels all others in this matter. I pick up at random an example of his performance. In a broadcast to Latin America in September, 1941, he said that although there was no conscription in India, volunteers were pouring into the recruiting offices at the rate of 1,000 a day. What Mr. Amery omitted to say was that you cannot disarm a people and introduce conscription at the same time. As for the 'pouring in' of recruits, the poverty of India is responsible. Desperate men would not hesitate to snatch food even from death's mouth.

† It is interesting to note that the evils of sectional representation were frankly recognized in Ceylon and Kenya, and the system accordingly abolished. The Donoughmore Commission pointed out that communal representation "tends to keep communities apart and to send communal representatives to the Council with the idea of defending particular interests instead of giving their special contribution to common weal." In another place it makes the profound observation that "only by its abolition will it be possible for the various diverse communities to develop together a true national unity." The Report of the Hilton Young Commission contains similar views. Unfortunately, separate electorates in India are justified on grounds of necessity. The necessity is, of course, of the Government, for, to repeat Lord Curzon's significant admission, "if we lost India, the sun of our Empire would be set."

‡ Mr. Edward Thompson writes thus: "I was astonished last autumn to find that certain official circles were keen on the Pakistan idea; and still more astonished to find that some of our own British 'Left' were beginning to be persuaded to it. There is no surer way of plunging India into eternal civil war."

is known as the "international mind." Thinkers visualize the obliteration of national boundaries in the post-war world. When such forces are at work, the demand for Pakistan will certainly be a cry in the wilderness.

The problem of the States is no less complex, but its complexity arises from the fact that they are essentially a British creation. The States polity is still primitive and governance in them is based upon the theory of the infallibility of the ruler, who claims to be the fountain-head of all authority in his territory. It is curious that whereas popular revolutions have given a permanent quietus to the divine right theory, in India it is still kept alive.

The States, which are more than five hundred in number, are a medley and it is incorrect and misleading to speak of them collectively. An overwhelming majority of them are incapable of supporting even a decent administration. The point at issue is not whether the treaties with the Princes are so sacrosanct that they cannot be set aside, but whether there is any justification for condemning a people to live under a system of governance which is inherently incapable of looking after their welfare. No one can project his vision beyond the horizon. What is in store for the States in the post-war world, no one can say, but should utility be the only test for the survival of institutions, the States should start putting their house in order right from now. They cannot serve the cause of democracy abroad by practising unmitigated autocracy at home.

There is little that can be usefully said at present on the question of India's defence when she will become free. The problem must await its solution till the larger issue, namely, the abolition of national armies and the creation of an international force, is settled at the post-war peace conference. Even if national armies are retained, objections to a rapid Indianization of the army will no longer be valid. Thanks to the war, the artificial division of the population into "martial" and "non-martial" races has largely been obliterated. The officer problem, too, will have been fairly solved.

Similarly, very little need be said about British vested interests. They will cease to be a problem when the freedom of India is decided on.

What, then, is the world order of which so much is spoken and in which we all wish that India should play her rightful part? No one can foresee the future, but it is certain that when peace comes it will find the world "spiritually devastated, economically unbalanced and politically anarchic." But this does not mean that mankind has no future at all, for, as Professor William Hocking of Harvard University rightly points out, the world is so infinitely unfinished that such cataclysms cannot destroy it. Great changes are, however, impending and the *status quo* has been bombed to atoms.

On the manner of reconstructing the post-war world there is little or no unanimity amongst the thinkers. While all affirm that internationalism is the only refuge for the suffering mankind, not one plan, commanding wide approval, has yet been evolved. However, for the future political organization of the world five possibilities are discussed and they are (1) the Balance of Power, (2) the Concert of Europe, (3) a League of Nations, (4) Federalism, and (5) a Confederation of States. Unfortunately, it is not possible to deal with every one of these here.

Amongst the very widely discussed books on world order is *Union Now* by Mr. Clarence K. Streit, who wrote it on the eve of the war. Most of Mr. Streit's proposals have already become out of date. The world state envisaged in his book was dependent upon factors that no longer exists today. A majority of the democracies with which he proposed to build his 'nucleus world state' have ceased to be the arbiters of their own destiny. Even otherwise Mr. Streit's proposals suffer from serious defects. His assumption that the 'founder democracies' are homogeneous and closely linked to one another is based upon an optimism which competent observers like Sir William Beveridge do not believe to be well founded. Moreover, Mr. Streit's attitude towards non-European countries is unrealistic.

Men like Sir John Fischer Williams and Professor Gilbert Murray, whose knowledge of European affairs is profound and first-hand, are convinced that it is useless to make proposals for which the governing forces of contemporary life are not yet ready. They believe that plans for a new world order cannot be limited to the organization of a federal union between certain States.

"There must be," says Sir John Fischer Williams, "some system of international relations of all States or at any rate of such States as are willing to accept the amount of organization which is appropriate to the present state of human development."

In other words, the League of Nations must be revived and revitalized by eliminating its defects and making it a real international organization. Sir John has immense faith in the League idea and would regard the disappearance of the League as an international disaster.

"Federal union", he says, "cannot be world-wide,

at any rate for a very long period of time, probably more than one century. The League is the one international institution which can or may do the work of integrating and developing international human activities, so long as the regime of separate and independent States, whether federal or unitary, continues."

On non-political topics such as the readjustment of economic relations between countries, disarmament, organization of an international force and international control over the colonies, the views expressed by various writers are less divergent, although on the question of colonies their proposals are open to serious criticism.

Unfortunately, most of these discussions are confined to Europe and reference to non-European countries, whenever made, is most casual. A majority of the proposals emanate from a mental background which assumes the superiority of the whiteman to the rest of mankind. What hope is there if the Western conception of the world, to quote the *Hindu*,

"is Europe with the colonial empires of its various powers cast for the role of satelites, the rest of humanity looming darkly on the periphery as a dimly understood phenomenon of no great account?"*

The "Atlantic Charter" is, I submit, a blatant assertion of this racial superiority. India must be bled white to redeem European countries, but her own freedom is of no consequence, for she does not belong to the community of the whiteman.

Wars, though unjustifiable, are not wholly evil. They indirectly serve the cause of justice by strengthening the subject peoples for the assertion of their freedom. If Gandhiji is so confident of India's freedom, it is because he has the vision to see the movement of world forces for the liberation of mankind. In any case, no world order can survive the iniquity of leaving out of account such countries as India and China.

* Of course, there are exceptions. I give below three examples of an impartial approach to the Indian problem. Sir John Fischer Williams says that "the adhesion (to the Union) of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations must not be qualified by the exclusion of India." (*World Order Papers*).

Sir Richard Acland, M.P., says: "It goes without saying that in the same sort of way we must give up political and economic control of India." (*After the War* edited by William Teeling).

The Earl of Listowel writes thus: "The capacity of Indians for self-government has been proved by the striking efficiency with which they administered seven vast provinces under the new constitution; and the result of withholding indefinitely what has been freely granted in the past fifty years to every Dominion will be to make the British connection as odious to the Hindu (?) as it is to the Irishman." (*Ibid*).

RABINDRANATH'S APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY WESTERN POETRY

By Dr. A. ARONSON

The symbolism which lies at the root of all human language is unconscious. It reflects the "reality" of the everyday life of the speaker. When a literary critic uses symbols in his statements, he does so in order to be precise and definite where vagueness and obscurity would be fatal. The creation of new symbols in the life of societies implies a new mental vision, a new approach to human existence; and the critic when interpreting or analysing the creative process that makes a poem possible will use those new symbols, taking for granted that he will be understood; for symbolic language, whether ancient or modern, reflects what we so glibly call the spirit of the age. And both the critic and the reader must needs speak the same language. What happens at present, however, is slightly different. The modern critic, in his unsuccessful attempts to be definite, uses private symbols which refer to his own personal outlook on life, to experiences that are uncommon and divorced from the everyday life of his readers. Here is an instance to the point:

"So the poet, embroiled daily in his own decease, is caught in the toils of reality as profoundly and as hopelessly as the consumptive who drowns in his own saliva. I can give you the image of the captive of the Gaels, whose torture was to unwind his intestines around a tree; for this is the poet whose bowels are wound round the Eden tree in coils at once agonising and glorious: I mean every turn is a poem."[1]

This kind of imagery is not only intricate, it is also morbid; it is essentially "private" and therefore unintelligible to most of the readers. And the deplorable fact that a majority of contemporary readers of literary criticism

1. George Barker in a Foreword to "New Poems, 1940," quoted in *Life and Letters*, June, 1941.

do not expect any intelligible statements is certainly no excuse for the critic to indulge in a continual soliloquy the meaning of which is clear to no one but himself.

These few introductory remarks were necessary for two reasons. Most of Rabindranath's criticism is undiluted symbolism. But instead of using the private symbols of a distorted mental vision, his images always refer to some fundamental human experience which gives his criticism an admirable directness and forcefulness, so sadly lacking in some of the contemporary Western critics. George Barker spoke of decease, saliva, intestines, bowels, and the Eden tree. Here is Rabindranath speaking of the same subject-matter, the creative process :

"The child in us finds glimpses of his eternal playmate from behind the veil of things. . . . . And the playmate is reality."[2]

Rabindranath's image of the child and the playmate refers to some universally accepted experience which we do not question and which leaves us convinced.

But the second reason for quoting George Barker is that he deals with a problem of criticism which was foremost in the mind of Rabindranath throughout all his literary writing: the relationship between the poet and reality. Here is, on the one hand, a critic who speaks of the poet as helplessly "caught in the toils of reality," and here is Rabindranath who compares the poet to a child playfully and, perhaps, unconsciously becoming aware of the reality *behind* things. Is this not an indication that "reality" has become a haunting nightmare, almost a neurotic obsession with the contemporary Western critic and poet, whereas with Rabindranath it is something that is above and beyond the ephemeral objects of daily existence? Is this not also a clue to Rabindranath's own attitude to contemporary poetry in the West, accepting it when it finds glimpses of reality behind the veil of things and rejecting it when it remains helplessly caught in the toils of reality?

This is indeed a fundamental problem of literary criticism. For reality is not beautiful; it is, especially today, profoundly agonising, and we may rightly wonder whether it reminds us of an "eternal playmate" rather than of "the poet's bowels wound round the Eden tree." And we may also ask the relevant question, what does the contemporary artist see when he looks "behind the veil of things"? Is it not self-deception, we go on asking, to search for truth behind the living objects of nature; and will not this escape from the reality of things produce an illusion? And Rabindranath replies, yes, it will :

"For Art is *Maya*, it has no other explanation but that it seems to be what it is."[3]

This may at first sight seem to be a candid confession that reality cannot be mastered by the artist at all, and that the poet deceives both himself and his readers. And yet a few pages later on we read in the same article :

"An artist may paint the picture of a decrepit woman not pleasing to the eye, and yet we call it perfect when we become deeply conscious of its reality."

This does not contradict the preceding statement. The decrepit old woman *is* reality, because the artist has infused into his picture a meaning that comes from his own integrated personality; he has brought her back to life in all her ugliness and disease, and yet he has painted not the "real" woman, but the one behind the veil of things; and that is his own creation; it is neither ugly nor beautiful: it is both Reality and Illusion in one.

But it is not realism. No one was probably more opposed to realistic art in modern times than Rabindranath. For, according to him, realism is a form of artistic expression used by those who were lacking in the courage to look behind the veil of things. A representation of things "in themselves" is the aim of science not of poetry. And Rabindranath rejects the claim of those modern poets who are caught in the toils of reality and who get helplessly lost in it :

"But disease in a hospital is realism fit for the use of science. It is an abstraction which, if allowed to haunt literature, may assume a startling appearance because of its unreality. Such vagrant spectres do not have a proper modulation in a normal surrounding; and they offer a false proportion in their features because the proportion of their environment is tampered with. Such a curtailment of the essential is not art, but a trick which exploits mutilation in order to assert a false claim to reality."[4]

Rabindranath, however, very well realized that the contemporary environment, with which the poet deals, has absorbed science; that science in its innumerable aspects has become part of our daily life; that it is responsible for vast economic, social, and political changes; that it is at the basis of contemporary philosophy; and that it has brought about new attitudes and beliefs in the individual. Artists and poets before him were aware of this gradual progress of science. They tried, with more or

2. *Creative Unity*, p. 9.

3. "The Meaning of Art," in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Old Series, Vol. IV/1, 1926.

4. "The Religion of an Artist," in *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, 1936, p. 42.

less success, to incorporate scientific phenomena into their art as part and parcel of the reality which they were out to depict. There are many such passages in which the images are taken from his own contemporary scientific world in Shakespeare, which must have seemed to the Elizabethans appallingly "modern." There is that famous prophetic passage by Wordsworth, written in 1800, which could have been written by Rabindranath himself:

> "If the time should ever come when what is now called Science, thus familiarised to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will become the being thus produced, as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of men."[5]

The time has undoubtedly come now; but very few poets only are capable of making the proper use of science in their work. Unless it becomes an integral part of the reality which is behind the veil of things, its presence in poetry will be artificial and essentially irrelevant. To force science into poetry, as some modern poets do, expresses a dissociation of sensibility which is unfortunately representative of our time. But Rabindranath, as Wordsworth before him and as some of the most gifted contemporary poets, could very well visualise a science that had become "flesh and blood" and had been integrated into the life of men:

> "Machines and factories are . . . . finding an increasing place in literature, for in our imagination they are coming to transcend their particular uses, wherefore it has become possible for their harmoniously-built wholes to appear real to us, as manifestations of power apart from their various components. It is possible for men to enter into emotional relations with them, like the love of the captain of a steamship for the vessel under his command."[6]

Whenever science is introduced into poetry as something to which the reader can respond both intellectually and emotionally, the poet's experiences will no longer remain aloof and divorced from the reality of the people around him. He will have to give up his ivory-tower and come down to those who serve the factories and machines, the instruments and agents of science. And Rabindranath again and again affirms his conviction that poetry, all great poetry today, must cease to be merely "aristocratic" in the experiences and emotions depicted:

> "So the poems and stories of today have already given up their pre-occupation with exalted persons, and taken to raking up the living embers from the ashes under which they lay smothered."[7]

Rabindranath here defines one of the most significant characteristics of modern poetry: it has restored its contact with the ordinary life of men which had been lost for the last 200 years.

The average and commonplace are never beautiful; whenever we become "deeply conscious" of their reality they seem to be beyond all the standards of aesthetics. Their existence is their only justification. The ordinary life of men when depicted in a poem is neither high nor low, beautiful or ugly. It impresses us by the intensity of particular experiences which are transformed by the poet into the universal facts of life. In the chapter on modern poetry, in *Sahityēr Pathē*, Rabindranath seems to regret the almost complete absence of "beauty" from contemporary poetry; once he says that the struggle for existence has become more important to human beings than existence itself; later on he affirms that people have no more time for beauty, for those leisurely luxuries of life which make life worth living. The subject-matter of a modern poem does not convince the reader by "beauty" and outward refinement, but by the very intensity of the experience depicted by the poet. The modern poet, according to Rabindranath, has not a personality to express, but objects and experiences as they appear to him in his great isolation and detachment. And he substantiates his remarks by discussing two poems, one by Robert Bridges and another by T. S. Eliot, of which the first is still in the romantic or "aristocratic" tradition, while the second has achieved a considerable detachment, a unification of sensibility which was not given to either the romantics or the Victorians.

Rabindranath had grave misgivings in his mind as regards the detachment of the modern poet. These misgivings were not due to a conservative bent of mind, but very largely to the fact that those who at present parade as "modern" poets, could not offer him anything but their own frustration, their mental and emotional disintegration, their own private attitudes and beliefs. Rabindranath became increasingly aware of the tendency in contemporary Western poetry to dissect and analyse those very human emotions without which there can be no poetry at all; for such an analysis always ends in a mental vacuum for the poet out of which there is no escape. And whether we

5. Preface to the second edition of his *Lyrical Ballads*.
6. "The Philosophy of Literature," in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, II/3 (New Series), 1936.

7. "Substance and Form" (from "The Diary of the Five Elements" in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, III/2, 1937, New Series).

agree with Rabindranath's purely aesthetic attitude or not, we cannot help feeling that in the following quotation he speaks the truth:

> "The union of hearts, as seen by us, is abstracted from the primitive needs of Nature (sex-instinct) into the glory of its own finality. The psycho-analyst has introduced a further complication by asseverating that the animal sex-instinct is also a deep and potent factor in the mental life of man. But whatever practical utility or intellectual value this dictum of science may have it can have no place in the realm of literature and art, which is concerned with the valuation of man's feeling of delight according to his standard of the eternal. . . . The problems that have arisen with regard to the place of the sex-relation in literature cannot be solved from the scientific or moral standpoint, but from that of Aesthetics which alone can determine which of its two aspects man will adorn and raise on the pedestal of immortality."[8]

Similarly he was always suspicious of an exhibition of force and virility in poetry; any deliberate attempt to impress the reader by the boldness and "realism" of the poet's language, his experiences or his images, was a sign of a loss of mental equilibrium, a lack of confidence in one's own capacity at integrating reality, a distorted sensibility; and much of contemporary literature, he found, was of this kind:

> "Its expressions are often grimaces, like the cactus of the desert which lacks modesty in its distortions and peace in its thorns, in whose attitude an aggressive discourtesy bristles up suggesting a forced pride of poverty."[9]

The fact that contemporary poetry is often "shocking" may be distasteful to some, but it does not a priori prove anything at all. For all great poetry (except during the last 200 years in Europe) was to a more or less extent "shocking." Agamemnon's deplorable death, Dante's Inferno, or Othello's raving jealousy, are equally, if not more, shocking. There seems to exist a tacit assumption that "discourtesy" and "incivility" in the classics are never an end in themselves. Poets in all ages found reality profoundly agonising, and Rabindranath was surely not the first to revolt against it. The difference between him and most of the contemporary Western writers indeed lies in the fact that he *did* revolt, whereas the latter all too frequently indulged in a defeatist acquiescence in the inevitable. In a poem written a few years before his death, he gives expression to this revolt in language which leaves nothing to be desired as regards explicitness and directness of expression:

When my mind was released
from the black cavern of oblivion
and woke up into an intolerable surprise,
it found itself at the crater of a volcanic hell-fire
that spouted forth a stifling fume of insult to Man;
it witnessed the long-drawn suicidal agony of the Time-spirit
passing through convulsions of a monstrous deformity worse than death.
On its one side a defiant savagery and the growl of homicidal drunkenness,
on the other timid powers tied to the load of their carefully guarded hoardings...

Whenever Rabindranath discussed contemporary Western poetry from a historical point of view, he started with the fundamental difference between "personal" and "impersonal" poems. He found that in the 19th century the personality of the subject, the poet himself, was all that mattered, while today it is the "personality" of the object that is expressed in poetry. The art of "completely seeing" reality is essentially contemporary, but Rabindranath asks again and again whether poetic creation is not by its very nature a process of selection, and whether modern poetry does not apply a wrong method in selecting frequently irrelevant "objects," that is experiences, for poetic treatment. On the other hand, however, he says himself that the best way of looking at things is to face reality as it is, fully and objectively; and he quoted a Chinese poem (significantly enough from a translation by Ezra Pound) which proves his point. This indeed is great poetry, he says, but it is not "modern" in the usual sense of the term: for there are no hysterical and high-strung sentiments in it, no frustration, no bitter contempt, and the subject-matter is common and yet of universal interest. Those who are "modern" for the sake of cheap sensationalism will disagree with Rabindranath; but those who have the courage to look behind the veil of things, beyond the reality of personal experiences, will find in Rabindranath's approach to his contemporaries an attempt at the unification of the poet's sensibility. T. S. Eliot expresses the same idea in one of his essays:

> "The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality . . . but the more perfect the artist, the more completely separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates; the more perfectly will the mind digest and transmute the passions which are its material."[10]

It is indeed disputable whether the "modern" objectivity is the result of a loss of mental equilibrium, as Rabindranath maintains in *Sahityēr Pathē*. In Eliot, as well as in some of the most outstanding modern poets in England and in France, the impersonal objectivity is due to a greater awareness of the universe around

8. "The Principle of Literature," in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Old Series, V/2, 1927.
9. *The Religion of an Artist, Ibid.*, p. 40.

10. T. S. Eliot: "Tradition and the Individual Talents," *Essays*, p. 17-18.

them, an awareness which indeed makes them more than once look for "reality" behind the veil of things. Experiences that have been mentally assimilated and integrated cease to be mere fragments; the sensibility of the poet has been unified. No wonder, therefore, that the material of modern poetry includes experiences that are "un-poetical" if judged by the standards of the 19th century. It amalgamates disparate experiences in such a way that we become "deeply conscious" of their reality. And if their intellectualism is at times obscure and complex, it is because the reality with which they had to deal was not the same as the one which a Chinese poet three hundred years ago had to face. The contemporary environment provides the poet no longer with ready-made literary formulas, with ready-made beliefs and attitudes, but rather with disconnected stimuli, fragments of experiences, among which the awareness of frustration and chaos is the most important. Rabindranath very rightly thinks that this is "a deviation from human excellence." And we may add : so is also Agamemnon's death, Dante's Inferno, and Othello's jealousy. This is what Rabindranath says :

"Some profess to see a kind of beauty in such frenzied dance. It sometimes seems to me that the literature of Europe takes a special delight in picturing this kind of mad revel, without aim, without end, devoid of peace. But we cannot look on this as the perfection of culture; it appears to us as a deviation from human excellence."[11]

Reality has ceased to be the "playmate" of the poet of today. It has become something which has to be taken seriously by him, because it is so profoundly agonising and because behind the veil of things he found a great emptiness, "a black cavern of oblivion," anguish and disbelief. He still expresses his own personality; but, as though afraid of his own voice in the ever-growing darkness, he expresses it through the medium of "things," in terms of digested and integrated experiences. Rabindranath knew all this; he realized the possiblities of this new impersonal approach to human existence; but he was also aware of the helplessness of those modern poets who were "caught in the toils of reality"; who had to escape into artificial forcefulness, into an over-emphasis on the abnormal, and into an immoderate craving for sensationalism to convince themselves of their own existence.

In this sense only can we understand Rabindranath's approach to contemporary Western poetry : he found in it all the elements which make for great poetry; but he was also aware of the gradual deterioration of the poetic impulse, an undue insistence on the morbid aspects of existence, and, lastly, the chaos that comes over all literature when a civilization has outlived itself and human beings are striving for new ideals and beliefs. Whether this chaos will bring forth a new spontaneity in artistic creation and new patterns of belief, he himself could not say. His evaluation of modern poetry, scattered as it is throughout many books and articles, stands for the essential and fundamental sanity of the artist, a reminder, as it were to the modern poet that behind the present chaos and darkness there is a "reality" which surpasses all the vanity of human dreams and aspirations. And we are not far from wrong when we assume that he wanted the modern poet to become "like a child" again, playfully mastering reality and creating an illusion of things which only seem to be what they are.

11. "The Sense of Beauty," (from "Sahitya" in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, II/1, 1936, p. 98).

THE SOVIET-GERMAN WAR

By S. UPADHYAY

Five months back the Soviet-German Pact was jettisoned and war came upon the Soviet Union. This was a baffling situation : few could read into it. By entering, many say, into a pact with Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union disowned its loyalty to the fundamentals of communism. This is far from the truth. The Pact was inspired by the need of the hour and it was never treated as the permanent proof against Nazi aggression by the Soviet Union. That the Soviets are a new system and the world is leagued against it is a broad fact. Enemies of the Soviet Union are abroad and they are not slow to pounce upon it. Of all these the Soviet Union is conscious and on the eve of the war Stalin spoke words of deep wisdom :

"We stand for peace and the strengthening f business relations with all countries. That is our position : and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries mantain like relations with the Soviet

Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries which have common frontiers with the U. S. S. R. That is our position, and we shall adhere to this position so long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and so long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State."

This is the key to the Soviet policy. Now that the Soviet Union and the Nazi Germany are no longer friends (friends they never were) an analysis of the past affords a useful study in international affairs. By the Pact, though short-lived, the Soviet Union gained much, The gain being in territory the Soviet hoped to foil Hitler. When Poland fell the Red Army marched in and the annexation of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia was completed. Thus Hitler was outwitted and his dream of Ukraine came to nothing. For this is the land Hitler had lusted for. This was an act of self-defence on the part of the Soviet Union, for Hitler was too unreliable. Nor his dream—*Drang nach osten* was dead. No less important a person than Winston Churchill spoke out the truth :

We could have wished that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as the friends and allies of Poland, instead of as invaders. But that the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace. At any rate the line is there and an Eastern front has been created which Nazi Germany does not dare assail. When Herr Von Ribbentrop was summoned to Moscow it was to learn the fact, and to accept the fact, that the Nazi designs upon the Baltic States and upon the Ukraine must come to a dead stop. (B. B. C. Broadcast, October 1, 1939).

As the shadow of the war was lengthening the Soviet Union grew more alert about the ravenous wolf stalking over Europe. Western frontiers of the Soviet Union were unprotected, particularly across the Baltic. Hence the Soviet-Baltic Pact (later the Baltic States offered to be incorporated within the U.S.S.R.). This too was an act of strategic need. For in the past the German troops had marched across the Baltic States to the gulf of Finland and threatened Leningrad. The Soviet Union without any act of aggression built up a "barrier to the forceful expansion of Nazi Germany and towards the Black Sea." That the fact ruled out the possibility of immediate Nazi menace was widely accepted. The English press was profuse of comment.

"Stalin's anxiety about the establishment of German power on Russia's Baltic flank," wrote the *Daily Telegraph* in a leader, "is removed. The Soviet is in the way, not merely to be secure from attack from the west, but to dominate the Baltic, which becomes, not a Ger...an, but a Russian lake."

The *Times*, in a leader, wrote :

"The German retreat from the Baltic constitutes the second main defeat of Nazi policy since the war began. Almost every port of any value on the Baltic between Riga and Memel will henceforth serve as a Russian naval base, Russian aerodromes will be strewn down the littoral, and leased areas will be reserved for occupation by Soviet troops. The two islands which guard the mouth of the Gulf of Riga will hold Soviet garrisons."

And the basic import of the pact was summed up by M. Molotov :

"In view of the special geographical position of these countries, which are in a way approaches to the U. S. S. R. particularly from the Baltic, these facts allow the Soviet Union to maintain naval bases and aerodromes in specified parts of Estonia and Latvia and, in the case of the Pact with Lithuania, provides for the defence of the Lithuanian borders jointly with the Soviet Union. The creation of these Soviet naval bases and aerodromes on the territory of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the stationing of a certain number of Red Army units to protect these bases and aerodromes, ensure a reliable defence base, not only for the Soviet Union, but also for the Baltic States themselves, and thereby contribute to the preservation of peace, which is to the interest of our peoples."

This is the power of a strong neutral. It is an illustration of the fact that a powerful neutral is in a better position to limit Nazi expansion. During the war the Soviet Union has carried out the twofold work : teritorial integrity without any act of aggression, military preparedness to meet any aggression. Its chief concern has been peace though the enemies were out to hustle it into the furnace. And rightly had Barbara Ward of the *Economist* observed that Russia's main preoccupation since the war began had been the achievement of additional strategic security; the war in the West had engaged her anxious attention, particularly at moments when it had threatened to spread to her territory.

On June 22 the Pact was scrapped by Hitler and Germany was at war with the Soviet Union. Hitler said :

"Russia organized the putsch in Yugoslavia. This was not from Platonic motives, and I still kept silent. It was Moscow that demanded the mobilization of the Serbs and promised to send arms, planes and munitions to the Serbs through Salonika. Russia thereby broke the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Agreement."

To this Molotov replied,

"This unheard of attack on our country is without example in the history of civilised nations. The attack on our country has been made in spite of the fact that there is a non-aggression pact between Germany and the U. S. S. R. which was conscientiously kept in every detail. The attack on our country was made in spite of the fact that throughout the time this pact was valid

the German Government could not furnish proof that the Government of the U. S. S. R. has ever infringed a single one of the clauses of the pact. All responsibility for this robber attack on the Soviet Union falls on the German Fascist leader."

The world knows Hitler and cannot be cajoled into the acceptance of the Nazi fabrication. Causes of the German aggression are various. That Germany was not faring well with the Soviet Union had gained currency and the press pointed out the possibility of an immediate breakdown of diplomatic relations. The press had only the earnest of the coming storm though it failed to unearth the story of diplomatic activities in European cities. On June 12 the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* wrote :

There are signs that a vital state in German-Russian relations is approaching if it has not already come. Germany needs from Russia more than benevolent neutrality. The original 1939 pact of non-aggression served Germany well. Relations have ripened to pledges of friendship since, but Germany has not been able to obtain from Russia the economic support she believes the Soviet to be capable of providing. That Germany is making a move to attack Russia economically or militarily, or both, is indicated by the present disposition of Germany's armies. There are concentration of German troops at various points along the Black Sea. They are understood to have been further strengthened by the German decision to permit the Italians to occupy Greece thus freeing those of their large and seasoned forces who are not intended for the Libyan campaign. With virtually the whole Continent conquered and no further campaign on the European mainland imminent, Germany is able to exert almost the whole pressure of her military strength on Soviet Russia. Some continental observers believe that the reason why Germany's relation with Russia are approaching a crisis is that the harvest in most parts of Europe is expected to be poor. Hitler, it is said, has doubtless realised that the war cannot be ended before another winter and he is desperately anxious to secure food supplies for the Reich by any means possible. Russia which in Germany's eyes is the granary of Europe must then be made to yield up her riches.

So the Soviet-German war owes its origin to a number of causes : the Mediterranean tangle became complicated. Being unequipped on the sea Hitler found the conquest of Cyprus difficult. Nor air could help it. And his design upon the Suez was not easy of realisation since Turkey was in no mood to help Hitler in his exploits. Aerial invasion of England failed to bring Hitler nearer the realisation of his objective. Hitler was eager to finish off the war in 1941. Since there were growing economic difficulties in Germany as well as in conquered European countries. By taking possession of the Ukraine Hitler wanted to fend off the crisis.

Before launching the offensive against the Soviet Union Hitler tried to woo England. The Hess affair is only a case in point. On June 26, *Reuter's* Diplomatic Correspondent wrote on the mysterious situation :

An abortive attempt by the Germans to create dissention among the Allies in connexion with the German invasion of Russia has just come to light. While there is no confirmation of a specific Ankara report that the Germans have put forward peace feelers and that the German Ambassador to Turkey, Von Papen, recently sought to communicate with the British Ambassador Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen on the subject, there is nothing inherently impossible in this report. There is no doubt that when the Germans attacked Russia they fully expected that we should be so frightened of becoming wedded to the Soviet that we should be prepared to start peace talks.

Hitler failed and was in a quandry and the only alternative was war against the U.S.S.R. This offered him a chance of immediate solution of economic difficulties.

The world, though its opinion is divided on the origins of the war, subscribed to the historic truth : war is fought for economic reasons and is won by military strength. Military strength means natural resources, reserves of man power, industrial system. Of these Germany badly lacks natural resources. Thus a short review of German economic needs and war potentialities will help to explain the origins of the war and its future.

On the question of food Colonel Thomas of the German War Department said in 1937 :

"This planning is particularly necessary in the sphere of provisioning. The basis of all peace time and to an even greater degree war time policy is the question of the feeding of the people, and the food situation in war time is the result of food policy during the preceding peaceful years. It is not necessary for me to remind you of the period of our country's sufferings during the war. I can say openly that the war was lost for us when we entered on the turnip winter of 1916-17."

In 1933 the wheat harvest was of 5,765,000 tons, in 1934, 4,676,000, in 1935, 4,790,000, in 1936, 4,553,000 and in 1937, 4,490,000. In the same years the rye crop was 8,727,000, 7,608,000, 7,478,000, 7,386,000, 6,762,000 tons. Food consumption was low. Average meal consumption in 1929 was 52·9 Kg. and 26, for eggs 159, and 132 in 1936. This had its effect upon the health of the population. Dr. Robert Ley at the Nuremburg Congress in 1937 said :

"Half the workers employed in the factories under medical observation had to receive medical attention."

In 1937 industrial accidents rose by 25 per cent. But in order to appreciate all aspects of the quesion, it is not possible to leave out the consideration that in case of war production must fall.

German alliance with the Soviet Union created new sources of supply for Germany. There is dearth of information about the actual

quantity of materials Germany received since the Pact came into operation. That German indebtedness to Soviet Russia was huge is borne out by the evidence of facts supplied by the *Economist*. In between 1939 and 1940 huge quantities of raw materials were exported to Germany. Of the total export, grain amounted to 2 million tons, oil seeds ½ million tons, cotton 100,000 tons and oil 900,000 tons. Besides all these there were transactions in hides, skins, manganese ore and other minerals. From the amount and nature of transactions can be judged the degree of German dependence upon the Soviet Union. All this is about the peace time relation between Germany and the Soviet Union. Now that both the countries are at war no trade is possible. So far as Germany is concerned problems become complicated; only the conquered countries are to be exploited to the maximum to help the prosecution of the war. An examination of German economic measures in the conquered countries would reveal the possibility of further exploitation.

Northern countries of Europe are the early victims of Nazi aggression. The consequence of Nazi occupation has been devastating leading to the seizure of raw material, control of rolling stock and property, and destruction of national industry.

This can be illustrated from the Nazi measures introduced in conquered countries. The German occupation of Denmark cut if off from the overseas. And there was dearth of fodder and the cattle was slaughtered by the people. Germany removed all the food materials stocked in peace time. Trade became one-sided; German export to Denmark was reduced. Germany began purchasing goods through the medium of the officials. Payment was made in requisition notes payable after the war. Thus the wealth of Germany increased and Denmark grew poorer. The starving troops were transferred to Denmark and this was an easy way of feeding the soldiers in a lean year. German soldiers descended upon Denmark like locusts. Industries passed under the control of the Nazis and were run on war basis. The Diesel works of Burmeister and Waine at Copenhagen passed under the direct control of Germany and were producing motor vessels for the German Navy. German policy is to dismantle national industries and cripple down foreign trade. Thus the Danes are condemned to perpetual slavery.

In Holland the same policy is persued by the greedy Germans. They seized all the butter and other food materials stocked in peace time. They took possession of textile and other raw materials. In Rotterdam the Germans seized vast quantities of copper, tin and other materials; only oil was missed. Important industrial plants were seized and made to work on behalf of Germany. Industries found unnecessary for Germany were closed down; fuel and raw materials were transferred to Germany. Coal supply was rationed; for household purposes no coal was available. So the Dutch will have to face a cold winter. Prices of goods were fixed up at a rate favourable to Germany. German officials purchased huge quantities of goods and paid in requisition notes. Thus the shops were emptied and widespread rationing had to be introduced.

The occupied territories of the North are so divided as to take the industrial area of Europe outside greater Germany. About one million workers have been imported from the conquered countries of the North to work in German factories. This is done to stop unemployment. The plan is to concentrate industries inside Germany and the rest will be the centre of agricultural products. The occupied countries have to pay a heavy military tax which amounts to about £1,100,000,000 a year.

Czecho-Slovakia and Poland have been bled white by Germany. Landed estates have been confiscated and important industries have been attached by Germany. To meet the enormous cost of war the Nazis introduced duty on alcoholic drinks amounting to 750,000,000 crowns in Czecho-slovakia. In 1940 Germany demanded war contributions from the Czechs. So they have to pay 2,000,000,000 crowns every year. From Poland one million workers were imported (half being women) to work in German factories.

This is the life of the people condemned to the axe of Fascism all over Europe. Reports of growing unrest in these countries appear in papers from time to time. These countries are exploited for the preservation of the Reich whose method imposes starvation and famine upon the people. Germany intends to reduce the volume of population to the minimum and to have only the obedient slaves that will toil for its glory. All these countries have been drained of food materials and the people have to live on rations doled out by the authority. As winter deepens, Germany will need more for the troops at the front and these countries are sure to face famine. Besides, crops in these places were below the average. Crops had been ruined on account of bad weather and imported labour failed to produce any change. German demand is huge, hence famine is inevitable in the months of winter. Famine is likely to be accompanied by

epidemic. Epidemics may work havoc in German garrisons and spread over Germany. All these are discomforting to Hitler. What is important is the growing signs of revolt all over Europe. Time alone will show how oppressed humanity frees itself.

Of all commodities essential for the successful prosecution of war Germany lacks oil most. Germany has been conscious of it and ever since the beginning of the Hitler regime various efforts had been made to increase the output of oil. As early as 1937 Ferdinand Friedensburg wrote that without oil German armies would be condemned to immobility and to a defeat as certain as were implied by lack of weapons. The experiment on synthetic oil, it was found, was not suited for high speed aeroplanes. Besides, the cost of production of one ton of Benzine is three or four times that of the natural oil. Benzine factories being exceedingly inflammable are exposed to the danger of aerial attack and sabotage in times of war. By the end of 1937 Germany was guaranteed adequate supply of oil from within, the cheap source being synthetic product. And in 1937 Germany failed to reach the level of demand. Germany launched nation-wide motorisation and the demand was growing. In order to meet the enormous demand the State set up new factories. And on the eve of the war a leading German economist remarked :

"For Germany, the plants now partly existing and partly in course of construction assume considerable importance in respect of peace time supplies, and in that only if there is no rapid increase in demand."

Germany's peace time consumption of oil rose to 51,50,000 tons, only 35·9 per cent being the internal supply. And in times of war Germany would need thirty to forty million tons of oil.

In 1938 five million tons of oil were imported for home consumption, 3·8 million tons came from overseas. Of the total import eighty per cent reached Germany through the North Sea ports. The North Sea ports, it is reported, are blockaded and therefore shipment is rendered difficult. So Germany had to depend upon supplies from Rumania. Now that Rumania has passed under the control of the Reich, Germany is sure to tap the new sources. The chief fact to be borne in mind about Rumania is the steady decline of the annual output of oil. In 1936 it was 37,03,954 tons and in 1937 it came down to 63,50,000 tons. And the unexplored area being within the range of bombers it would be difficult for Germany to drill new wells.

Another supplier of oil was Soviet Russia. Exports of oil from Russia to Germany fell from a peak of 5,17,000 tons to less than 81,000 tons in 1938. The decline, it is reported, continued during 1939. Soviet Russia though in the possession of the largest oil reserves could not be expected to extend the supply to an unlimited degree. And the difficulties were intensified by distance and inadequate transport facilities.

During the last war there were four countries—Holland, Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden—through which foreign imports reached Germany. These countries imported 6,45,000 tons of minerals in 1913, and in 1919 the allies reduced the quantity to 93,000 tons. At present there are very few neutral countries and their total import is more than 10 million tons, 25 per cent being crude petroleum. On the Soviet export policy the *Economist* had made some important observations :

There are however numerous factors which indicate that the Soviet will not export anywhere near as much oil as they did in 1931. In the first place the Soviet Union has today only 43 per cent of horses which she had in 1916. In the meantime she has acquired a fleet of half a million tractors. Today tractors and tractor fuel are not luxuries in Soviet agriculture. They are necessities. In the second place it is perfectly certain that the efforts of the early thirties cannot be repeated. There is, however, as yet no indication that Stalin feels that the welfare of the war-harassed Germany of today is a matter of life and death to the Soviet Union.

As regards coal greater Germany occupies an equal place with others. Regarding iron ore the position is very different. Germany has to depend upon Sweden for the supply of iron. This is also true of manganese. There is much manganese in France and Soviet Russia. Now that Germany is at war with Russia, there will be no supply from the U.S.S.R. In short Germany is at a serious disadvantage as regards the supply of iron ore and the quantity of the production of steel. For production of pig iron and steel depends more upon the number of blast furnaces than upon the output of iron ore or coal.

Of non-ferrous metals copper, nickel, zinc, and lead are important. Copper is essential for shells and electrical equipment. Nickel is helpful in producing hard steel, an war requisite. Lead is necessary for bullets. Of all these, Germany stands in dire need. These are the difficulties of Germany and they will determine the course of the war.

JAPAN'S POSE AS ASIA'S SAVIOUR

By MOHAN NADKARNI, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE most explosive force today in Japan is the idea of Pan-Asianism. Every Japanese believes in it as fervently as every Englishman puts his faith in that oft-repeated slogan—the White Man's burden. And we cannot possibly go far wrong if we assert that Japan's eastward drive is actuated by that flamboyant Japanese spirit of Pan-Asianism.

'Asia for the Asiatics' is the resounding cry among the high Japanese politicians and militarists. Thus says Major-General Kenji Doihara :—'The doctrine, Asia for the Asiatics, is based on the superior principle that Asia must be safeguarded and maintained by the Asiatics alone.' Furthermore, every Japanese is led to believe that he is born with a sacred mission—to free the Asiatics from the yoke of the Europeans, to emancipate the coloured people form the atrocities of the white men. Listen, what Prof. Nakatani has to say on this point :—'To bring order and reconstruction to the present chaotic condition of Asia is the duty that rests mostly on the shoulders of Japan.' This is not, according to the Japanese, a mere dream, but is already translated into a stark reality by the patriotic Japanese. The order is being slowly established and the reconstruction begun. Listen again to what Rin Kaito, the famous Japanese publicist, has to say :—'For over a century and a half the Asiatics have been pressed down by the whites and subjected to Western Tyranny. But Japan after defeating Russia has aroused the sleeping Asiatics to shake off the Eastern Tyranny and torture.'

But to the Japanese, this work of emancipating the Asiatics from the clutches of the West is not as much political as it is religious and spiritual. Mere driving out the white men from Asia would not bring about the desired freedom. For that end the East must be completely cut off from the West. Every iota of influence that the West bears on the East must be done away with. And for achieving all this Asia in general and Japan in particular will have to fight more than an ordinary war. And the present war that is fought in China is for the same "glorious" purpose ! 'The internal situation,' says Major-General Todu, Commander in North China, 'may be regarded as the beginning of a racial war for the emanciprtion of the coloured people, who form the greater part of the human inhabitants of the world, from the enslaving oppression of the whites. It is also the beginning of the spiritual war for rectifying the national civilisation of the East. These two missions from heaven are the natural obligations which our Japanese empire must bear'!

But Japan will not be able to carry out this divine mission unless the European nations vacate their comfortable establishments in Asia. They are formidable obstacles in Japan's "meritorious mission" of preserving Asia for the Asiatics. In other words, it means that the English and the French and the Dutch must go away from their several positions and leave Asia for the Asiatics. That is, India, China, Dutch East Indies, Philippines must be left alone to get the doses of Eastern Culture from Japan.

And suppose these Western Powers vacate their posts in Asia, will Japan then be able to control the heterogeneous mass that is Asia ? Japan is sure of her power of organisation, maintenance and control. 'In view of Japan's geographical position,' said the Navy Ministry in the Summer of 1935, 'the powers should leave the maintenance of peace in the Orient in the hands of Japan, which is now powerful enough to perform this duty. If the Powers fail to recognize the mission of Japan they may well be said to disobey the Will of Heaven.' This is not a solitary cry. Another Japanese politician, M. Miyoka, says in the same strain :—'The control of events in the Far East is determined by Japan. Britain has now come to realise the fact that she must now depend on Japan in the East.'

But sometimes, it seems, these Pan-Asiatic dreams blur the realistic vision of the Japanese politicians and militarists. Thus blinded they cross the region even of their dreams and seem to float in the void. The "sacred mission" of the Japanese does not stop at liberating Asia alone, but sometimes it expands enough to cover and compass the whole world in its warm glow. And then the emancipation of the world and not of Asia alone becomes 'the Yellow Man's Burden.' 'It is now clear,' says Dr. Uesuji Shikuchu, 'that the salvation of the entire human race is the mission of the Empire.' Another Japanese Dr. Kokich declares unblushingly, 'The centre of the world is Japan.'

To us all this may seem an idle talk, a figment of a fevered brain. But to the Japanese it is real—as real and potential as the Fuji Yama. For has not Emperor Jimmu said two and a half millenniums ago, 'We shall build our capital all over the world and make the whole world our dominion !' The Japanese politicians of today, it seems, are striving to fulfil those words. Will they succeed ? None but the Japanese will answer in the affirmative.

TO THE WINDS

By TANDRA DEVI

Wild wind
Blowing through trees,
Blowing wild over the hills,
Rushing and whistling through valleys—

Wild, rushing wind--
Storm-wind
Circling the fields,
Swirling over waters,
Scuttering in dry bushes.
Raking the parched grass,
Snapping brittle twigs
Among the thirsty hedges,
Madly tossing the arms
Of long poplars—
Wild, wild wind
Blowing through trees—
Blow thy message to the heart !

Storm-wind
Sighing in full blasts,
Crashing through branches,
Flying among the leaves—
Full, free wind !
Blow a clean call
To the old world's heart—
Dry and dreamless heart,
Tired from long drought.
Blow thy clean call,
Stormy wind !

Rain-wind
Singing to the thirsty earth
Pour thy tumultuous music
Between clouds !
Beat out thy dance
In the little clouds—
In the small shredded clouds
Rushing before thee.
Sound thy shattering trumpets
Before the towering embattlements
In tall tall clouds
Rising about thee !
Shake the tall clouds
Drive them on !
Pour out thy cascades
Of tumultuous music !

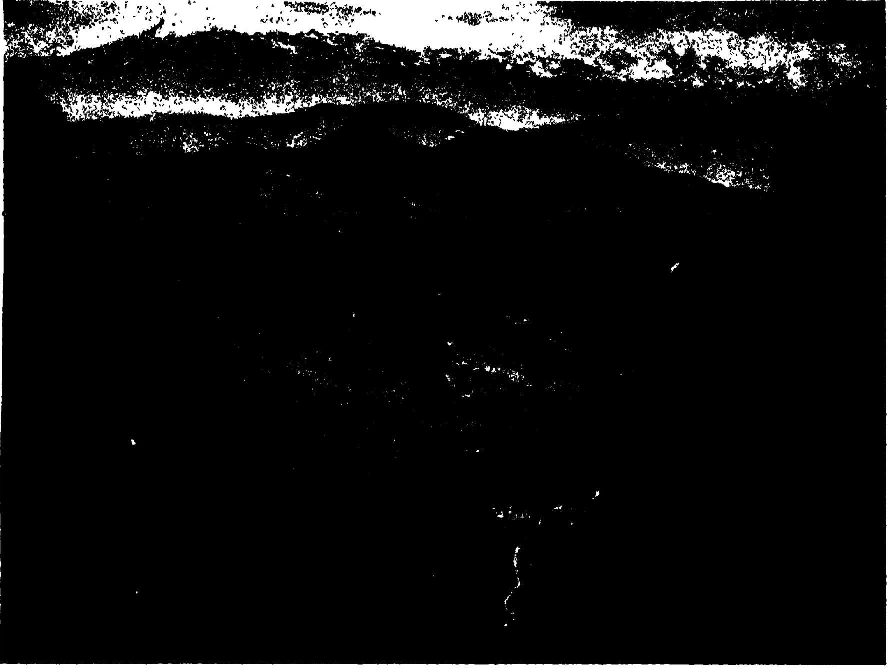
Shrieking, echoing, cooeing wind—
Pulsing, flowing, rolling, whistling wind—
Open dark places !
Blow into deep recesses,
Renewal, cleansing !
Beat out thy glad music
In deep, dark places !
Flinging through barriers—
Flinging on—on—
Galloping in the valleys,
Neighing across wide spaces.
Flare out,
Thou noble elemental roar !
Burgeon in the forests—
Among the orchards and rocky wastes !
Break over the ranges—
Above swift waters—
Climb !
Climb to thy heights,
O galloping wind !

Blow—
Cooling, kind, encircling wind !
Blow thy clear dawn into my eyes—
Wind-blown dawn
After long night—
Breeze-dappled,
Pale green and gold.
Breezes blowing light rain in my face—
Comfort in the plain—
Perfumes at my casement.
Misty dews spangling cobwebs —
Dawn-swept dews,
Wind-cooled earth.
Ah thou wild wind blowing through trees !
Welcome, dewy wind
Blowing dawn over the hills !

Strong gales and furious hurricanes,
Friendly lingering gusts
Roving the skies,
Sweet, glorious airs,
Give us your secret !
Breathe your insistent message to the heart :
"Come with the winds to the Endless End—
Unto peace without bourne
Move with the winds about the Unknown.
Know the unresting rest of the winds,
Their homeless Home."



Bombs over Chungking, China's wartime capital
See "The World and the War," page 89



A view of the snow from Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal. The three zones, *viz.*, the valley, the sub-Alpine hills and the white snow-peaks of the Himalayas, are clearly discernible



A group photograph taken after a successful day

NEPAL AND HER RULER

By Prof. RAMA PRASAD MANANDHAR, M.A., G.D.B.

THE ROMANCE OF THE COUNTRY

NEPAL. What does this name signify to ninety-nine out of hundred people in the outside world beyond that it is an independent country roughly rectangular in shape, lying at the bottom of the formidable mass of the Himalayas? They are told that this rectangle roughly measure five hundred miles in length and a hundred miles in breadth and that it is the home of the sturdy Gurkhas who have made themselves famous on a hundred battle-fields of the world. At once the blood tingles in their veins as they recall in their imagination its chequered history and the brave and glorious achievements of this small State during the course of centuries. They bring up before their mind's eye the scenes of the more recent triumphs, which alone are enough to fill any nation with pride,—France, the stony hills of Judea, the burning forests of Africa, the scorching plains of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the wild mountains bordering the Caspain Sea—where the Gurkhas have proved their mettle. In recent years, this gallant race "has stood like a pillar almost wherever there has been a theatre of fighting."



H. H. the Maharaja aiming a shot. Behind the Maharaja is Commanding-General Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana. In the next howdah on the extreme right is Commanding-General Bahadur Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Nepal's first Minister to the Court of St. James's



H. H. the Maharaja on his favourite pony

To those who are quieter and more studious by temperament, Nepal may appeal as one of the most ancient seats of civilization and culture, a country which was the home of philosophy, literature, and the fine arts, when Europe was, as history goes, yet in the cradle. With Tibet in the north and India in the south, Nepal has naturally from very early times become the meeting ground of two great civilization and the melting pot for the ideas and ideals of two of the greatest systems of the cultural economy of the world,—the Chinese and the Indian. It was in the territory of Nepal that, in 567 B.C., the great sage Gautama Buddha was born, who brought about a synthesis of the diverse philosophical and spiritual conceptions of the Indo-Aryan people; whose religion, though not followed as formerly to a great extent in India, counts among its votaries at the present



King George with the late Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana. On the extreme right in military uniform is the present Maharaja Juddha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana who was then the Senior Commanding-General of the Nepalese Army

time millions of people in China, Japan, Burma, Indo-China, and Ceylon—more than a fourth of the world's population.

The art and architecture of Nepal have dazzled the eyes of many a visitor from outside. Kathmandu, the capital, is still a store-house of ancient Sanskrit learning, and some of the oldest manuscripts in that language known to scholars have been found here. Her bricks, pottery, lacquers, and objects d'art generally are



A group photograph taken during the Duke of Windsor (the then Prince of Wales's) visit. On the Prince's right is Maharaja Chandra with a walking-stick. Fourth from the right of the picture, sitting, is the present Maharaja Juddha, holding a stick



(*From right to left*) Commanding-General Bahadur Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Vicerine, the Viceroy, the Maharaja, and Senior Commanding-General Mohun Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana

the admiration of all foreign visitors. Many of the wood, copper, and golden designs on the temples are of the highest artistic excellence according to the judgment of the most critical connoisseurs of art.

Nepal, again, appeals to many people for the grandest and loftiest mountain-peaks in the world—those of the Himalayas, the perpetual abode of snow. Before Mt. Everest, Kanchenjungha, and Dhawalagiri, the famous Alpine heights of Mont Blanc, Matterhorn, and Jungfrau pale into insignificance. To all who have visited Darjeeling, the glory of the sunrise over Everest is an occurence which they can never forget in their lives; and Kanchenjungha itself, though not so high, is a name to conjure with. Inside and above these massed piles of snow are objects which have been revealed but partially to human eyes and that also to those few who have been inspired by the highest visions of adventure and enterprise.

MAHARAJA JUDDHA AS A SPORTSMAN

In the following lines, however, we limit ourselves to only one of the numerous aspects of Nepal. Here we look at Nepal purely with the eyes of a naturalist and sportsman. To lovers of sport the world over, specially to those who have themselves participated in hunting in some of the best virgin fields of the world, Nepal stands today as the background of a great epic. To them, Nepal is, above everything else, the land of Maharaja Juddha who, believe it or not, today holds the unique position of the biggest big game hunter in the world. Although now in his sixties, His Highness still keeps robust health, and his one hobby and relaxation from affairs of state is shooting—usually big game. Anything less than a leopard or a bear, it may



An elephant-tussle in the jungle. The shikaries are enjoying the fine show

be interesting to note, His Highness does not consider as game at all. The beautiful cheeta, the sambhur, the different deer, and boar and buff, although very dangerous quarry, are not classed as game by the Maharaja, not to speak at all of the fowls of the air. Throughout a



A group photograph taken during the Viceroy's visit
Fourth from the right, standing, *middle row*, is Commanding-General Mohun. On the Viceroy's right is Commanding-General Bahadur. The Vicerine with her daughters at the extreme back

varied shikar career, High Highness has had many exciting experiences which, when properly told, will form one of the greatest chapters in the history of the world's sport.

If ever a man deserved the name of a sportsman in the best sense of that much abused term, it is the Maharaja. With many people today, who call themselves sportsmen, sport is the be-all and end-all of life. Their one engrossing aim in life is to collect a bag which they can show off to their friends and visitors, and for this collection they are prepared to run through the most unsportsmanlike acts. With the Maharaja, it is entirely different. Instead of being a slave to sport it is only a relaxation to him, and oftentimes a very much needed one. The work of the leader of Nepal who combines in himself all the civil and military authority of the State is indeed an arduous one. From the dawn of the day when he performs all the religious worship enjoined by the Shastras upon an orthodox Hindu ruler till late in the evening when he sees off all the high officers of the land, he remains busy. The very nature of the Government—that of benevolent autocracy—makes it binding upon him to keep himself personally in direct touch with every department of the State. He is thus, in fact, the busiest man in the State. And sport is his only relaxation. Every winter, it is generally his practice to make an administrative tour of Southern Nepal, and it is during these two or three months that he manages to secure some of the big game which are characteristic of that region of Nepal and which, if not occasionally eliminated, would be a great source of danger and depredation to the outlying villages and townlets. Of course, the Maharaja, wherever he goes, is followed by telegrams, despatches, and the petitions of his subjects. Anything that can divert his mind for a few hours from the never-ceasing cares of State is, therefore, of real use and profit to him. He, perhaps, values sport more for what it gives him in mental rest than for the actual thing itself. H. H. always enjoys the camaraderie which is so much a part of camp-life, and he loves to see all classes of his subjects happily blended together in the hunting field.

King George's Shoot, 1911

The Nepalese are very fortunate in having in their own country a game reserve which is perhaps unrivalled in the world. It has been the privilege of very few outsider to hunt here. Excepting Royal personages, a few Viceroys, and their suites, foreigners have indeed very rarely got the opportunity of having shikar in the rich Terai jungles. Although these few have been very lavishly entertained with true oriental hospitality, the Nepal Government have very



A rhinoceros has been bagged

jealously guarded the privilege of hunting here from less-favoured foreigners. In 1911, when the late king Emperor George V visited India, it was one of his greatest desires to shoot big game in Nepal. He had entertained a similar desire when he had been out to India for six months as Prince of Wales in 1905-6. As a terrible cholera was then raging in Southern Nepal it was considered not advisable for him to risk entrance into the place.

ANOTHER BALMORAL

The royal guests arrived in Nepal on 18th December, 1911, and stayed till the 28th. The visit was a perfectly enjoyable one from every aspect. King George, who even in his old age when he had passed three score and ten was counted as one of the six best shots in England, found here the opportunity of shooting some of the best game in the world. The Nepalese under the supervision of the well-known soldier-sportsman, General Baber Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, had left no stone unturned in driving to the shooting area chosen for His Majesty wild animals from scroes of miles around. An idea of the enormous scale on which the arrangements had been set afoot to give to the royal guest the best shikar that the country could afford can be gathered from the following figure. Including the different suite, beaters and servants, more than 14,000 people were engaged in the shikar arrangements. The king's bungalow and camp had been erected just in the midst of a bend of the broad Rapti river from where a beautiful view of its sweeping waters could be had in the front, and at the back the green Terai foot-hills rolling away like a rising velvet carpet lost themselves in the mighty snows of the Himalayan ranges which seemed to block the entire northern world. The situation was not unlike that of His Majesty's home in the Scottish Highlands, Balmoral on the Dee, except that Nature had here arrayed herself on a far grander scale.

In course of these ten days, King George got some of the most exciting sport of his life. On the very first day, His Majesty bagged 3 tigers and 3 rhinos. One tiger was secured very wonderfully by the King. It was leaping over a water-course in a magnificent bound when suddenly it dropped down stone-dead on the ground. The King's fire had taken him in midair, shot clean through the neck. This shot produced a great impression upon the Maharaja who praised His Majesty on his great qualification in the art of marksmanship for which the Nepalese themselves are so renowned. The King shot rhinos and bears too, and the evident ease with which he hit charging rhinos at the right spot drew high encomiums from his host. In fact, the long practice with the gun and the rifle which His Majesty had got, stalking deer in the Highlands or shooting rabbits and birds in Sandringham or Windsor, found in these few days its climax. So excellent were the sporting arrangements that every day out of the ten had



H. E. Viceroy out on shooting

its own excitement; and when on the evening of the 28th King George thanked his host, Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, for the magnificent sport and hospitality that had been provided for him and bade farewell to the brave Gurkha country, he knew that one of the great dreams of his life had at last been fulfilled.

Maharaja Juddha as a Commanding-General

In the morning of his last day in Nepal, King George reviewed a brigade of four Nepalese regiments commanded by the present Maharaja of Nepal who was then Senior Commanding-General of the Nepalese Army. His Majesty was highly impressed by the smart turn-out of the troops as well as by the striking personality of their leader. Juddha, then in his thirties, was the perfect flower of knighthood.

One interesting episode may be recorded here. Just the previous night, one full-grown panther had been run over by the mail lorry. The leopard's back had been broken. The lamps and wind-screen of the car had been smashed.

The Duke of Windsor's Visit

Another memorable visit was that of the Prince of Wales (now Duke of Windsor) in 1921. Britain's sporting Prince was accorded a very warm welcome by the Nepalese. Every detail for his sport had been personally looked after by General Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, the third son of Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, a great scholar-sportsman, who was the General-Officer-in-Charge of the shoot. A gleaming white citadel of tents had arisen at a spot where there had been rank jungle only a few months earlier. The appointments were the last word in comfort and refinement. The whole camp, both inside and out, was lit with electricity. The royal suite of apartments was decorated with various trophies of the chase suiting the occasion. One single instance will show how rich the appointments were. The floor of the mess-tent was covered with one big carpet made up of a number of leopard-skins stitched together, which produced an atmosphere of real sportly cosiness. The materials on the Prince's writing table were all souvenirs of sport in Nepal; they were made up of the horns, hoofs and hides of rhinos; and the visitors noticed that even the waste-paper basket was the beautifully executed lower part of a rhino's leg.

The Prince stepped into the Nepalese territory on the 14th December. During the course of this same day, he shot his first tiger in the Nepalese Terai. It measured 9 ft. 6 in.—more than a medium-sized beast. His staff bagged three tigers on the same day. The total bag of the royal party during the seven days spent in the Terai was 17 tigers, 9 rhinoceroses, 2 bears and 2 leopards. The Prince spent some pretty time in the saddle. Every evening he was entertained by Nepalese pipers playing all sorts of Highland tunes. The Prince and his staff very much enjoyed an amusement—often practised in Nepal—lopping of the tree-trunks with single strokes of the khukri, the national Gurkha weapon, which is a most effective blade in the hands of experts.

When, on the 21st, the Prince left Nepal, it was with genuine regret, because the bonny young man felt himself very much at home amidst the free camp life of the Nepalese.

Lord Linlithgow's Visit

It was in the winter of 1938 that the present Viceroy of India, H. E. Lord Linlithgow, was invited by H. H. the Maharaja of Nepal to have some shooting in the Terai. The arrangements on this occasion were organised by Commanding General Bahadur Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the eldest son of the Maharaja, a man of outstanding personality and energy who, it will be remembered, visited England in 1934 as Nepal's first Minister at the court of St. James's and is at present serving as G.O.C.-in-Chief of the Nepalese Contingent in India.



The Maharaja with a singularly fine trophy

With an army of workers, the General had worked, on a very short notice, a miracle in the forest. Amenities of civilization had sprung up all on a sudden in the land of tigers, rhinos, leopards, bears, wild elephants, boars, buffaloes, and what not. Guests were loud over their comforts and the clock-work management of the camp. As on the occasion of the royal visits, motorable roads had been cut through many miles of dense forest vegetation. The camp itself looked like a miniature city. At night the bright electric lights made the whole show look like an Arabian Night's Entertainment in the midst of a dread jungle land. All possible sanitary measures were there. Military barracks, cow-sheds, stables, garages, servants' quarters—all were there, besides the splendid camp for the more privileged among the party. The ration market was at a little distance with a supply for the immense camp and its followers. There was a modern hotel too. It was, in fact, a moving city swarming with administrators minus their official duties, where life was free from all cares and anxieties except that tigers might creep about your beds. This last remark, however, is addressed only to the over-sensitive as every precaution had been taken by the Commanding-General-in-Charge and his men to see that the lives of their guests were properly insured. Blazing fires roared every night at short distances round the different tents to keep unwanted prowlers of the night at a safe distance, and guards were to be met with at almost every step. Still, it is the Tiger-land. Hats off to His Majesty King Stripes and his cousins.

The Viceroy, accompanied by the Vicereine, their daughers, Lady Anne Hope, Lady Joan Hope, and Lady Doreen Hope, and the staff, detrained at Bhikna Thoree Station on the borders of Nepal on the 3rd December at 10 A.M. He was received on the platform by Commanding General Bahadur Shumshere. From there, a procession of cars moved to the camp meant for the party at the gate of which Lord Linlithgow was personally greeted by H. H. the Maharaja.

Tiger! Tiger!

After lunch, the Viceregal party drove to the "ring" where a tiger had been enclosed. It was a spot where the jungle grass was particularly thick. At places, it rose up to nearly 20 ft., completely covering up even the howdahs

on the elephants' backs. For some time the elephants trampled the long grass just in front of them in the ring. A shout rang out "Tiger ! Tiger ! "; a slashing movement was heard; two



Good-bye to Nepal. H. E. the Viceroy greatly admired the fine snow-views obtainable from the Shikar grounds

brilliant eyes blazed through the undergrowth. The Viceroy fired at once. The beast took cover. Another roar, and he showed himself near his human tormentors. H. E. gave it the second barrel, and the beast rolled over dead.

H. H.—Hearty congratulations on your Excellency's first trophy.

H. E.—Thanks, Your Highness.

Evening in the Camp

The party returns to camp. It is evening. The sun is setting in a riot of colour,—all gold and orange. The forest is silence palpable, as the elephants break the stillness with their regularly heavy tramping. Hark. Is it music ? Yonder is the shikar camp. The band is playing Mozart's "The Marriage of Figaro." The menu is as rich as the heart can desire. The logs are blazing warmly. A night's gentle rest is awaiting the shikaries after their chase.

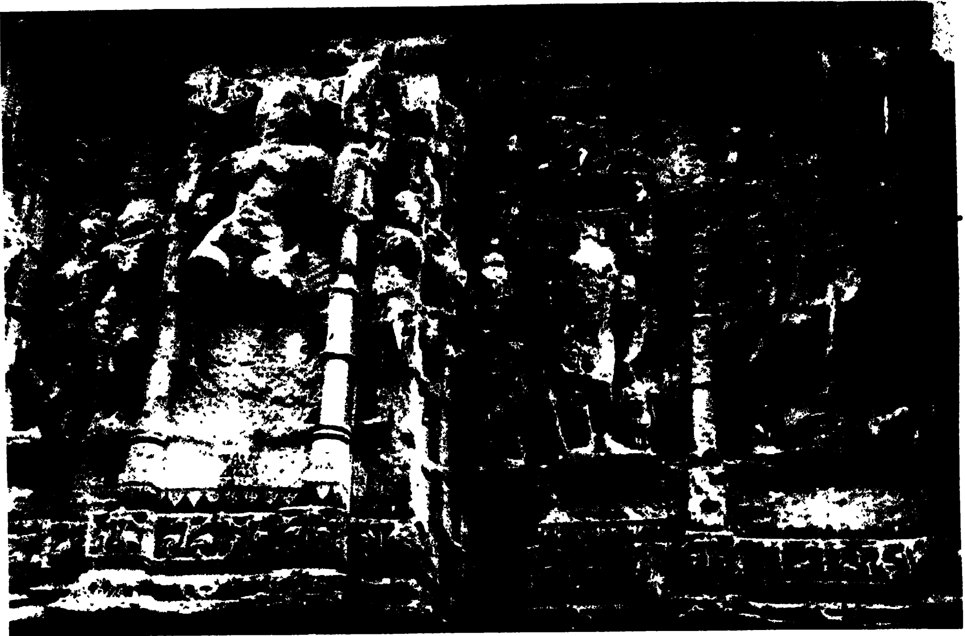
The Vicereine in the Ring

The day dawns. There is a brisk, bracing cold. Nothing but shikar is the talk of the day. Everyone is agog. The party drives out. The Vicereine is the "gun" today. The ring is again in very thick jungle. There is a lull for some time when the tiger, or the tigress as it eventually turned out to be, suddenly dashes out of a patch. Her Excellency misses with her first shot. The beast takes cover. The ring closes in more tightly. A moment's suspense, and it rushes out once more. Bang-Bang The third shot, that by the Viceroy, knocks the beast off to its last rest.

Thus the days sped along in excitement and mirth—nine perfect days of sport and amusement. How perfect a host the Maharaja is, is revealed by the fact that during all these days, he did not fire a single shot, although the jungles literally swarmed with game. For him with his simple code of Kshatriya honour and hospitality, everything was exclusively for his guests so long as they were with him.

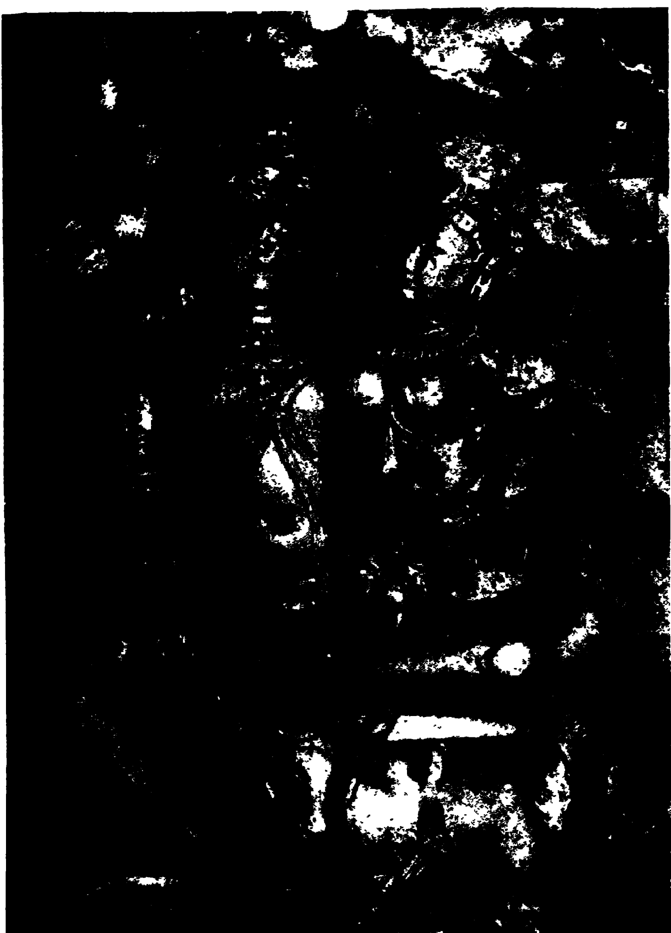
[Photographs by Kind permission of Col. Shanta Shum Shere J. B. R.]







Friezes on the side facade of the outer walls of the temple



The beautiful image of Uma-Maheshwar in an interesting pose



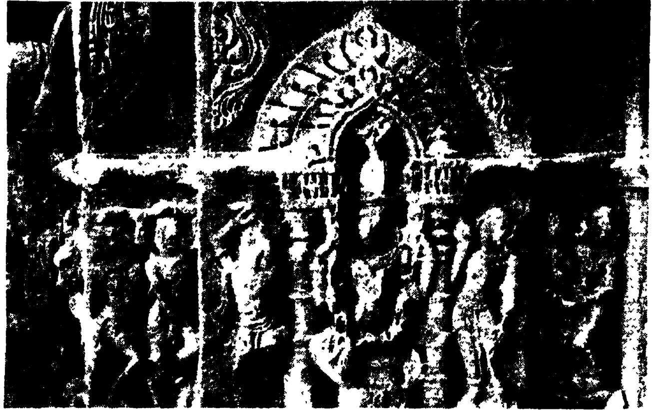
A handsomely carved door of the Pradakshina corridor

STONES OF SOMNATH

By AMRIT V. PANDYA

THE land of "Surashtra" or Ancient Kathiawar was, according to a proverbial sloka, "well known for its five jewels : rivers, damsels, horses, the god Krishna at the city of Dwarka and the god Somnath at the city of Prabhas."

Somnath, one of these five jewels, is a form of Shiva, the Indian Phallus, and is enumerated first among the "Twelve Self-created Jyotirlingas" (or "the Brilliant Phallii") of Hinduism. The great historic shrine dedicated to Somnath is situated on the sacred confluence of the rivers Saraswati, Hiranya and Kapila, on the south-western coast of Kathiawar This part of the country was known as "Prabhas Kshetra" or "The Land of Exceeding Brilliancy." It was, probably, the wealthiest and the most pompously adorned shrine ever built in India. The stories of its immense wealth spread beyond the frontiers of India and fired the greed of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Sheikh Saadi, the great poet of Iran, was so attracted by its great fame that he made a special sojourn to visit this glorious temple from far-off Shiraz.



Frieze on the side facade of the outer wall of the temple

THE GENESIS OF SOMNATH

Nothing is known to the Indian tradition about the origin of this great shrine. The story found in the Mahabharata and repeated by Alberuni seems rather to be a story of its restoration than of its foundation in mythical form. It runs thus :

"Daksha was a demi-god, created by Brahma for the purpose of creating animal and vegetable life. He had fifty daughters, of whom he gave in marriage twenty-seven, who now shine in heaven as the twenty-seven *nakshatras* (lunar mansions) to the moon. But the moon loved Rohini (the asterism in Taurus consisting of five stars) alone and devoted all his attention to her. The other twenty-six, thereupon, complained to their father, and Daksha scolded the moon and desired him to treat all his wives equally. But the moon remained obdurate; on which Daksha cursed him and doomed him to suffer from perpetual consumption. The moon, stricken with grief, now went out to seek all the holy places for alleviation of his disease, and after visiting many places in vain, came at last to Prabhas. There he worshipped the phallic image (lingam) of Shiva, which had been lying there neglected on the seashore for ages. Shiva, taking pity upon him, directed that he should wane in brilliancy for fifteen days but in the following fifteen days should recover his lost splendour. In gratitude for this boon, the moon erected a golden temple over the great lingam, and named the deity *Soma-nath* (the Lord of the Moon)."

This story presents, in a mythical form, the first restoration of Somnath, which a few scholars attribute to some Somaraj, believed to be a Chapotkata (Chāvra) ruler, of Prábhas Kshetra. According to the Prabhas Khand of the Skanda Purana, the temple was built of gold by the moon in the Satya Yuga, of silver by Ravana in the Treta Yuga, of wood by Lord Krishna in the Dwapar Yuga and lastly of stone by Bhimadeva Solanki of Anhillawad Pattan in the Kali Yuga.

IN THE AGE OF THE MAHABHARATA

Prabhas, according to the Mahabharata, was a very sacred place when Lord Krishna ruled over Surashtra (c. 1400 B.C.). The clan of the Yadavas to which Lord Krishna was the distinguished head, used to pay regular visits to Prabhas on festival days. It was here that they, when



The remains of the Somnath temple at Prabhas, built by the Solanki King Kumarpala in A.D. 1168

Friese on the side fâcade of the outer wall of the Somnath temple



The figure of a deity in a niche on the side facade of the outer wall of the temple

celebrating an eclipse festival slew each other in ebriety and here Lord Krishna, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, breathed his last.

During the Historic Period

The first inscriptional mention of Prabhas is found in a Nasik Cave Inscription of Vashistiputra Pulumavi in which the king records his donations given over to the Brahmans at this holy place.

Next follows a period upon which the bardic accounts only throw some light. They relate that the sea-faring Chapotkatas, who had previously ruled in the province of Okhamandal, the extreme west of Kathiawar, moved gradually along the western coast of the country during the seventh century, and after a course of time, established themselves at Prabhas, which apart from being a sacred place, was also a flourishing sea-port. They may have been vassals to the Maitraka Kings of Valabhi. The fabulous wealth and greatness that Somnath achieved, was presumably imparted to it by these Chapotkata rulers, who afterwards shifted their centre of power from Prabhas to Panchasar in Northern Gujarat. Afterwards the shrine passed to the Solanki dynasty, who succeeded the Chapotkatas, a branch of the Southern Chalukyas.

The Glory that was Somnath

A few Arabic and Persian writers have left for us the romantic descriptions of Somnath.

"The people of India," says Ferishta following Ibn-i-Asir, "believed that souls after separating from their bodies came to Somnath, and the god assigned to each soul, by way of transmigration, a new body as it deserved. They thought that the tide rose and fell in order to worship the idol of Somnath. Somnath was the king while other idols were merely his door-keepers and chamberlains. A hundred thousand people used to collect together in the temple at the time of the solar and the lunar eclipses. Presents came to it from distant parts. The rulers of India had endowed it with about ten thousand villages. A thousand Brahmans worshipped the idol continuously, and every night it was washed with fresh water, daily brought from the Ganges. A basket of flowers was also brought daily from Kashmir."



The base of an elaborately carved column, which once supported the great Shikhara

After his fifteenth invasion, Northern India had ceased to attract Mahmud, for the spoils of its most wealthy temples were already in his treasury. But Gujarat, the richest and the most prosperous province of India, was still



The figure of a deity in a niche on the side facade of the outer wall

untouched. The Sultan, with a mighty Afghan army, attacked Somnath in A.D. 1026. He destroyed its great wooden temple. According to the author of *Kamilut-Tawarikh*, 'not a hundred part of gold and precious stones he obtained as spoils from Somnath were to be found in the treasury of any king of India.' It was on this occasion that he is supposed to have carried off the famous so-called 'Gates of Somnath' to Ghazni. Later on they were brought back and placed at Agra in Lord Ellenborough's time. Unfortunately, it was found that they were not the genuine ones.

The New Stone Temple

Soon after the destruction of Somnath the wealthy people of Gujarat restored its lost glory, as if nothing had happened to their national god. Bhimadeva I, the king of Gujarat, who was a contemporary of Mahmud, built a new temple that was of stone for the first time. In A.D. 1168, Kumarapal remodelled and enriched it on the advice of the great Jain sage Hemachandracharya.

This new temple of Bhimadeva and Kumarapal was attacked by Ulughakhan in A.D. 1297, by Ahmadshah in A.D. 1314, and by Shamsherkhan in A.D. 1318. Then it was restored by Mahipal, a Chudasama ruler of Southern Kathiawar, in A.D. 1325. Then again followed a series of invasions : by Muzaffarkhan in A.D. 1394, by Tatarkhan in A.D. 1520; and last of all it was invaded in A.D. 1706, at the command of Aurangzeb. Soon after, in A.D. 1765, Ahalyabai Holkar of Indore built a new temple for Somnath, at a little distance from the old one. Here the god is still worshipped.

The Somnath Temple : A Fine Piece of the Gujarat Architecture

The accompanying photographs present vividly the remains of the great temple. It is one of those gems of architectural craftsmanship for which Gujarat stands unrivalled—the Rudramahalaya at Sidhpur, the great temple at



Another figure of a deity on the side facade of the outer wall

Vadnagar, the sun temple at Modhera and the Vimalshah's temples on the summits of Abu and Girnar built by the Solanki kings of Gujarat and their ministers. The Somnath temple is

built in a local variety of the Chalukyan (Vesara) style. Even in ruins, the interior of the porch is still very striking. In the words of Fergusson, "From what fragments of its sculptured decorations remain, they must have been of great beauty, quite equal to anything we know of this class of their age." Most probably, it was like the temple of Neminath on Mount Girnar.



Frieze on the side facade of the outer wall of the temple

Now the temple, stripped of its marble, stands alone like the Kalika temple at Dabhoi, a match of it. There are three entrances to the porch, and a corridor round the central octagonal space, which was covered by the great *shikhara*, supported by eight pillars and eight arches. The walls on the north, south, and west sides have each two handsomely carved niches, in which there have been idols.

The Sompura Architects

The city of Prabhas, because of the Somnath temple, is also called 'Sompur'. In this connection, it is worthy of note, that the caste of the Sompura architects, whose profession is temple and image building, owes its name to this sacred place. It is said that these architects were originally the Brahmans whose duty was to attend the god Somnath. When Shashi-Bhushana Mahadeva was in a shrine, built on a spot between the city of Prabhas and the port of Verawal, one day all these Sompura Brahmans were seated at dinner on the sea shore. On this occasion a fish fell into the vessel in which the food was being cooked. Those Brahmans who partook of this food became Sompura architects, and those who abstained remained the worshippers of Somnath. This is said to have taken place some time in the thirteenth century. Since then, these architects have shown their genius in building the great architectural edifices for which Gujarat takes pride. With the march of time, lacking the former patronage, this community of great architects is declining fast and with them, unfortunately, the architectural traditions of Gujarat are also vanishing.

[*Photographs by Manu Patel*]



A "RED SHIRT" CAMP

By Miss F. MARY BARR

It has been a privilege, during a short first visit to the North West Frontier Province, to be able to attend a camp of the Khudai Khidmatgars if only for a bare two days. As I understand no Pashtoo and very little Urdu and all meetings and most conversations were held almost entirely in the former, with a small sprinkling of the latter, I cannot give any idea of what was *said*. I had to rely almost entirely on impressions gained through "eye-gate."

The camp was situated in an angle formed by two rivers, so water was plentiful. On approaching the camp from the high road, one came first to the open space in which the flag-stand had been built, and where a large new silk National Flag kept watch night and day. Beyond that was a large pandal used for the meetings, "school" and spinning, and beyond that again, the two enclosed "compounds" which formed the living-quarters of the camp, and which housed (or rather "tented") some five hundred people for nearly a week. In the larger of these enclosures the so called "Red Shirts" lived under the discipline of a strict commander, who I was told, ordered pack-drill as punishment to any defaulter.



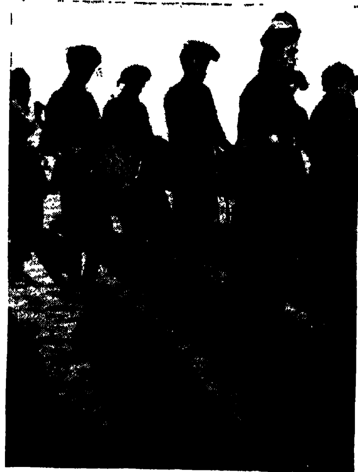
Parade of the Red Shirts

In the centre of the other enclosure was the tent of "Bād-Shāh Khan," as the Pathan people call him. It was labelled *store* when I first saw it. Perhaps some wag had put this label on it on account of my large amount of luggage which had been dumped at the entrance —at any rate the label disappeared when the luggage did.

Round the two sides of this enclosure were the tents of other Frontier men and men from Baluchistan, Kashmir, Punjab and other friends and visitors.

The Doctors' tent and dispensary was at the far end of one row of tents and a small hospital had been erected outside the "compound." Separate smaller enclosures had been made for commissariat department and temporary mosque.

The ground of the whole camp was dust held together here and there by patches of rough grass. But the floors of the tents were made warm and clean by straw and carpets. The day's programme was not followed to the minute on the one full day that I was there, but as that was Friday, with public Namaz, and considered to be more or less of a holiday, it is



The band

difficult for me to judge as to punctuality. The general plan was as follows :

1. Drill and running.
2. Morning tea.
3. Village cleaning.
4. "School."
5. Two hours for bath, food and rest.
6. Spinning.
7. Public Meeting.
8. Rest or Exercise, including some wonderful Pathan dance in which the band seemed to take as keen a part as the dancers, but the air sometimes become so full of dust as to hide the performers from view.
9. Another Meeting.
10. Bed.

It was a pretty strenuous day. For village cleaning, groups went out to various nearby villages. "School" consisted mainly of political education, specially with regard to the history and duties of the Khudai Khidmatgar. Spinning also may really be considered as part of "School."

The red uniform worn by the Khudai Khidmatgar (not on account of any connection with Bolshevism, it should be emphasised, but for purely economic reasons) were provided by the men themselves, often dyed by their womenfolk and this accounts for the variety of colour to be found among them, from a dark red brown to brilliant scarlet. The uniform too was by no means uniform in the strict sense, some men wearing shorts and red stockings and some wearing long trousers. All wore a red turban and leather "Sam-Brown" belt. The only 'boy' of the camp wore a Fez instead of a turban. This uniform, varied though it was, marked out its wearers definitely from the mostly-white-clad other members of the camp. It was worn only for meetings and parade occasions and I noticed that several of the men in the early morning frost were clad only in cotton trousers and shirts with a small blanket round their shoulders. In commenting on this to somebody and wondering whether these poor people felt the cold as much as we should in similar clothes, I was told a story of a man who was thus thinly clad in intense cold and on being asked if he did not feel it badly, answered : "Does your face feel cold ?"

"No."

"Well, I am all face," came the cheery reply.

Drill was not so smart as soldiers attain. How could it be when these men were drawn from all over the province and had probably never drilled together as a unit before ? Nevertheless discipline was excellent in all public meetings, "school," etc., even in such as were attended by villagers and others from outside the camp. All listened keenly to speeches and occasionally burst into cheers. One specially noteworthy instance of this apparently natural discipline occurred on the last day, when a large number of outsiders had been present at the afternoon meeting. As the Khudai-Khidmatgars paraded out of the pandal and marched towards their enclosure, the crowd attempted to follow them along the broad road leading there. However a single guard, by speech only and without so much as a short cane in his hand, held the



Start-out on parade

people back, even the eager youngsters who are always ready to follow a band and marching troops. After a while he went off, probably to ask for permission for the people to come inside, but whatever his errand, the noteworthy point is that the crowd, now held only by their own sense of discipline, never attempted to move forward. Other items of interest to me were :

1. The fact that nobody in the camp carried any sort of weapon of attack or defence, not even a walking stick or the small cane which uniformed soldiers generally seem to enjoy flourishing in their hands.

2. The atmosphere of unity and happiness which seemed to pervade the camp. There was much laughter and no strained looks, except occasionally in the early morning cold. The whole atmosphere was one which is only attained where people work together with a common purpose, a purpose which demands some self-sacrifice and entire sincerity.

3. As I stood one day at the end of the two long rows of Khudai-Khidmatgars, several being old men with grey or white beards and the whole comprising a great variety of status

and wealth, it suddenly struck me that not one corpulent man could be seen. All were slim round the waist, a tribute to their regular physical discipline as to exercise and food.

4. Complete trustworthiness. My luggage had been carried off somewhere, when I had arrived, but although it was unlocked, I had from the first no fear for—not only its safety but its privacy or integrity. Not a thing was even touched without my request. Once when the whole camp was retiring to the pandal for a long session, I did just wonder if it were wise to leave things open and asked a fellow Southerner if it would be wise to lock my suitcase. "No need" came the laconic reply.

Even the children who came flocking into the camp on the last day, as the tents were being dismantled, did not attempt to touch anything. Yet they were friendly and unafraid even with a strange creature like myself who could not talk their language.

Thus and thus have I found the Pathans on my first visit—and, except that this account is only of the Khudai-Khidmatgar camp, I could a tale unfold of hospitality and democracy in school and home. They themselves would not wish me to claim perfection for them, yet surely the virtues indicated here by definite illustrations cannot fail to earn our humble respect and affection.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS POOVI CHINNAPPA of Coorg passed the B.A. (Hons.) (History and Politics) examination of the Annamalai University held in March, 1941, in First Class standing 1st in the University. She was the recipient of prizes also in the Convocation held in December. She is the first Coorg lady to attain to this high distinction. She comes of an educated family. Her eldest sister Srimati Padmavati, who was for some time Private Secretary to Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit when she was Minister in U. P., had passed her Social Science examination in London.



Miss Poovi Chinnappa



LEONARDO DA VINCI—INVENTOR, ENGINEER AND SCIENTIST

By SUSOBHAN DATTA, M.SC., P.R.S.

THE New York Museum of Science and Industry arranged last year (1940) an exhibition of some of Leonardo da Vinci productions. A strange exhibition it was; none of the celebrated paintings of the immortal artist was displayed. This was merely an exihibition of a collection of 275 working models of his more important inventions in the domains of science and engineering. The same collection had been on exhibition in Milan sometime ago. Far from having any motive of belittling art the sponsors of these exhibitions sought to redress a bad balance of long standing. Leonardo da Vinci has been known primarily and essentially as an artist. Even fifty years ago if one would ask any cultured and educated person who Leonardo da Vinci was, the inevitable reply would be: a very great artist who has given the world those immortal paintings—'The Last Supper' and 'The Mona Lisa.' Few were aware that his greatness and abilities in many other spheres were the equal of those in art and in his activities in the domain of pure science and its applications he was vastly superior to his contemporaries and predecessors and was really one or two centuries ahead of his time.

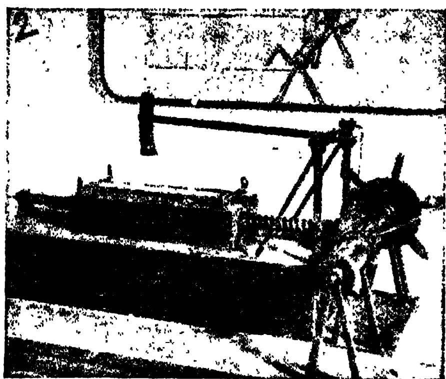


Leonardo's design for an engine of war—a tank

Italy is the land of birth of modernism in art and science. The scene of the revival of classical learning, it was here that the foundations of modern science were also laid. She had to her credit the immortal poetry of Dante and Petrarch and the supreme art of Raphael and Michael Angelo. At the beginning of the modern period when Italian art was just showing a tendency to decline, the scientific spirit burst into vigorous growth there. By strange coincidence, on the very day on which Michael Angelo "the seer of the Italian Renaissance" breathed his last, Galileo Galeli first saw the light of the day. Italian science appeared in the field just in time to take over the glory of Italian art. This illustrious son of Italy revolutionized the world of thought with his scientific discoveries and was primarily responsible in ushering in the modern age, in science. But about a century before the birth of Galileo there appeared in Italy a universal genius, that could grasp the details and see the inner laws of arts and sciences, and had creative as well as analytic faculties of the first order. Judged by all criteria he was eminently a modern man of science. This was Leonardo da Vinci—the scientist, astronomer, anatomist, botanist, paleontologist, geologist, philosopher, architect, engineer, writer, musician, sculptor and painter. It is no fault of posterity that his appreciation has been mainly one-sided. His famous paintings earned for him the recognition as one of the greatest Renaissance artists. His great work "The Last Supper" has been acclaimed as "the first masterpiece of the perfected Renaissance" and "the most perfect composition in the history of painting of all ages." The subtle and inscrutable smile portrayed in the face of "Mona Lisa," his most celebrated painting, now in the Louvre, Paris, has roused the wonder and admiration of all the artists and art lovers who saw it. On the other hand his remarkable contributions in other spheres have not been given proper recognition as they lay buried till the end of the last century, in several thousand dusty sheets kept in the archives of different museums and libraries of Europe. It is a remarkable fact that this wonderful man never published anything during his lifetime though his capable mind was incessantly at work upon an enormous number of subjects. Probably he realized that the world was not yet ready for his views and one can appreciate his wisdom in refraining from publishing them when one remembers the martyrdom of Giordano Bruno and the persecutions of Galilio and others, even at a later date. Some students and authors must

have access to the vast collection of notes compiled by him and undoubtedly he and his intimate circle helped in a large measure to prepare the way for the coming advance. But the price paid by the world for withholding the publication of his work was a century or more of delay in the arrival of the modern age of science.

Fortunately during his unceasing and varied activities Leonardo found time to pen down notes of what he was doing and what he proposed to do. Of these writings 7000 of the original sheets have been preserved. A modern cataloguing of European libraries may disclose the existence of some more which are now presumed



A file-shaper from Leonardo's design. The file blank was to be clamped on the bedplate moved by the lead-screw, while the cold chisel on the tilt-hammer indented the teeth serially in it

to have been lost. Had these notes been published in time, science and scientists would have been spared centuries of labour. Research among his notes and manuscripts, publication of which began some years ago and is still in progress, has revealed that Leonardo had anticipated discoveries in many spheres. To day we know, though one of the finest painters the world has ever seen, art was not his sole or even his chief accomplishment. He was a pioneer in many realms of science; an anticipator of Galileo, Newton, and Harvey; a genius whose versatility has scarcely been equalled in the history of the world.

Born in 1452 in the hill village of Vinci, whence the family took its name, Leonardo at an early age began to show sings of genius, specially in music, art and mathematics. In 1470 he was placed under Verocchio, the Florentine artist and rapidly rose to fame. He was not however absorbed in his chosen arts of painting and sculpture. A remarkable letter addressed to Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, offering his services to him, gives a glimpse of young Leonardo's accomplishments. The letter reads:

"I can construct bridges very light and strong, and capable of easy transportation. I know how, in a place under siege, to remove the water from the moats and make infinite bridges, trellis work, ladders and other instruments suitable to the said purposes.

"Also if on account of the height of the ditches, or of the strength of the position and the situation, it is not possible in the siege to make use of bombardment, I have means of destroying every fortress or other fortification if it be not built of stone.

"I have also means of making cannon easy and convenient to carry and with them throw out stones similar to a tempest, and with the smoke from them cause great fear to the enemy, to his grave damage and confusion.

"And if it should happen at sea, I have the means of constructing many instruments capable of offense and defense and vessels which will offer resistance to the attack of the largest cannon, powder and fumes.

"Also I have means by tunnels and secret and tortuous passages, made without any noise, to reach a certain and designated point; even if it be necessary to pass under ditches or some river.

"Also, I will make covered wagons secure and indestructible, which, entering with their artillery among the enemy, will break up the largest body of armed men. And behind these can follow infantry unharmed and without any opposition.

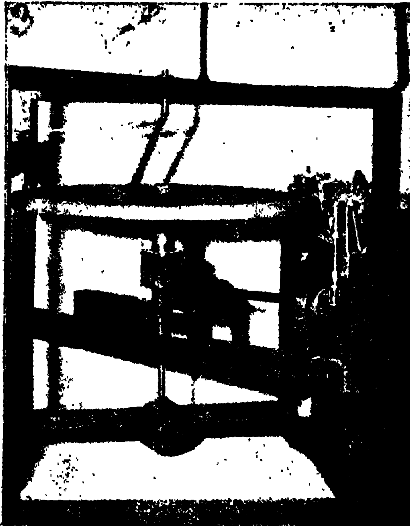
"Also if the necessity occurs, I will make cannon, mortars and field pieces of beautiful and useful shapes, different from those in common use. In times of peace I believe that I can give satisfaction equal to any other in architecture, in designing public and private edifices, and in conducting water from one place to another

"Also, I can undertake sculpture in marble, in bronze, or in terra cotta; similarly in painting, that which it is possible to do I can do as well as any other whoever he may be."

Leonardo thus recommended himself in three capacities: as a military engineer, as an architect and civil engineer and as a sculptor and painter. Ludovico knew that Leonardo was not boasting and the offer of his services was readily accepted. The next seventeen years of his life were spent in the Duke's service in Milan. After the plague there in 1485, Leonardo drew up plans for rebuilding the city on new and sanitary lines. He also planned a dome for the famous Milan Cathedral. The hydraulic problems of the plains of Lombardy engaged his attention and he produced plans for a complete system of irrigation and water-ways there. While still in Milan, he began the greatest and most famous of his paintings "The Last Supper" which was painted on a wall in the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie. It is said that when Louis XII captured Milan, the painting impressed him so much that he asked those about him "if it were not possible to hew out the wall whereon it was painted, being minded to take the picture with him to France." Engaged as a

military engineer in charge of the fortresses of Cesare· Borgia, Leonardo in 1502 travelled through Central Italy and made some excellent and accurate maps which are even today a marvel of scientific cartography and of draughtsmanship. Francis I of France being struck by the versatile geuius of Leonardo took him into his service in 1516 and the remaining years of Leonardo's life till his death in May 1519, was spent under Francis' patronage.

Of many great men who lived long after Leonardo we have only blurred pictures; but in Leonardo's case the firsthand material in the form of the 7000 sheets of manuscripts left by him affords a complete and true picture of the great man. In the different branches of science such as, aeronautics, architecture, astronomy, engineering, mathematics, physics, botany and geology, in which he interested himself, he was no mere dabbler; he was the equal, nay much ahead of any master of his period. The physical characteristics of his manuscripts are interesting. Leonardo being left-handed wrote from right to left. Many of the manuscripts are copiously illustrated by free hand drawings and sketches as clear and definite as any engineer's sketch of today. It is from these original notes and sketches that the 275 working models of Leonardo's inventions recently on exhibition in Milan and New York were made. A few of the models shewn here will undoubtedly leave the impression that here is an artist fully at home in the world of mechanics.



A machine designed to point a number of needles simultaneously against the horizontal rotating abrasive wheel

In his famous letter to Ludovico, Leonardo set forth quite new and original ideas in military science and in the conduct of warfare. In his days the field of military engineering covered chiefly fortifications and artillery. In artillery and ordnance he left some entirely novel designs which were realized in practice only in the latter half of the nineteenth century and even the beginning of the present century. He left designs of such modern weapons as breech-loading cannons, rapid fire multiple cannons and machine guns, conical and explosive shells and even the terrible engine of war—the tank. He anticipated the use of steam and sketched a steam cannon. Among his manuscripts there is a single note about the submarine, which indicates that he visualized attack under water. But he refrains from fully revealing his method of remaining under water

"on account of the evil nature of men who would practice assassination on the bottom of the seas by breaking the hulls of boats and wrecking them with all on board."

About the use of poison gas however he had no such scruples, for in one of his manuscripts he states:

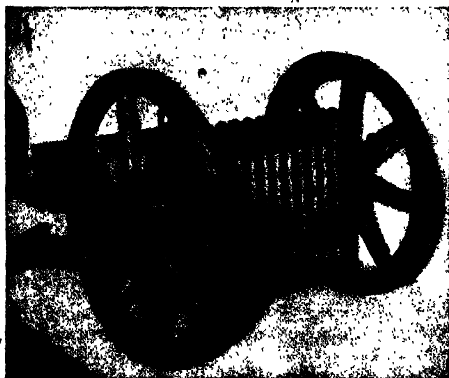
"Throw among the enemy ships, with small catapults, chalk, pulverized arsenic and veldigris. All who inhale this powder will be asphyxiated by breathing it, but be careful that the wind be such as not to blow back the fumes, or else cover your nose and mouth with a moist cloth so that the powder fumes cannot penetrate."

Man has always aspired to fly, but no one seriously investigated before Leonardo's time the problem of using the air as a medium of travel. He carefully studied the flight of winged animals and birds, their take off and alighting, their spiral course and reaction to wind. From his observations he deduced principles later application of which made aviation possible. Unfortunately, no source of power other than human muscular effort was available at his time. His flying machines designed on quite sound principles as they were, would have flown if he could employ some such agent as the petrol engine. Leonardo also designed machines lighter than air and he made "baloons of thin wax" which rose up when filled with warm air. The parachute was also one of Leonardo's designs.

In the field of structural engineering, Leonardo was the first to advance beyond the rule-of-thumb treatment of structural problems adopted by ancient and mediæval builders. His greatset achievement was the analysis of stresses. He recognized that the load which an

upright pillar consisting of a compact bundle of shafts can support is many times greater than the total of the loads which each of the several shafts could support separately. He tackled the problem of ascertaining how the carrying power varies when both the height and the diameter of a pillar are varied. This problem was treated mathematically by Euler two hundred years later and still presents difficulties.

Engineering sketches left by Leonardo include trains of gear wheels, the crank, the fly-wheel, forcing pumps driven by rocking beams, lifting-screws, a boring machine with screw feed and an adjustable chuck; also a whole range of appliances for mechanizing the work of spinning



A multiple-cannon. While the top bank of barrels was being fired, the bank in front was cooling and the one behind was being loaded

and weaving. He has also been credited with the invention of canal locks. He collected and arranged materials for a projected treatise on hydraulics in which he proposed to discuss the results of his investigations on the behaviour of flowing water, its latent energy, its power for destruction and the fixed laws governing all its phenomena.

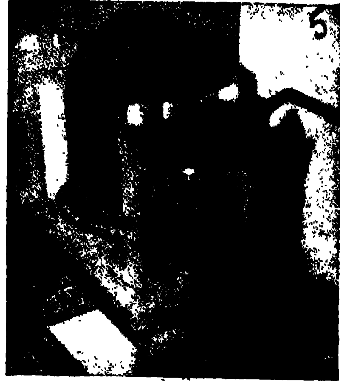
In physics, Leonardo went far for his time. In those days physics was not yet established as a science. Little was known regarding the nature of light or sound. As to what light was and how people saw, there were two rival theories, none of them supported by experiment. It was still in dispute whether seeing was a matter of reception or one of projection. Leonardo dissected the eye, discovered its principal part, the lens, and understood its functions. He put forward the modern conception that seeing is due to light falling on the eye and also explained how the two eyes gave stereoscopic vision. He established the law that the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection both in the case of sound and light. He contradicted the then current view that black and white were distinct colours, and said that they were not true colours, the first being merely the absence of and the second a blending of all colours. In his writings are also found the traces of an undulatory theory of light. Sound also he understood to be a series of waves emanating from a source and permeating space. In other branches of physics, he studied the rise of liquids in fine tubes, determined co-efficients of friction, hinted at the principle of virtual work, studied the principles of composition of forces and discovered the fallacy of perpetual motion. He foreshadowed the principle of inertia and defined what later came to be known as Newton's second law. Galileo and Newton who had no access to the writings of Leonardo and did not know that they existed, had to work out independently these principles at a much later date. The credit of inventing the telescope generally goes to Jan Lippershay (1608), but his was far from being an astronomical instrument. In the following year Galileo independently figured out an arrangement of lenses which developed into a real astronomical telescope giving a magnification up to 32 diameters. Galileo's instrument is still preserved in a museum in Florence. Recent discovery of some sheets of Leonardo's original notes by Professor Claudio Argentieri, which have not yet been published, has however raised the question of Leonardo's possible priority of invention of the telescope and it has been the subject of much discussion in Italy. In the newly discovered sheets, preserved in the Institute of France in Paris, are found notes which leave no doubt that Leonardo wished to design a magnifying instrument with the help of lenses and he also intended to use it for astronomical observations. In one sheet under the figure of a large tube mounted on a stand are written the following words "This eye-glass of crystal must be flawless and very clear and is to be thin in the centre". This obviously refers to a concave lens. Other notes in the same sheet mention that one lens of the instrument was to be plano-convex. It seems probable that in his telescope he used a concave and a convex lens in combination—the arrangement now known as 'Galilean.' But unlike Galileo he did not give publicity to his invention thus losing the credit that was his due and incidentally delaying the availability of the telescope to the world for about a century.

Of the varied subjects treated by Leonardo anatomy occupies more space in his note than any other. The 750 anatomical sketches left

by him afford clear evidence of his mastery in this field, and rank him not only as the leading anatomist of his time but also as one of the greatest anatomists of all times. He studied the human brain and the nerves connected with it by sawing the head vertically and horizontally, made detailed drawings of what he found and took casts of the cerebral ventricles. In this line he was the pioneer by 300 years. He did not confine himself to the study of human anatomy alone but mapped out a plan to compare the intestines of 'apes, the bovine and the birds' with those of human beings to see how they differed from man.

To Leonardo goes the credit of being the first to treat Botany as a science. He tried to explain the arrangement of leaves on a stem and pointed out that the age of a tree can be accurately determined by the number of rings appearing on a cross-section, one ring being added each year. Leonardo is also the father of Paleontology. During the Middle Ages fossils were believed to be not of organic origin, but were supposed to be due to the moulding power of nature which playfully as it were shaped inorganic substances to resemble living things. This view was first repudiated by Leonardo. From the study of fossils he turned his attention to the study of structure of the earth's crust. He made a geological survey of the Alps and of Northern Italy and Southern France at a time when there were no collections of rocks and fossils or museums of natural history to which he could turn to compare and study specimens. The absurdity of the then current belief that the age of the earth from its creation was some five thousands years was pointed out by Leonardo. "Impossible that the earth is only 5000 years old," he said, "the surface planes of the Arno have alone taken more than 200,000 years in their formation and they are comparatively modern."

Such was Leonardo da Vinci, the greatest light of the Italian Renaissance, a genius who could with equal brilliance plan vast irrigation schemes, devise terrible engines of war, produce superb works of art, solve the fundamental problems of physics and study the gentlest variegation upon a flower petal. In his knowledge and his attainments in various spheres, in the tremendous sweep of his mind and in his ideas, he was centuries ahead of his time and was certainly one of the most wonderfully equipped of men in his own time or any other. In appraising his varied accomplishments, one cannot escape the impression that his work in the fields of engineering, science and invention was as great as, if not greater than that in art. In the realm of art he was a giant among giants, but in the realm of science he was a giant among pigmies. His work in science did not receive due recognition because of the lack of sufficient publicity; also because he was born in an age when people in general were not prepared to see the value of science.



A model of a hand-operated machine for grinding a lens for a telescope or other optical instruments



PLATO, WHITMAN, HITLER FROM THE EDUCATIONAL POINT OF VIEW

BY BIJOYLAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

PRODUCE great Persons—the rest follows. Thus sings Walt Whitman, the poet of the modern world. Men and women of strong bodies and firm moral character are needed to make a nation really great. A place may contain tallest and costliest buildings, libraries and colleges, hotels of granite and iron and yet may not be great at all. Such a place may be peopled by men and women of poor health and without any moral beauty in their souls. A country may have numerous population and plenty of money and scholars—yet it would fail to command any respect if it is inhabited by demoralised slaves whom fear of death has made veritable objects of pity. It is for this reason that Whitman sings :

> "A great city is that which has the greatest men
> and women,
> If it be a few ragged huts it is still the greatest
> city in the whole world."

It reminds us of Plato's saying :

> "Can there be anything better for a State than that it should contain the best possible men and women?"

To the Greek mind human perfection meant moral beauty of soul combined with outward beauty of form. Thus we read in the *Republic* of Plato :

> "Surely, then, to him who has an eye to see, there can be no fairer spectacle than that of a man who combines the possession of moral beauty in his soul with outward beauty of form, corresponding and harmonising with the former. because the same great pattern enters into both."

With a view to produce such perfect citizens Greek culture has attached great value to music and gymnastic in the education of young men—gymnastic for the body and music for the mind. In Plato's *Republic* we come across the following lines :

> "No doubt careful training in gymnastic, as well as in music, ought to begin with their childhood, and go on through all their life."

This Greek spirit finds remarkable expression in the poetry of Walt Whitman. In him we discover Hellenism in its truest sense. The sacred human body, long neglected, is again glorified in poetry at once vigorous and beautiful. Religious preachers looked upon the flesh as something to be crucified so that spiritual life might be ennobled. They saw an eternal conflict between the demands of the body and those of the soul. Whitman came like a prophet and recognised the claims of both. The human body regained its glory, the Greek spirit again became victorious through the mighty voice of the Yankee. The poet from the New World proclaimed in a new voice :

> "I have said that the soul is not more than the body,
> And I have said that the body is not more than the
> soul,
> And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's
> self is."

Whitman is a genius and the work of a genius is to break old idols and create new values. He is a transvaluer of values. Whitman made us see what we did not see before—the glory of a perfect human body. He sang :

> "If anything is sacred the human body is sacred,
> And the glory and sweet of a man is the token of
> manhood untainted,
> And in man or woman a clean, strong, firm-fibred
> body is more beautiful than the most beautiful face."

The poem is finished with the following lines :

> "Who degrades or defiles the living body is cursed,
> Who degrades or defiles the body of the dead is
> not more cursed."

Whitman knows that purity is best and health is best. He is, therefore, very particular about the body. The army of young men he needs to create the new world of his dream must have splendid health. He would not accept a young man who does not possess a strong beautiful body and in his famous poem 'The song of the Open Road' the poet lets us know his terms in unequivocal language :

> "None may come to the trial till he or she bring
> courage and health,
> Come not here if you have already spent the best
> of yourself,
> Only those may come who come in sweet and
> determin'd bodies,
> No diseas'd person, no rum-drinker or venereal taint
> is permitted here."

Hitler's politics, anti-semitism I abhor and condemn. But we must understand how he has been able to make German young men sturdy fighters. The reason is, Hitler, like Plato and Whitman, has great respect for the perfect

human body. Like the Greek Philosopher he regards gymnastic for the body as a necessary part of education and he writes in his *My Struggle* :

"With this in view, the national State must direct its educational work, in the first place, not so much towards pumping in mere knowledge as towards cultivating thoroughly healthy bodies. After that comes development of mental capacity."

Again he writes :

"The national State must act on the presumption that a man of moderate education, but sound in body, firm in character and filled with joyous self-confidence and power of will, is of more value to the community than a highly educated weakling."

In the case of female education also, Hitler puts the same stress on bodily training. He writes :

"In the case of female education the main stress should be laid on bodily training; and after that, on development of character; and, last of all, of the intellect."

His ideal State must consist of men and women with perfect bodies. He cannot tolerate weaklings. He says that it is a regrettable misfortune to be ailing and weakly but it would be a crime against God and man for a weakling to marry and bring into the world creatures burdened with feeble bodies. To Hitler marriage is an institution whose aim should be 'to produce the Lord's image, and not monstrous beings, half man, half monkey'. His voice reminds us of Nietzsche who says, 'Thou shalt propagate thyself not only onwards but upwards!' Marriage should not be allowed to disregard the social claims of the race. Love should perfect the race just as much as the lovers themselves. Thus Hitler puts the main stress on physical training; over and over he glorifies health. He must have, above all, healthiest fathers and best-bodied mothers for creating a new race, strong, brave and vigorous. Hitler echoes what Whitman wrote long ago in his 'Song of the Broad-Axe':

"Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,
There the great city stands."

Maintaining one's health in perfect condition is a social obligation in Soviet Russia too. Thus we read in the second volume of *Soviet Communism* by Sydney and Beatrice Webb :

"Personal cleanliness, daily shower-bath or immersion, intolerance of parasites and of filth of every kind, regularity of all bodily functions, adequate physical exercise, free ventilation of the dwelling by night as well as by day, definite restriction of eating to something less than the demands of appetite, all become something more than 'self-regarding' lines of conduct, and assume the dignity of social obligations. It is in a similar light that is seen the necessity of prudent self-restraint in every form of enjoyment. From this is evolved a common judgment as to drinking, smoking, gambling and sexual intercourse. We seem to see the code of conduct in these matters developing on the line of requiring from both sexes the perpetual maintenance of perfect health of mind and body. The code does not demand total abstinence. But it regards yielding to temptation as a weakness to be deplored, and, because one lapse leads to others, and eventually to injurious habits, to be definitely blamed. Excess is plainly misconduct, because science shows it to be inimical to health." (P. 1053).

India's leader Mahatma Gandhi, though he attaches so much value to the moral development of man, by no means, minimises the importance of the physical side. We read in the first volume of his *Autobiography* the following lines :

"I believed then, and I believe even now, that no matter what amount of work one has, one should always find some time for exercise, just as one does for one's meals. It is my humble opinion, that far from taking away from one's capacity for work, it adds to it." (P. 542).

Plato has condemned drunkenness, effeminacy and idleness as the most unbecoming things in guardians. In Whitman's army, too, the 'rum-drinker,' the 'corpulent sleeper,' and the effeminate goody-goody fellow have no place. He cannot tolerate effeminacy at all. His ideal youths are 'beautiful, gigantic, sweet-blooded,' his ideal old men 'splendid and savage,' his ideal girls 'fierce and athletic,' his ideal women 'strong and arrogant,' his ideal cities 'turbulent and manly.' The boy he loves must be 'first-rate to ride, to fight, to hit the bull's-eye, to sail a skiff.' Whitman prefers 'those well-tanned to those that keep out of the sun.' He leads no man to 'a dinner table, library, exchange.' He loves the company of 'powerful uneducated persons.' His ideal citizens never submit to tyranny. They are laws to themselves. They would be rather dead than remain live slaves. Spenglar writes :

"As for those who seek comfort merely, they do not deserve to exist."

Whitman, like Spenglar has little regard for those youths who make comfort the summum bonum of their lives. Like Spenglar he sees greatness and happiness incompatible. His disciples must choose either greatness or happiness. He himself prefers greatness and betrays no love for peace and security He teaches his disciples to 'live dangerously' and his mighty voice we still hear coming across the century :

"For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go,
And we will risk the ship, ourselves and all."

To his disciples he does not offer 'the old smooth prizes, but offer rough new prizes.' He

would not allow his followers to anchor in calm waters, to remain in convenient dwelling. He would take them where the sea is wild and the waters deep, where the winds blow and waves dash.

He sings :

"We will sail pathless and wild seas,
We will go where winds blow, waves dash, and the
Yankee clipper speeds by under full sail."

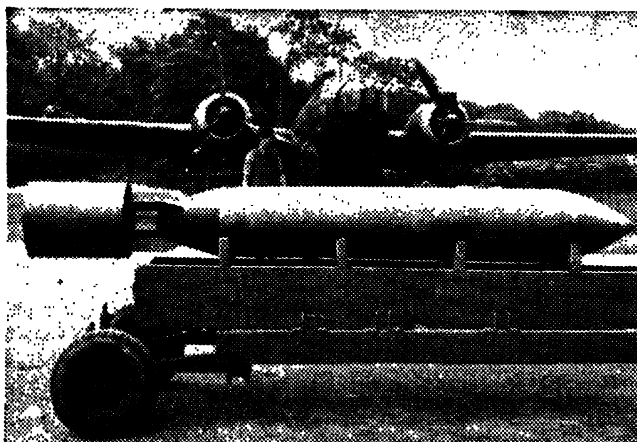
Again and again he reminds his disciples of the difficulties that would confront them on their thorny way towards the distant goal. He reminds them over and over of the sufferings they have to embrace, 'of spare diet, poverty, angry enemies, desertions.' In unmistakable language he informs them of the fate that awaits them on the path.

"Not for delectations sweet,
Not the cushion and the slipper, not the peaceful and the studious,
Not the riches safe and palling, not for us the tame enjoyment,
Pioneers ! O Pioneers !

Do the feasters gluttonous feast ?
Do the corpulent sleepers sleep ? have they lock'd and bolted doors ?
Still be ours the diet hard, and the blanket on the ground,
Pioneers ! O Pioneers !"

Whitman is a born rebel. His call is the call of battle. He loves ruggedness in men. He is the avowed enemy of effeminacy. Everything about him is masculine and virile. His words smell of gunpowder.

Those who are merely intellectuals have as much chance of finding favour in the eyes of Hitler as in those of Whitman. He would not judge a man by the number of books he has gone through nor by the amount of money he has amassed but by his health and character. His beloved man must have superb body, superb manners, self-esteem, courage, kind consideration for his fellowmen. Intellect is to be valued, but sound body and firm character are of greater value. "Have we not darken'd and dazed ourselves with books long enough ?"—is the question put before the modern world by the poet of the *Leaves of Grass*. The same question seems to be coming from the lips of Hitler, too. It is high time that those who are concerned with the educational activities of the nation should ask themselves this question : How much value should be given to bodily training and how much to theoretical knowledge ? It is my humble opinion that our educational activities have laid too much stress on the intellectual development of the pupils to the detriment of the physical side. We have been too much in love with scholars. Intellectualism has gained undue honour from us, the physical side of education has been cruelly neglected. The time has come when every ideal should be revalued, over-valued ideas must be rejected, new values should be created in all spheres of life, specially in the sphere of education, and the sad conflict between intellect and body should be abolished. Plato should be re-read, Whitman should be studied from the educational point of view and Hitler's views regarding the education of the young men and young women should not be rejected merely because he belongs to the enemy's camp and his politics are damnable.



A 2,000 lb. armour-piercing bomb as used by Britain's Royal Air Force

THE BENGAL AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX BILL

By BIRENDRA KISHORE ROY CHOWDHURY, M.L.C.

In an extraordinary issue of the Calcutta Gazette, dated September 2, 1941 was published the Bengal Agricultural Income-tax Bill. It could not be taken up for consideration in the Legislative Assembly in its last session. It is, however, likely that the bill will be referred to a Select Committee when the Legislature meets next on the 27th of this month. It will not be out of place on this account to make some observations upon this proposed measure.

For long there has been a controversy in Bengal as to the nature of the revenue which the zamindars have to pay to the Government. There have been some who have regarded it as rent, while others have claimed it as a tax. The former school has been of the view that land is really owned by the Government and as such what the zamindars have to pay to the Government under the Permanent Settlement is nothing but rent. The latter school, on the contrary, has emphasised it that not only before 1793 land was owned by the zamindars, but even the Permanent Settlement itself recognised this ownership of land on their part. In view of this what is paid to the Government as revenue is nothing but a tax upon the income which the zamindars happen to rear from their estates. This tax is different from other taxes only in this that it was fixed in perpetuity under the Permanent Settlement Regulation of 1793. It is true that for nearly 70 years the zamindars have been subjected to the payment of cesses in addition to the revenue which they have already paid to the Government. It was, however, regarded that the nature of the cesses is entirely different from that of a tax. Consequently the imposition of the cesses has not altered the character of the relation between the Government and the zamindars at all. That it has not done so is illustrated further by the fact that agricultural income was long excluded from taxation under the Income-tax Acts of the Government of India.[1] It enjoyed this exemption on the ground that otherwise it will be subject to double taxation. But this emminently reasonable point of view began to lose ground after the Reforms of 1919 had been in operation for some time. A demand then went forth that agricultural income should be taxed as much as the income from other sources.[2] That such income from rent would thereby suffer double taxation was ignored.

When Provincial Autonomy was inaugurated in Bengal under the Government of India Act, 1935, which assigned Agricultural Income-tax as a source of revenue to the Provincial Government, a group of people, which was inspired by a crusading zeal against the zamindars and the zamindary system, acquired a predominant voice in the counsels of the Government. It was on the insistence of this group that the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1938 was passed. It was again by way of a concession to the demands of this group that the Land Revenue Commission was apointed in the same year under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Floud. This group is not only out to revolutionise the relationship between the zamindars and the tenants and add in every way to the burdens of the former, but it is also determined to abolish the zamindary system itself. The Land Revenue Commission was unfortunately so constituted and it followed such a procedure as more or less to play into the hands of this group. I have emphasised before and I am emphasising it now that a body like the Land Revenue Commission which was entrusted with so onerous a responsibility should have been more or less of the nature of a judicial tribunal. Actually neither in its composition nor in its procedure had it any opportunity of acting on that basis. In the first place persons with rather avowed hostility to the existing land system were given the majority of seats on the Commission and secondly, three of these members were appointed to the Commission after this body had put in one whole year's work and had completed virtually the examination of all witnesses. These members who were appointed so late had consequently little opportunity of modifying their preconceived views regarding the land system either by the

1. I am not ignoring the fact that from 1860-1865 and from 1869 to 1873 agricultural income also was subjected to tax. But since 1886, it has been excluded and this because of rightful agitation on the part of the zamindars.

2. That agricultural income should be taxed was canvassed before the Taxation Enquiry Committee. This Committee saw no objection to such tax on principle. But it discouraged it on political grounds.

examination and cross-examination of witnesses or by long collaboration with their colleagues.

Any way the Floud Commission submitted a Report in which radical, even revolutionary, recommendations were made by the majority of members. In view of the composition of the Commission such recommendations by the majority were not unexpected. The major recommendation was to the effect that it should be the policy of the Government to purchase estates of all zamindars and other rent-receivers at a particular rate which by the way, would do violence to all equitable and just principles of land acquisition.[3] The Commission was, of course, not convinced that the scheme of purchase which it was recommending would be carried out at once. Pending the acquisition of this scheme it recommended the imposition of agricultural income-tax in this province.

"We should prefer an agricultural income-tax to be imposed as a transitional measure until the scheme of State acquisition is effected, or as a permanent measure, if the Government consider that State acquisition should not be undertaken for financial or other reasons.'

It should be noted that although the majority of the members of the Commission recommended the imposition of an agricultural income-tax, two of the members who represented the zamindary interests were entirely opposed to such a proposal. They thought that such an impost would worsen the economic position of landlords who have already become financially handicapped to a considerable degree because of an adverse political atmosphere. They also thought such a tax would

"burden the landlords with discriminatory taxation impairing the principle of equal sacrifice by similar and similarly situated persons."[5]

It should be noted also that Mr. C. W. Gurner of the Indian Civil Service, who had been posted as Special Officer to examine the recommedations of the Land Revenue Commission, has not felt very enthusiastic about this proposed impost. He has suggested that if the agricultural income-tax is levied, it may be accompanied by an assurance on the part of the Government to the zamindars that poper arrangements will be made for speedy collection of rent. He has also pointed out that the imposition of agricultural income-tax as a stepping-stone to compulsory purchase of the zamindary estates by the Government will not be readily acceptable.[6] The Government, however, has not attached any importance to the opposition voiced so far against the proposal. It has, as I have already pointed out, gazetted a bill for the levy of agricultural income-tax.

The object of the bill, as laid down in the preamble, is "to impose a tax on agricultural income," in order that there may be "an addition to the revenues of Bengal." It should be remembered in this connection that the majority of the members of the Land Revenue Commission in recommending this tax were

"strongly of opinion that if agricultural income-tax is imposed, it should be applied solely for the improvement of agriculture or for projects connected with agricultural improvement."[7]

The two members of the Commission who represented landholding interests and who opposed the imposition of the tax were also of the view that if in spite of their opposition agricultural income-tax was levied at all, it should be levied only for agricultural improvement. What is more, they further pointed out that agricultural income

"should be ear-marked as provincial revenue to be distributed in proportion to the agricultural needs of the different districts."[8]

But the Government of Bengal in sponsoring this measure has departed completely not only from the recommendations of these two members but also from those of the Commission. This is a fact which should be borne in mind. The proceeds of the agricultural income-tax will not be ear-marked for agricultural improvement, but will be part and parcel of the general revenues of the Government to be spent in any way and on any matter in the discretion of the Government.

Agricultural income upto Rs. 2000/ will be exempted from this tax. In this particular although the Government has shown itself to be more liberal than the majority of members of the Land Revenue Commission who wanted to limit exemption to an income of only Rs. 1000/- per annum, it has certainly proved to be very much less liberal than the two neighbouring provinces of Bihar and Assam, which have also resorted to agricultural income-tax and which have exempted incomes up to Rs. 5000/- and Rs. 3000/- respectively.

Subject to the exemption referred to above the rate of taxation has been determined as follows on the basis of the slab system. Those who have an income of more than Rs. 2000/- will be required to pay no tax on the first 1500/- rupees. On the next Rs. 3500/- income-tax will be levied at the rate of nine pies in the rupee,

3. Report, Vol. I, pp. 42, 45.
4. *Ibid*, p. 63.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 245-46.
6. Gurner's Report, p. 75.
7. Report, p. 64.
8. *Ibid*, p. 246.

on the next Rs. 5000/- at the rate of one anna in the rupee, on the next Rs. 5000/- one anna six pies, on the next 5000/- rupees two annas and on the balance of the total agricultural income two annas six pies in the rupee.

The tax which would be levied on the basis described above will be an impost upon all agricultural income (both rent and profits). But there is no gain-saying the fact that the main burden will fall upon the rent-receivers. Except in respect of tea plantation, agriculture in Bengal is not as a rule a large-scale operation. Consequently the actual farmers will be, more or less, out of the clutches of this tax. Let us, therefore, see how the zamindars and other rent-receivers upon whom will fall, as I have pointed out just now, the main burden of this tax, will be affected by this projected impost. We have seen already that according to the point of view which is not to be ignored, the revenue which the zamindars pay to the Government is not rent at all but tax. The imposition of a fresh income-tax upon them, therefore, involves them in double taxation. They will have to pay, in other words, two income-taxes at the same time, one on a proportionate and the other on a graduated basis. In this respect the zamindars and other rent-receivers alone are being singled out for such penalisation. This is certainly an instance of gross injustice to one class of people in the province. The industrialists and commercial men are subject to only one income-tax, while the the zamindars are being subjected to two taxes simultaneously.

It is even not enough to say that the zamindars and other rent-receives in Bengal are being subjected to a double levy. It should be remembered that they have not only to pay the old Roads and Public Works Cesses, but for the last four years they have also been required to pay the Education Cess. The imposition of this latter cess had been provided for in the Primary Education Act of 1930 but it was in abeyance for some years owing to an abnormal economic distress in the province. The cess has, however, been levied since 1938. It has been made much of that the Governments of Assam and Bihar have already resorted to the imposition of agricultural income-tax and Bengal is only following in their footsteps. But it should be remembered that their example is not exactly to the point. In these two provinces Education Cess has not been levied and the zamindars have to pay the agricultural income-tax only in addition to land revenue and the old cesses. In Bengal on the other hand the zamindars have already to pay the new Education Cess and are threatened with the agricultural income-tax as well. It should also be remembered in this connection that although the Education Cess was levied both upon rent-receivers and tenants, the former was made responsible for the collection of the whole amount. The result has been that in most places the tenants have refused to pay their own share and the zamindars and talukdars have been compelled to pay the whole amount themselves.

It should not also be forgotten that until 1938 the zamindars and talukdars in Bengal had an income of nearly 40 lakhs of rupees derived from the fee to which the transfer of land from one tenant to another was subject. But the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1938, deprived the zamindars of this considerable income. So the zamindars are being subjected to an attack on two fronts. Concessions made to the tenants by Tenancy Acts are depriving them of some important sources of income while fresh taxes and cesses are curtailing the income derived from the remaining sources. It is calculated that they will be mulcted in all in five years of Provincial Autonomy to the extent of an annual income of nearly one crore and a half if the new tax on agricultural income is levied. This is a position which is not only unjust but atrocious.

Mr. Gurner in his Report has pointed out that the levy of the agricultural income-tax may have been acceptable to the zamindars if there was a declaration on the part of the Government that suitable arrangements would be made for speedy collection of rent from the tenants. Such collection has, in fact, become a very difficult affair today. The levy of agricultural income-tax will be, in all circumstances, objectionable. But it is still more objectionable and unacceptable when nothing is being done by the Government to facilitate the collection of rent.

I have already pointed out and I may repeat that even the majority of members who recommended the agricultural income-tax as a stop-gap arrangement were of the view that such a tax should be imposed with the exclusive purpose of improving agriculture in Bengal. But the Government has not followed this recommendation. It has not accepted the view that the proceeds of the tax should be ear-marked for agricultural improvement and development. The money so raised may be spent any way by the Government. We know from our experience of the last four years and a half as to what this exactly means. The income of the Government has increased since 1936 by nearly 40 per cent. But the additional revenue of four crores of rupees has not helped the Government in undertaking seriously any constructive work in any direction.

Education, public health, agriculture, industry, —in none of these fields the Government can show any real improvement. If nothing could be done with four crores of rupees, could we expect that an addition of 50 or 60 lakhs would make any difference unless it was definitely ear-marked for constructive work in some particular field? Would this sum also not go the same way as four crores have gone?

It should also be pointed out that the Land Revenue Commission has recommended the acquisition of all zamindary estates by the Government. The compensation to be paid to the dispossessed zamindars should be, according to the Commission, ten times the net profit. This may be too arbitrary. But there is no gain-saying the fact that in case the Government decides to acquire the estates, compensation will have to be paid at *several* times the *net* profit derived from the estates concerned. This net profit again is brought out only by deducting the expenses of collection and dues paid to the Government, etc., from the gross income. The imposition of the agricultural income-tax, as a step perliminary to the taking over of the estates by the Government, will therefore, involve a double loss to the zamindars. It will deprive them of a good portion of their income today and it will also so depress the *net profit* from their zamindaries as to fetch a smaller compensation when the estates are actually purchased by the Government. So before the Government of Bengal decide finally as to the future of the Permanent Settlement and the zamindary system, it will be unjust and highly inequitable to impose agricultural income-tax. It may be pointed out in this connection that even Mr. Gurner has not taken kindly to the levy of this tax as a stop-gap arrangement.

The levy of the agricultural income-tax, as provided for in the bill, will undermine the financial position of the zamindars without improving in any way the condition of things in the province.

17th November, 1941

WIDOW-MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London)

IF THE widow considers life-long celibacy or the Niyoga[1] unsuitable and she must have a second husband, she is entitled to remarry. The following evidences may be adduced in support of the above contention: The Rig-vedic verse X.18.8,[2] "Rise, O' woman, come towards the world of the living; thou liest by the side of this one whose life is gone. Be the full-fledged wife of (this) your husband who (now) grasps your hand and wooes you" refers to widow-marriage. Hillebrandt's theory[3] that this verse does not apply to the funeral ceremony at all is not tenable. He thinks the verse was used for summoning the queen to remove herself from the side of the dead and for no other purpose at all.[4] He formulates his theory on the evidence of the Sānkhāyana-srauta-sūtra[5] according to which this verse is the first of the Utthāpinī verses that are employed for raising the queen. But he ignores totally the fact that the verse appears even in the Atharva-veda[6] and the Taittirīya Aranyaka,[7] not to speak of the Grihya-sūtras[8] of the same standing as that of Sānkhāyana, as one of the mantras used during the funeral ceremony. There is no reason why the verse referring to the married woman who is addressed as the wife of the person grasping her hand with a view to marrying her should be employed only during the Purusa-medha and not during the funeral ceremony. Again, the remaining Utthāpinī verses mentioned in the

1. See *The Modern Review*. November, 1941, The Widow in the Vedic Rituals (Niyoga).

2 उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतम् उपशेष एहि ।

हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि संबभूथ ॥

The only other place except RV. X. 18, 8=AV. XVIII, 3, 2=Tait. Aranyaka. VI, 1, 3, where the word Didhisu occurs is RV. VI, 55, 5. There also the word means "wooer." See Pischel, Vedische Studien. 1. 21; Macdonell. Vedic Mythology, p. 35 and Geldner, RV. Commentur, p. 154.

3. Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, 40, 708; Cf. Ritualliteratur, p. 153.

4. Cf. Lanman, Sanskrit Reader, Boston, 1888, p. 385; Delbruck, Die indische Verwandschaftsnamen, p. 175; Jolly: Recht und Sitte, p. 71.

5. 16. 13, 13.

6. 18, 3, 2.

7. 6, 1, 3.

8. Asvalayana, 4, 2, 18; Vaitana, 3. 8. 3; Kausika, 80, 45.

Sānkhāyana-srauta-sūtra (16. 13. 13) do not seem to have any specific connection with the Purusa-medha sacrifice. The well-known Rig-vedic verses X. 85. 21-22 which refer to Gandharva Visvāvasu appear throughout the Vedic literature, as marriage mantras. RV. X. 53.8 has been included in the list of the Utthāpinī verses simply because it begins as Ut tisthatha. It seems that the four Utthāpinī verses have been so called in the Sānkhāyana-srauta-sūtra, simply because all the four verses begin with Ut or Uta. Hillebrandt emphasises that A.V. XVIII, 3·1-4 can only be taken in connection with the Purusa-medha sacrifice. But Sānkhāyana himself on whose authority he has to base his arguments, takes only the second verse in connection with it. In explaining these verses he thinks Jīva-loka in the first verse means Pati-loka, Gopati pati and so on. These are certainly forced interpretations. There is no doubt that the verse is used in connection with the funeral ceremony; but the real difficulty lies in deciding about the true interpretation of the verse. Sāyana himself gives different interpretations in different places. In interpreting the verse (RV. X. 18.8) which occurs in the Atharva-veda (XVIII. 3.2) as well, Sāyana interprets its second line with reference to the first husband while he explains the same verse in the Taittirīya Aranyaka (VI.1) with reference to the second husband. Sāyana interprets "Abhi sam babhūtha" as "Abhimukhyena samyak prāpnuhi," taking Bhū in the sense of "getting"[9] with the aid of Pānini's rule Chandasi Lunlanlitah.[10] Modern authorities have likewise differed in opinion. Among those who think the verse refers to the first husband are Roth,[11] Maxmüller,[12] Weber,[13] Geldner[14] and Monier Williams.[15] Whitney,[16] Caland,[17] Ludwig[18] and Macdonell[19] interpret the verse as referring to the second husband. According to these latter authorities, therefore, the verse sanctions widow-marriage. Some of the medieval authorities[20] have, no doubt, employed the verse as the prescribed mantra for widow-burning in which case it can by no means refer to the second husband, but a reasonable doubt gains ground in virtue of the fact that none of the ancient authorities employ it for the same purpose. According to the former "Ud īrsva" refers to the raising up of the wife on the funeral pyre and the "Jīva-loka" then, according to them, must mean some part in heaven. But this idea is a later development and represents a very small section of the Smārtas who sanctioned widow-burning. All the ancient authorities unanimously prescribe the verse as a mantra for removing the wife from the funeral pyre wherein she lies by the side of her dead husband—strictly in accordance with the direction found in the first line of the same. Asvalāyana employs it as a mantra with which the younger brother of the deceased husband (or some such person), a disciple or an old servant should raise the widow from the funeral pyre.[21] Nārāyana[22] and Haradatta[23] commenting upon the sūtra of Asvalāyana say that the younger brother of her husband only is entitled to be her second husband. According to Baudhāyana,[24] Apastamba[25] and Hiranyakesin[26] a Patistha (one who is entitled to marry her, *i.e.*, the younger brother of her husband or Patihita or a kinsman of her husband should utter this mantra while raising up the widow by her left hand.

9. *See* Bala-manorama, Uttarardha, p. 300; Dhatu-pradipa of Maitreya Raksita, Rajshahi, 1919, p. 146. It is a curadiganiya root.

10. III, 4, 6.

11. Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, VIII, Die Todtembestattung indischen Altertum.

12. *Op cit.*, Bd. 9, 1895, p. vi.

13. Sitzungsbar der Berliner Akademie, 1896, p. 255.

14. In A. Bertholet's Religious geschicht und Lesebuch, Tubingen, 1908, p. 136.

15. Brahmanism and Hinduism, 4th edition, London, 1891, p. 280.

16. Harvard Orients' Series, Vol. 8, p. 849. His opinion that the widow is to be remarried immediately after the misfortune befalls her is untenable.

17. Die altindische Todten und Bestattungs—gebrauche, p. 44.

18. Der Rig-veda, Bd. V, p. 525.

19. History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 126.

20. Krisna Diksita, Aurdhvadehika-prayoga, India Office MS. No. 1270a, F. 96b.

"उदीर्ष्व इति द्वाभ्यां मन्त्राभ्यां ... उत्थापयेत् ।"

Bhatta Harihara's Antyesti-paddhati, India Office Library MS No. 674, F. 11b.

"उदीर्ष्व ···देवरः शिष्यो वा···करे धृत्वा उत्थापयेत् ॥"

21. IV, 2. 15 (Trivandrum edition), Trivandrum Sans. Series, No. 78, 1923,

तामुत्थापयेद् देवरः पतिथीगोऽन्तेवासी जरद्दासो वा
उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकमिति ।"

The old servant or the disciple are not entitled to utter some mantras or do all the rites; see commentaries on iv, 2, 17-18.

22. Asvalayana-grihya-sutra, ed. by J. Mukundaji, second ed., Bombay, 1909.

23. Trivandrum edition, p. 178. Haradatta, however, refers to the opinion of a school according to which the brother-in-law who is like a husband (पतिथीयः . पतिस्थानीयः) should only maintain her and do similar duties.

24. Pitrimedha-sutra, VIII, 2; Mysore University ed., p. 386.

25. ZDMG., X, No. 3, p. 38.

26. *Op. cit.*

This Patistha or Patihita is recommended to raise her up so that she may be his wife if she intends to remarry or be maintained by him if she decides to have recourse to Niyoga. Thus none but Asvalāyana refers to an old servant or a disciple as a fit person for raising the widow up from the funeral pyre. This old servant or disciple is really a substitute for the Devara who may be absent for some reason or other. So the Devara or the husband's younger brother is the fittest person to remarry the widow.

This is further supported by the etymological meaning of the word "Devara" (Dvitīyah varah)[27] (husband's younger brother) and certainly he was the most eligible second husband of his elder brother's widow. Kautilya points out that she may, no doubt, remarry but if she does not marry the person selected by her father-in-law, she will forfeit the right of possessing any longer the dowry received during her former marriage or other gifts from the father-in-law or husband.[28] The Mahābhārata also expressly states that[29] a woman marries her brother-in-law after the death of her husband. In later times Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II is said to have married his elder brother Rāmagupta's widow Dhruvadevī.[29a] Thus it is evident that this custom of remarrying the husband's younger brother continued for a long time even after the Vedic period.

Though remarriage with the husband's younger brother was preferred, it was by no means compulsory. The passages referring to widow-marriage in the Atharva-veda, etc., do not refer to it at all. As a matter of fact, it not only does not question the validity of the eleventh marriage of a woman,[30] but also assures in indubious language that by performing the Aja pancoda a rite (offering a goat with five rice-dishes), a remarried woman and her second husband may ensure for themselves a life-long union.[31] In the following stanza, the husband of the remarried wife is assured that he will be able to live with his wife in the same world even after death and the next stanza assures both the husband and the remarried wife that they may go even to the highest heaven.[32] The Aitareya Brāhmana (III. 22) stating that one wife cannot have many husbands together indicates that she cannot have more than one husband at the same time, implying thereby that she can remarry when her husband is dead.[33] This also has no direct reference to the husband's younger brother. The words Didhisu, Didhisupati,[34] Parapūrvā, Paunarbhava, etc., do not necessarily refer to the younger brother of the dead husband, though they undoubtedly show the prevalence of widow-marriage in ancient India. There are many instances in the Mahābhārata where widows are found married[35] or widows are sought for as wives.[36] Baudhāyana[37] Vasistha,[38] Parāsara,[39] Manu,[40] etc., also recognize widow-

27. Yaska gives this interpretation: *see also* Govindasvamin on Baudhayana-dharma-sutra, 2, 2, 9; *cf.* also RV. X. 40, 2b—a widow draws her husband's brother in bed.

28. Artha-sastra, III, 2.

29. XIII, 12, 19:

नारी तु पत्यभावे वै देवरं कृणुते पतिम् ।

see also शान्तिपर्व, 72, 12; अनुशासनपर्व, 8, 22.

29a. Malaviya Commemoration Volume, Early Gupta History, p. 203.

30. V, 17, 8f; if a woman marries a Brahmana for her eleventh husband, etc.

31. AV, ix, 5, 27.

या पूर्वं पतिं वित्त्वाऽथान्यं विन्दते परम् ।

पञ्चौदनं च तावजं ददातो न वि योषतः ॥

32. AV ix, 5, 28-29.

समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवा पुरः पतिः ।

योऽजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति ॥

अनुपूर्ववत्सां धेनुमनड्वाहमुपबर्हणम् ।

वासो हिरण्यं दत्वा ते यन्ति दिवमुत्तमम् ॥

33. तस्मात्...नैकस्यै बहवः सहपतयः ।

See also Mitra Misra in his Vira-mitrodaya, Adhivedana-prakarana.- सहशब्द-सामर्थ्यात् क्रमेण पत्यन्तरं भवति इति गम्यते । Nilakantha in his Bharata-bhava-dipa on Mahabharata (1, 195, 29) remarks— सह इति युगपत् बहुपतित्वनिषेधं. वहिवो, न तु समयभेदेन *Cf.* Tait. Samh. VI. 6. 4, 3. यदेकस्मिन् यूपे द्वे रशने परिव्ययति.. द्वे पती विन्देत; here too a woman is negated more than one husband at the same time.

34 Kathaka-samhita, XXXI, 7; Kapisthala-samhita, XLVII, 7; also found in the Dharma-sutras. *See also* Manu III, 173. Manu seems to apply the term to the brother-in-law who is married to his sister-in-law after his brother's death for the purpose of begetting a child, if he displays conjugal affection to her (*Cf.* Leist, Altavisches Jus Gentium, 106).

35. *E.g.*, Arjuna had a son on the widowed daughter of Airavata, the Naga King.

36. Ugrayudha seeks for the hands of Satyavati, widow of Santanu (Hari-vamsa, XX), etc.

37. Dharma-sutra, IV, 1, 16.

38. XVII. 19-20; 72-74.

39. IV, 30;

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीवे च पतिते पतौ ।

पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

Also found in Garuda-purana, 107, 28 and Agni-purana, 154, 5 and Narada-smriti.

40. IX, 175.

marriage not necessarily with the brother-in-law but with outsiders as well.

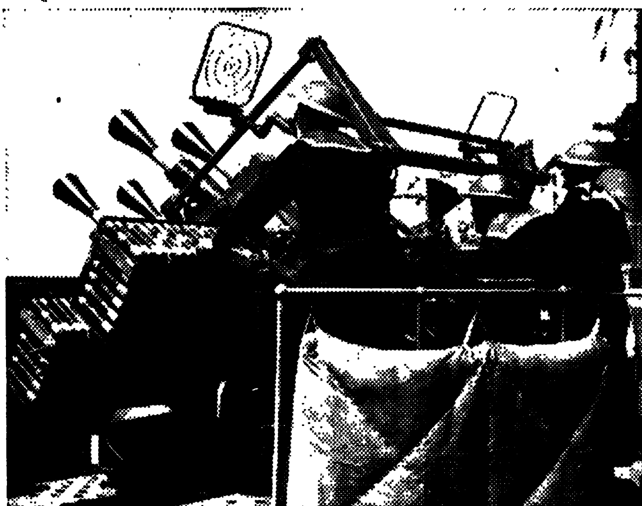
The Buddhist literature, too, furnishes a large number of instances of widow-marriages.[41]

Even in subsequent periods many widows are found married and their issues become powerful kings too; *e.g.*, Kings Candrāpīda, Tārāpīda and Muktāpīda who successively ruled Kashmir in the 8th century A.D.[42] and King Vīradhavala of Dholka.[43] Even Vastupāla of outstanding fame, an exponent of the Jaina religion in later ages, was the son of a twice-married woman by her second husband.[44] Hammīra of Chitor married the widowed daughter of Maldeo; their son Kshetrasinha experienced no difficulty in becoming the ruler of Udaipur.[45] The great philanthropist Pandita Isvaracandra Vidyāsāgara, while attempting to legalise widow-marriage in Hindu Society in 1856 based his evidence upon a few Smriti works and the Mahābhārata, but the evidences adduced above clearly show that the widow-marriage is supported not only by the Smritis but also by the Vedic literature. A widow is allowed to marry as many times as she likes, either the younger brother of her husband or somebody else.

Regarding the legal position of the son of a widow, Gautama[46] allows one-fourth share of his father's property to the son of a widow by her second husband. Vasistha[47] and Visnu[48] declare the son of a married widow fourth in the list of inheritors in order of preference and better than an adopted son. Manu[49] says that a *Paunarbhava*, son of a remarried widow, is to be regarded as a Brāhmana living by trade. This discrimination between the sons of the first husband and those of the subsequent ones seems to be a later development. However, the Vedic literature is silent about it.[50]

Thus we have shown above that widow-marriage was neither prohibited nor highly recommended in Ancient India.[51] The ideal was a life of celibacy after the demise of the partner in life, failing which a widow might either take recourse to Niyoga or remarriage.

41. *E.g.*, Asatarupa Jataka; King of Kosala makes the widowed Queen of Kasi his chief Queen.
42. Raja-tarangini, IV, 35-42. They were the sons of King Durlabhaka by the wife of a rich merchant subsequently married by him.
43. *See* Merutunga's Prabandha-cintamani.
44. *Op. cit.*
45. Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajsthan. For the family tree of Hammira, *see* Sanskrit Poetesses, Part B, Appendix.
46. Smriti, XXIX, 8.
47. Dharma-sastra, XVII, 18.
48. Smriti, XV, 7.
49. III, 181.
50. From the Mahabharata it appears that widow-marriage began to fall into disrepute in its time though it was even then, probably, widely in vogue. In the Adi-parvan (104), Dirghatamas is said to have decreed that a woman must not marry a second time.
51. *Cf.* Vatsyayana's Kama-sutra, 1. 5. 3.



Air Raid Warning at Sea. The gun crew of the bultiple-barrel pom-pom gun, ready for action aboard one of the warship escorting a British Convoy.

A YEAR'S PROGRESS OF ART IN INDIA

By O. C. GANGOLY

When the war-god is astride and "lets slip the dogs of war," the Arts and the cultural activities are the first casualties. Yet the destructive activities of war cannot entirely suspend the activities of artists. During the progress of the last war in Europe it was discovered that artists could fulfil very useful functions not only in matters of publicity through significant and effective war posters, and by illustrating war news, but in many other ways, and, in England, the Government was led to enlist a number of distinguished wielders of the brush as official war artists, and competent critics have declared that war artists have never done work finer than what they turned out during the war, and the artists emerged from the last war—to find Art transformed. In the present war, also, a large number of artists have been employed in England, on special commissions relating to many phases of the prosecution of the war. Over and above these special commissions arrangements have been made for the purchase of suitable works of men already serving in the forces, who at least have the advantage of working among the materials they wish to represent on the canvas. And already several exhibitions have been held in England (one, in the National Gallery, London), exhibiting works by war artists. As an English critic has observed: "After all what is the good of fighting to preserve a culture and a civilization, if during the war, both die from lack of attention."

But, in India, (though not actually in war) the destiny of Art is different, and the war conditions have severly affected the progress of Art,—the All-India Exhibition of the Academy of Art of Calcutta for 1941, having been abandoned for want of space in the Indian Museum now overloaded with sand-bags as necessary precautions against possible air-raids. But if major items of Art have been dropped, the year, just passed, has left important foot-prints on the arid sands of Art in India and the chronicler of the progress of Art has enough minor milestones, if not major monuments, with which to mark the march of Art in this depressing and degenerate days of India's culture.

Calcutta has built up the reputation of being the Art city of India, but many of its old annual shows have now been discontinued, notably the stimulating shows of the Indian Society of Oriental Art which are no more than sad memories. Its place is now being taken by minor efforts by individual artists and mushroom societies coming into existence overnight. One of such shows is the Exhibition held by the Society of Modern Art, which was held in January last with a miscellaneous collection of Modern Paintings of different groups including some old examples of Ragini Pictures. Undoubtedly, one of the best shows of the year was the Exhibition of copies of Indian and Ceylonese Mural Paintings opened by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee at the University Senate Hall, Calcutta, on the 27th January 1941. It afforded opportunities to real lovers of Indian Painting to study some of the anonymous old masters in the clever copies of Mr. Katchadourian. Another very stimulating show, which broke new grounds was the Art in Industry Exhibition held in February last, to which artists from all parts of India contributed. This show patronized by leading European merchants undoubtedly proved that there is ample talent available among Indian artists for Commercial Art of a high order. Another commercial artist, an Indian, Mr. J. F. Arora held a one-man show in London with some success. Another interesting though a very scrappy show, was an Exhibition of a group of enlarged photographs, by Mr. Raymond Burnier, of Indian Temple Architecture and Carvings, chiefly from Rajputana. The last Indian Academy show held at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was covered and reviewed in detail by a Radio Talk given by the present writer in January 1941. Some very clever portraits were included in a show held in New Delhi during March 1941 in aid of the Aircraft Fund under the patronage of Lady Dorean Hope. In connection with the celebration of the 70th birth anniversary of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, a four-day exhibition of his representative works was opened at Santiniketan on the 19th August, 1941. An All-India Exhibition of Dr. Tagore's works at some central place is long overdue, as very few people, even very few students of the Tagore School of Painting (the neo-Bengali School) have had any opportunity to see Dr. Tagore's best works in originals. An humble, though a very significant movement is represented by the Society of Artists, Calcutta, started by two young artists, Mr. Kanwal Kumar and Mr. Rathin Maitra, without any resources, but plenty of energy and hope.

This young Society has inaugurated a series of One Man Shows, of which four have already been given that of Ramendra Chakravorty, of Dilip Das-Gupta, and of Miss Devjani (a talented lady-artist of Indore) being the best. But, excepting *The Modern Review*, the Indian Journals have given very scant attention to Art and Artists. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, with an ounce of sympathy for artists, started a new feature with a column on *Art and Artists*, every week, but the same has been discontinued, though pages after pages are being devoted to Cinema Artistes and other "Artists" with a terminal "e." The new Society of Artists at Amritsar, with a young secretary Mr. P. C. Nayar, has not been able to make any headway, with a scanty roll of membership—and has to its credit, only a small Exhibition of Modern Artists (held in October last), chiefly contributed by artists from Lucknow. We have not had reports of any significant activity in support of the Fine Arts in the Bombay Presidency during the last year. A new society, under the name of the "Society of Arts" was started in Bombay, early last year, with an ambitious programme, to cover all cultural activities including the fine arts and crafts, literature and sciences. It began with a very promising Journal, *Art and Culture*, edited by Mr. Dilip Kumar Gupta, which however has not recieved any generous response from the public. It has been our experience, that there is very little popular support forthcoming to run a Culture Journal or any Journal of the Visual Arts, without special subsidies from official or private patrons. Mr. D. G. Vyas, a Doctor of Medicine, continues his thundering but creditable agitation for the place of Art in Life, in the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle*, every Sunday, but the Art-conscience of the Bombay cities continue to sleep in blissful oblivion of Mr. Vyas' thunders. The Bombay Field Club, a culture society to encourage interest in Art, arranged for a very educative Exhibition at the Convocation Hall, last year, with a series of copies of Indian Fresco Paintings of Bhaja, Kailasanatha and Tirunantikkarrai executed by Mr. Katchadourian. They were valuable records of India's pictorial monuments, and it is a pity that the Archæological Department did not acquire these copies, while it had spent quite a fortune in setting up the Central Asian Frescoes at New Delhi. From many points of view, the culture-contact tour of Mr. Ravi Shankar Raval, Editor of *Kumar*, a picturesque personality of Ahmedabad, and a significant force in the current of Modern Indian Art, was a valuable aid and incentive to *la vie artistique*, and stirred up interest in Art even of persons impervious to aesthetic sensations. May he live many years to repeat such pilgrimages to artists and Art-shrines, and to carry on the banner of Art from place to place.

In the South, excepting the Government School of Art Exhibition, there was no other show worth reporting. But a live movement seems to grow, slowly but surely, at the *Kala-Khsetra*, the 'Culture-Area of Art,' at Adyar, under the fostering care of Srimati Rukmini Devi (herself a skilful and enthusiastic interpreter of *Bharata-nātya*), whose brilliant tour in northern India has stirred up aesthetic possibilities. In educational circles in Calcutta, Art is beginning to recover its place. Though the Calcutta Universiy Institute Exhibition has not come off owing to the apathy of its organizers, some small compensation was afforded by many minor students' shows under the various College Fine Arts Societies' auspices, chiefly of the Scottish Church and the Bangabasi College. The Doon School at distant Dehra Dun, inspired by its Art Tutor Mr. S. Khastagir have held several little shows, with an illustrated lecture on Art, "What is Art," as an extra item. The Calcutta University organized a series of special lectures for training Art teachers to qualify for teaching duties in connection with the "Art Appreciation Course" of the Matriculation syllabus. The Mahabodhi Society's Jubilee Exhibition of Buddhist Art, held at the Senate house, Calcutta, to some extent compensated the poverty of the Winter Exhibitions of Calcutta, this year. Yet, altogether, it has been a bad year for Art and Artists.

The practising Indian artists, which include many talents and also a few geniuses, who would have done creditable work in any part of the world, continue their depressing career of inactivity for want of support and encouragement from those who can and ought to help to keep alive Art and Artists. And even when the windfall comes it goes the wrong way. Thus a talented artist from Tipperah who executed fine frescoes at the India Office, London, for want of work and a chance to live, is trying to seek a living as an Art-Teacher, by private tution, while a rich Indian magnate, a few months ago lavished his blessed bounties (a bird whispers, it was a purse of Eighty Thousand Rupees!) on an artist from Europe. "Buy British" is an useful patriotic maxim. When will Indians learn the virtue of patronizing Indian artists? If artists starve and Art *dies*, who *lives*? Life withuot Art is bestiality, which is the negation of Life. The starvation of Art in India is no less tragic than any of the scarlet tragedies on the war-map of Europe.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE BOOK OF SONGS: *By Arthur Waley. Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d.*

"The lotus is in the pool and pine-tree on the hill. Nature goes its accustomed way, only man changes; such is the burden of many songs." The immemorial tranquillity of Chinese poetry is thus stressed by the translator, who also reveals, in his marvellously sensitive and vigorous rendering, the intense human interest which sweeps through these lyrics. Nature and Man, are seen together, and seen concretely, humanly, with that merry wisdom so characteristic of the Chinese spiritual mind. The reader accustomed to accented and personal styles in literature—especially Western literature—will at first mistake the lack of emphasis, the deliberate reticence and bareness of Chinese poetry for absence of emotional ardour. And yet, as he reads, a great world will gather and glow, near horizons thrill with feeling, while each detail of leaf and twig, of human behaviour and ceremonial will find a definite though unemphatic place in a crystal vision. The emphasis, one discovers, lies in the whole, and at the root, and not in any fraction of the great event.

These songs, dealing with Courtship, Marriage, Wars, Agriculture, Dynastic Legends, Music and Dancing, Religion and various other themes, mundane yet divine, reach a perfection of utterance almost unknown in world literature. And to realize this, the reader has to pass through the initiation which the songs themselves provide, till he attains an experience which again will come with saturation in the air of a civilisation that lives in this book.

"Many of the songs . . . . . have till recently been understood in an allegorical sense." This is not surprising; for the Chinese view can easily merge the concrete with the Universal, and again, almost without a feeling of transition, come from world-consciousness to the particular. Love and emotion—as we know also in India—are emblems of experiences which we often arbitrarily divide into the spiritual and the secular. The poetic mystery resides in the initial simplicity of view rather than in any elaborate mysticism that may be tortured out of these lyrics. Even in China, a veil had fallen obscuring the original vision, and these songs had lost their primordial power for later generations; pious critics had seen to this. "Indeed," we are told, "the whole book has been regarded as a collection of sermons rather than an anthology of songs." And yet, when the initial freshness of Chinese lyrics has been revealed, as Waley has done through creative application of modern sinology, the moralistic interpretation can no longer hinder our enjoyment. "The result is not merely a clear picture of early Chinese life, but also the restoration to its proper place in world-literature of the finest collection of traditional songs which antiquity has left us."

A reviewer's task is simple, he need do nothing more than usher in such a book and depart. Waley's name is already legendary as one of the greatest translators we have known in literature, and his latest book of renderings from the Chinese will need no introduction. The most exquisitely profound experience awaits the reader of this book who will be able, in reading it, to preserve his modern outlook, and even his most daring belief in technical initiative, while surrendering himself to the fadeless traditions of Chinese lyricism.

We must add one word to explain this reference to technique. A single pointer will suffice. "Early Chinese songs," says Waley, "do not as a rule introduce a comparison with an 'as if' or 'like,' but state it on the same footing as the facts that they narrate." We know what that means. Very recent verse has reverted to the old language expressive of metaphysical identification with things. In our Age, profound scientific insight has induced a feeling of correlation bordering on mythically secret apprehension of unities. Hence the use of "objective correlatives," in Eliot's phrase, to express inseparate experiences of reality. There is more than deliberateness in this modern deletion of intervening words. But the element of sophistication which modern verse betrays, was curiously enough, present in Chinese poetry as well. In hundred such ways, the crest of Chinese thought, carrying immense and augmented experience, comes very close to our life.

For songs of subtle loveliness, unmatched except in Tagore, we must once more express gratitude to the translator. These lyrics, dating from 800 to 600 B.C., have renewed our kinship with a great and ancient people.

Amiya Chakravarty

THE CASE AGAINST PACIFISM: *By John Lewis, B.Sc., Ph.D. Published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin (London). 1940. Pp. 238. Price 2s. 6d.*

In this monograph Dr. Lewis has offered a refreshing and well-documented critique of pacifist movements and ideologies in Europe, particularly in Britain, and has made an objective and impartial analysis of their repercussions on European diplomacy leading up to the present war. The author has examined the pacifist position from Tolstoi to Gandhi and has devoted considerable space to the enunciation of the pacifist case as expounded in Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*, Joad's *Why War?*, Bertrand Russell's *Which Way to Peace*, and similar treatises. Pacifism is no new creed. It had

often in the past made its appearance in the wake of a war purely as a psychic reaction to the sense of horror involved in the destruction of human life and cherished values. During the last Great War several pacifist movements were started and as destruction began to assume huge proportions efforts were made to intensify these movements. Circumstances also gave strong support to the socialist criticism of war, which was based not only on international and humanitarian grounds but also on its fundamental economic causes. Dr. Lewis himself belonged to a pacifist movement in Britain which derived its inspiration from the socialist ideology. But like Bertrand Russell, Dr. Lewis was not an absolutist in his devotion to pacifism. He saw the illogicality and futility of pacifism as a practical political creed when the growth of Fascism and Japanese imperialism challenged the *status quo* of a contented world. There was division in the ranks of pacifists in Britain, followed by a policy of hesitation, indecision and appeasement which reached its anti-climax at Munich, and they did not close the ranks until it was too late to save peace.

The author has narrated this crisis of pacifism in its theoretical as well as practical aspects in a clear and convincing manner. His conclusions are definitely against the absolutist position and maintains that peace is good and is to be striven for but not at the cost of liberty and honour. He devotes a chapter to Mahatma Gandhi and demonstrates by appropriate citations that Gandhi does not hold the absolutist position as regards non-violence except in the moral sphere. The author analyses the Soviet foreign policy vis-a-vis peace and collective security and pays a tribute to Stalin for his realistic outlook on foreign affairs. Dr. Lewis is not, however, entirely despaired of the establishment of an era of peace, and in the words of William Blake proposes not to cease his mental and physical struggle 'till I have built Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land."

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE UNITED STATES AND THE LEAGUE, THE LABOUR ORGANISATION, AND THE WORLD COURT DURING 1940: *By Arthur Sweetser. Published by the Geneva Research Centre, Geneva, Switzerland. Pp. 19. Price $0.40 or 1.75 Swiss francs.*

This study, tenth in a series of annual studies which the Centre has published dealing with the relations between the United States and the three principal international agencies growing out of the peace settlement of 1919, appears at a moment when these relations have indeed undergone revolutionary transformations. What gives Mr. Sweetser's study even more interest is the fact that, apart from a thorough analysis of the above relations, it at the same time throws welcome light on some of the important changes which have occurred as a consequence of the war in the functioning of these international agencies. The sending of members of several of the League's technical departments on mission to the United States and the setting up of a Working Centre of the International Labour Organisation in Montreal are related here, together with the many phases of American participation in the League's technical work during the year 1940. "It was," as the author states in his introduction, "not without significance that the nation which had had a major share in calling the League into being should be active in assisting it at its moment of greatest need."

X.

CRITICAL STUDIES: *By B. L. Sahney, M.A., Department of English Studies, Benares Hindu University. B. H. U. Book Depot, Benares Hindu University. 1939.—Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a useful and unpretentious book. The writer discusses in a few short essays some of the most important landmarks in English literature, beginning with the poetry of Spenser and ending with G. K. Chesterton as an Essayist. In between we have the poetry of Milton, Byron, Tennyson, Browning, and Matthew Arnold, an analysis of four outstanding 19th century poems, and a short essay on the sonnet form in England and Italy throughout the centuries.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the writer of this book emphasized the importance of late nineteenth century poetry so much. A detailed discussion of Elizabethan poetry, the metaphysical poets, of Blake, Burns, and Keats would have helped the Indian reader of English literature to become acquainted with a more genuine and certainly less sophisticated aspect of English poetry; to devote, for instance, almost 40 pages to a discussion of Matthew Arnold's poetry seems to be hardly worth the trouble considering his lamentable failure as a poet.

This book should prove particularly useful to students who wish to study English literature beyond the narrow scope of a University examination. Some of the essays, however, for instance the one on Sonnets, should be read by both teachers and students alike; for here precise information is given in smiple and direct language. Although the book does not aim at completeness it should be read by all those who wish to understand the scope and significance of English poetry, especially in the 19th century.

A. ARONSON

MUSIC OF THE EARTH—A LYRICAL DRAMA: *By M. Sanyal, M.A. Published by A. H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. Price 2s. 6d.*

The poet has recorded the voice of Nature in her various aspects—flowers, dawn, morning, noon and evening, the various seasons in their round from spring to winter—and the immense joy that it means to him has been sought to be expressed in the jingle of the rhymes. Rabindranath has celebrated the seasons in his short nature plays and doled a spiritual harvest through them to readers of all times. Mr. Sanyal has tried to compass everything within the limits of 62 pages, a bold undertaking; yet there has been a finish, a complete round, the sense of having completed a work which had been contemplated.

The tropical atmosphere has been distinctly kept in view and the tone is frankly optimistic: "All's right with the world," the poet seems to say. Even winter is beneficient.

The dedication to "J. G. B." sounds a true note.

BANKIM-TILAK-DAYANANDA: *By Sri Aurobindo. Published by the Arya Publishing House, 63, College Street, Calcutta. 1940.*

Sri Aurobindo with the ineffable charm that is associated with his philosophical writings stopped now and then to set in proper lights the great heroes of our country. The facetious critic may even charge him with a hero-worshipping tendency, and no wonder. Of special interest to the gifted writer of this small volume was the personality of Bankim, who is for him a Rishi, because Bankim was the chosen vessel to re-orient the new nation with a new vision, found them a new language as the medium of a changed generation, and initiated them into the religion of nationalism.

No less was his homage due to Tilak Maharaj for his indomitable will and unwavering devotion harnessed to the service of liberty. In the matter of Indian politics,

it was only Tilak's way which appealed to him; and, as a matter of fact, young India clamoured for the leadership of Bal-Pal-Lal (as they were popularly known) —Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. Tilak was decidedly the head of this triumvirate, and by means of organising national festivals on a wide scale, conducting newspapers with a bold and unswerving policy, leading national movements and risking all, supplying the intelligentsia with a philosophy of life based on the Gita and suited to the times, he was a nation-builder in the comprehensive sense of the term.

Dayananda to Sri Aurobindo spells spiritual practicality. With the strength of primeval energy he searched for truth and re-discovered it in the Veda—"a timeless revelation and a divine truth given to humanity." He dealt with the sacred text in a straightforward fashion, and though his interpretation does not agree with the traditional nor with the western, it contains "the keys of the doors that time had closed," and is therefore a precious heritage. Apart from this nationalistic insight, Dayananda had the power to create thought, to create forms, to create an organization, a band of men that will stand fearless in the pursuit of a policy or plan of work to which they stand pledged as the only righteous line to follow.

There is a fourth life in this small brochure—the life of Romesh Chandra Dutt : a sort of obituary notice. It is the vigorous personality of the Bengali writer that arrests Sri Aurobindo. The least original of the great Bengalis of his time, he yet did a lot of pioneer spadework which will benefit the future, and for which he deserves the nation's gratitude. It is difficult, however, to understand why this chapter bears the title : "The men that pass."

Composed between 1907 and 1918, these sketches bear the usual stamp of Sri Aurobindo's style. In the course of his treatment of Dayananda, he says : The very essence of the greatness of a great mind is this, that it looks beyond, that it sees deeper. And the remark is truly applicable to these evaluations.

P. R. Sen

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL : *By P. C. Sinha. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Much froth has been allowed to gather round the issue of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. The controversy is still on and one does not know what the outcome is going to be. Meanwhile this thought provoking study dealing with the problems of education generally and of secondary education in Bengal in particular, will serve greatly to clear the atmosphere and enable us to focus our attention on vital issues in the sphere of education and culture.

The author begins by stating the nature and magnitude of the problems, gives a well-documented history of the progress of Western learning in Bengal as relating to the secondary educational system and concludes by pleading for newer aims and ideals in education and for a newer synthesis of culture.

Mr. Sinha's book advocates the total emancipation of education from the selfish machinations of party politics and communalism. He holds out the larger and more fundamental interests of the nation as against temporary advantages and emphasises real values with a really commendable zeal. As "a tract of the times" the book will undoubtedly occupy a prominent place among the works of contemporary literature and history. But we have reasons to hope that it will survive the hour on account of its enduring qualities.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan contributes a learned foreword and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee a suitable introduction to the book.

Kshitish Roy

THE MEANING OF RELIGIOUS FORMS : *By Abinash Chandra Lahiri, B.A. Published by the Author, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 106. Price annas twelve only.*

The writer of this book tries to interpret not only forms of worship prevailing in the different religions, but also the forms of the various deities in the polytheistic religions. He pays special attention to the gods of Hinduism. The Hindu gods had not only quite definite physical forms but also used different conveyances for locomotion. Thus Vishnu uses a gigantic bird called *garuda*. Siva rides a bull; another god has the swan in lieu of a car. One god flies on a peacock for he had no moth plane and another had no better conveyance than a mouse. This is how the various gods have been conceived in Hindu mythology. Our author sees profoundly significant symbolism in these conceptions. "The bull represents *Yoga* meditation," says he. And "Garuda, the bird on which Vishnu sits, ... is the Vedic religion which is the seat of Vishnu." The buffalo represents the enemy of production or of fertility." And so on (p. 34).

Jesus Christ rode on a donkey. The donkey is the emblem of stupidity in popular thought. It may also be regarded as the emblem of endurance and hard labour. What did Jesus wish to symbolise when he rode on it ?

Man uses a number of conveyances. Carts, carriages, cars, tram-cars, buses, rick-shaws, etc., on land; boats, ships, etc., on water; and there are the aerial conveyances of ever-increasing variety of shapes and sizes. And he also uses different animals like horses, elephants, etc. Do they symbolise anything ?

Individuals have preferences for particular kinds of cars or carriages. Some like Ford, some prefer a Chevrolet. Is there any symbolism in that ?

We do not deny that there is plenty of symbolism in early religions. But the study of religion is not helped by fanciful interpretations of old mythologies. Why Shiva was conceived as riding a bull instead of a donkey may be a matter of enquiry. But the answer is not found as soon as you conceive the bull as the symbol of meditation. The bull might as well be thought of as symbolic of anger or pugnacity. Why should the buffalo be regarded as the enemy of production and not the mouse ? The mouse and the moth are responsible for more destruction than the buffalo.

The study of mythology has become a science. Science implies laborious collection and collation of facts. It does not feed on fancies. There are so many fanciful interpretations of Hindu deities that the sooner these things stopped the better would it be for the scientific study of myths. Old bottles cannot contain new wine. It is a vain attempt, therefore, to read new ideas into ancient forms of worship or antiquated conceptions of the deities. The author speaks of a universal form of worship and of a universal society. Surely such things can hardly come into being until the mind slips away from the bondage of antiquity. To look for profundity in every ancient myth is a mistake. Otherwise, the totems and fetishes of savages also ought to have their share of symbolic interpretation. The advanced races of men to whom nature is daily yielding her secrets—races that control the air, the water and the earth, think scientifically and live their life according to the discoveries of science and do not feed their fancies on the kind of lore to which a section of Hindu writers is so prone. Hindudom also must learn to adapt itself to the realities

of modern life and thought. In the present book, we look in vain for this kind of adaptation.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

GORAKNATH AND THE KANPHATA YOGIS : *By George W. Briggs. Published by the Student Christian Movement Press, London, 1938. Obtainable at Y. M. C. A. Publishnig House, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta. Pp. xiv+380. Fourteen Plates. Price Paper Rs. 4-8 and Cloth Rs. 5-8.*

The book consists of seventeen chapters, a glossary of vernacular words, a bibliography and an index. It deals with an ascetic order differently known as Yogis, Gorakhnathis or Kanphatas, who are found throughout India. In the first chapter the author gives us the approximate population of this Order and an account of its dress, ornaments, distinctive marks and other paraphernalia. The composition of the Order and the rites of initiation into it are next dealt with. Though the Yogis vow not to engage in trade or accept employment, this is not strictly complied with according to the author. The different branches of the sect and their interrelation are brought out with the help of charts collected from reputed centres of the Goraknathis. The sacred places of the Kanphatas where their monasteries are found are described together with the deities worshipped at these places and the festivals held in their honour. In describing the religion and superstition of the Yogis the author lays more stress on the latter. "Yogis are" according to him, "essentially Saivites" but he traces Buddhist and Jaina contacts and Islamic too. But historians will not be satisfied with his manner of tracing these contacts. The author places Goraknath, the founder of the Order, in the latter part of the eleventh century and traces the essential elements of his teachings through the epics, Sutras, Upanishads, and Brahmanas to the Vedas. In the four chapters preceding the conclusion he gives an exposition of the philosophy and physical and mental discipline of this esoteric Order. He could have easily dispensed with at least the greater part of them as thy have been more thoroughly and critically dealt with in well-known works already published.

The author's study of this important ascetic orrdr is unfortunately superficial. In his attempt "to create a proper background for the understanding of the special Yoga of the sect" he has given undue attention to the legends and folklore. His account of the manners, customs and institutions of the sect suffers from lack of perspicuity. Sometimes he has even lost sight of the difference between the monastic order and the secular caste of the same name. His method of investigation also is not up-to-date; it is neither fully historical nor anthropological nor even popular, but a hotch potch of all the three. It would have been far better if he had stuck to the study of one particular centre of the sect and tried to enter more deeply into the inner life of its inmates. As author of *The Chamars*, Mr. Briggs acquired some reputation but from the Chamars to the Yogis is a too long jump even for a Professor of the History of Religions.

T. C. DAS

KOLAM SERIES : *By P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar with a Foreword by M. F. Prager. Books 1, 2, 3 and 4. Published by the Oxford University Press, Madras.*

This is a very useful series of Drawing books (published by the Oxford University Press, with commendable enterprize), based on the traditional old southern Indian designs with which house-wives daily decorate their doorsteps. The Kolams correspond to the *alipana* of the northern house-wife. As Miss Prager explains in her Foreword, "this form of artistic exercise gives the requisite training in free-arm and free-hand drawing and is therefore of definite educational value; it makes possible the elimination of expensive materials in the village school-room and turns the Folk Art of the countryside into an activity of the school curriculum; it encourages the desire for original design and creates a fresh emphasis on Indian Folk Art." These Drawing books may be usefully introduced in our schools in Bengal.

O. C. G.

HUMANISM OR THE HUMAN RELIGION : *By Swami Krishnanand. Published by the author from Kapilasram, Jwalamukhi, P. O., Kangra Dist. (the Punjab). Pp. 213. Price Rs. 2.*

The author who is a Bengali monk of age and experience presents to the reader in the well-thought-out book under review the valuable results of his life-long studies and reflections. He attempts in the ten chapters of this cloth-bound volume to draw the attention of the thinking public to the fundamental truths underlying all religions and pleads for the practical application of the religious truths to the solutions of those common and collective problems that puzzle mankind today. He devotes one chapter to each of Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Christianity and points out pertinently with apt quotations from their respective scriptures that the essentials of these four great world-religions are identical. In this connection the learned author rightly observes that the common basis of all religions may be called *Humanism* or the Human Religion which forms the significant title of this book. To be good and to do good is in the opinion of the author the quintessence of Humanism which when analysed, he reiterates, is found to be composed of two factors: the first of which is to build up character stricly according to religious laws common to all scriptures and the second is to render loving service to our fellow-beings whole-heartedly. If these two fundamentals are sincerely practised by the followers of different faiths today, the humanity will be much better to-morrow. The author truly predicts that such solutions of our social and communal problems however difficult are of permanent nature and other solutions however simple are tentative.

The chapter entitled "What Islam maintains as true religion" is really illuminating. Quoting the Quran, the author shows that the Prophet Mahomed had a large heart full of religious toleration, non-violence, and respect for other faiths. The Quran (Sura II—186) says: "Let there be no compulsion in religion." In Sura (V-120) it says: "Even if thou stretch forth thine hand to slay me, I will not stretch forth my hand to slay thee." "He who slayeth anyone shall be as though he had slain all mankind but he who saveth a life shall be as though he had saved all mankind alive." "Know thyself to know God."

It is a book of the hour and is thought-provoking. Hence it deserves a perusal by all thinking minds.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PERPETUAL EPHEMERIDES : *By Fakir Chandra Dutt of Calcutta Chirological Society, 68, Amherst Row. Pp. 60. Price Rs. 4.*

This book furnishes tables and rules for calculation of the positions of the planets, eclipses, tithis, nakshatras, horoscopes, for any date, past, present or future, both heliocentric and geocentric, to the exact degree and nearest minute, within an incredibly short time by simple additions and subtractions only. I have no hesita-

tion to admit that this book will be of immense value to the students of Astrology.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

WILD WINDS : *By Louis Gracias. Published by the Author, Homiya Building, 187, Victoria Garden Road, Byculla, Bombay. Price Re. 1.*

This little book, the first from the pen of the author contains a few short stories, some of which are really delightful. With more insight into human nature and a little better handling of his materials, the author will no doubt be able to contribute something lasting to literature.

THE RECRUIT : *By P. R. Kaikini. Published by the New Book Company, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price not mentioned.*

In his latest book of poems, this young Indian poet serves the reading public with a number of good and refreshing poems. The reader can read Mr. Kaikini's poems with ease and pleasure; he will not stumble anywhere against uncouth compounds and coinages which he so frequently comes across in the English poems of most Indian poets.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

SANSKRIT POETESSES PART B. *Vaidyanatha-prasada-prasasti, attributed to Devakumarika and Santana-Gopala-kavya by Laksmi Rajni: Ed. with an Introduction in English, Notes, etc., by Prof. Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Ph.D. (London). Calcutta, 1940. Published by the Author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta.*

This is the sixth volume of Dr. Chaudhuri's series "The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature" and second part of his "Sanskrit Poetess," the first part of which was published two years ago. Dr. Chaudhuri deserves the heartiest thanks of all scholars, interested in Indian Civilization and Culture, particularly, in the Position of Women in Ancient India, for bringing to light most admirably a series of the works of Indian women—an unknown branch of Sanskrit Literature altogether—of which any civilization of the world would be proud. This series includes works on Poetry, Drama, Smirti, Purana, Tantra, etc. Therefore, it is now well-established that women were vitally interested in many branches of Sanskrit literature, if not in almost all of them and the whole credit for this discovery goes singly to Dr. Chaudhuri. Formerly the knowledge of scholars about the contribution of women was limited to a few traditional names only. Now, it is proved beyond any vestige of doubt that Indian women not only held a unique position is the family and the society but also contributed to Indian literature in all ages. Really they deserve the highest praise for their sound scholarship and it is now finally established by Dr. Chaudhuri that Rajasekhara's vindication of the rights of women was not sentimental but based on solid facts.

In the introduction to this volume Dr. Chaudhuri deals with the works of several Sanskrit poetesses, *viz.,* Devakumarika, Laksmi Rajni, Gangadevi, Jayanti, Madhuravani, Ramabhadramba and Tirumalamba. There is no doubt about the genuineness of the authorships except in the first case, *i.e.,* in the case of Devakumarika. Dr. Chaudhuri rightly adduces reasons both for and against the attribution of the Vaidyanatha-prasada-prasasti to Devakumarika and makes it clear that his object in editing the inscription in this volume is to make these facts accessible to scholars in their original form so that further discovery of materials may throw new light on the point at issue. Even minute details about the lives, dates, works, etc., of these poetesses have been included in the introduction. Except Devakumarika and Jayanti who flourished in Rajputana and Bengal respectively all the poetesses mentioned above flourished in the South. Dr. Chaudhuri convincingly proves here that the credit for fostering the talents of Southern Indian poetesses goes to the Vijayanagar Emperors and the Nayaka Kings of Tanjore and that Gangadevi was the oldest of them all. The relationship linking up Tirumalamba, Ramabhadramba, etc., is of absorbing interest and much enhances the worth of the present work. The introduction also throws much light upon the cultural and political history of southern India, particularly of Vijayanagar and Tanjore.

The texts edited, *viz.,* the Vaidyanatha-prasada-prasasti and the Santana-Gopala-kavya of Laksmi Rajni have attained the same high standard as that of the other works of Dr. Chaudhuri. Both the works are prepared from single MSS. but constant comparison with various available data bearing upon the relevant topics of the works edited has been of immense help to Dr. Chaudhuri in determining the best readings. He has traced and checked all the references to a large number of historical and literary works and noted all the divergent opinions. The persons and places mentioned in the texts have all been identified too.

All the Appendices and the Indices are very useful. Appendix I of the Ranas of Mewar relating to Canto 1 of the Vaidyanatha-prasada-prasasti is particularly helpful for a comparative study of the available historical data.

Dr. Chaudhuri is an author of established fame and the present work adds a new leaf to his well-earned laurel-crown.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

MAHABHARATATATPARYANIRNAYA—PART I, ADHYAYAS I TO IX. WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT AND NOTES FROM THE UNPUBLISHED COMMENTARY OF SRI VADIRAJA SWAMI : *By B. Gururajah* RAO, B.A., B.L., *Retired Sub-Judge. Printed by V. B. Soobbiah & Sons, Bangalore City.*

We extend our cordial welcome to this beautiful edition of a portion of an important but comparatively little-known work of Anandatistha (*alias Madhavacarya*) --the famous vedantist. "The work consists of 32 chapters and is in a large measure concerned with relating incidents of the Mahabharata so as to bring out the religious and philosophical import of the great epic." The present part incidentally describes in six chapters the story of Rama, an incarnation of Vasudeva, the narration of whose glorious deeds to "illustrate the practical side of the philosophic teaching embodied in his own works" is the principal aim of the author. The style is elegant and attractive, and as such the work possesses immense popular interest. All lovers of Sanskrit will be grateful to Mr. Rao for his attempts to bring the work within the "easy reach of scholars who will eagerly wait for the remaining part or parts dealing with the story of the *Mahabharata* proper. A little brushing up of the translation will, however, enhance the value of the publication. As it stands, the translation appears to be defective here and there. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the rendering of several verses. *e.g.,* I. 32; II. 2, 4; IV. 1, 24; VIII. 244, 246, 248; IX. 3, 34. A little more care may also be invited to the correct printing of the text, more particularly to the necessity of disjoining independent words.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

LOKAMANYALANKARAH : *By Pandit G. R. Karmatkar. Available from the author at No. 12, Second Lane, Topakhana, Indore. Pp. 64. Price annas twelve.*

It is a work on Sanskrit rhetoric, which illustrates with commendable clarity one hundred *arthalankars* or figures of sense from standard works on the subject as well as from the life of the late Lokmanaya Tilak. A useful handbook for students of Sanskrit.

K. KOUSHIK

PRAKRIT-HINDI

YOGASARATIKA : *By Brahmachari Sitalprasad Ji. Publisher Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia, Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Gandhi Chawk, Surat.*

The volume contains an elaborate and learned Hindi commentary, accompanied by the text, of the old Jain Philosophical Text in Prakrit—the Yogasara of Yogindudeva or Yogindradeva (circa 6th century A.C.). The commentator has elucidated his statements by numerous quotations from various other works. The commentary will be highly useful in following the not too easy text of the original.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MARATHI

MARATHYANCHA UDAYASTA (RASHTRA-DHARMA PRASARAK SANESTHA SERIES) : *By Aprabuddha. Published by Bal Shastri Hardas, Dakshina-murtimandir, Nagpur. Pp. 120. Crown Size. Price Re. 1.*

Eight lectures delivered by the author at Nagpur on the subject which forms the title of the book have been collected together in this small volume. The writer investigates here the various causes mentioned by different writers as having contributed to the downfall of the Maratha power in India and he mentions two of them as having really brought about the tragic result, *viz.*, the absence of the idea of a common nationality and the ignorance of the science of war. The title of the book is however somewhat misleading, as the author has treated only the downfall and not the rise of the Maratha Empire. There is nothing very much new or original in the book, though its treatment is logical and its language chaste.

JAGACHA-ITIHAS : *By Ramchandra Narayan Natu, Poona. Published by N. H. Natu, 689, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City. Pp. 726. Crown Size. Price Rs. 4.*

A complete history of the world from the appearance of mankind on earth right down to September of the year of grace 1941 is a remarkable feat and the first of its kind in the Marathi language. And it has come from the pen of a college-student in his teens who has yet to secure his University degree ! Among the various methods of writing a history of the world, there is something to be said for each of them, and the present author has chosen the topico-chronological method for his book. In the 36 chapters of this big volume he has put together the main events of each period occurring in a selected area in consecutive sequence. He has utilized the results of the latest researches on subjects like the Mohenjo-Daro-Harappa excavations in India and the Maya and the Inca civilizations in America in this book and thus enhanced its value. Of course none can say that the book is anything more than a compilation of books on the same subject in other languages—mostly English—like Wells' and Davies'; as the author could scarcely have had the time to know any of the sources of his subject at first hand. Besides he has yet to develop a style of his own and consequently, his language contains, in places, quaint words, slipshod expressions and loose construction. Yet the book redounds to his credit for his great labour and intelligent application, though it takes more than that to make a book of more than seven hundred pages either a serious study or delectable reading. More however can be expected of the author from his present earnest.

D. N. APTE

PUSHPANJALI : *By K. D. Bhate, M.A. Publisher—Kusumkant D. Bhate, Dhulia. Price Re. 1.*

It is a collection of 45 prose poems in which is heard a distant echo of Rabindranath's poetry. They are addressed to a woman of an uncertain temperament, set upon a pedastal. They are a composite picture,—with both light and shade,—of various emotions. Their style is simple and the figures and fancies employed are mostly conventional. The printing and get-up are excellent.

K. KOUSHIK

HINDI

VINOBA AUR UNKE VICHAR : *Edited by Viyogi Hari. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 204. Price annas eight only.*

When sometime ago Sri Vinoba had the honour of being selected as the first Satyagrahi by Gandhiji, many people in India gasped in wonder. They did not know anything about him; far less did they realize that he is the man after the heart of the sage of Sewagram : A truth-seeker, a scholar,a teacher, a servant of his nation, and a Sir Galhad in purity of purpose and performance, all rolled in one, who had made the alleviation of ignorance and inertia of the sons of the soil his highest religion. The present selection from his writings which deal not only with the idealogy of the several aspects of Gandhiji's constructive programme, but also literature and spirituality reveals his keen intellect, noble idealism and *forte* for practicality. He is steeped in the ancient culture of the land. His philosophy of life is expressed in the well-known adage of Carlyle, " Work is Worship " and he believes that as Rabindranath Tagore says, " God is there where the tiller is toiling the soil and the stone-breaker is breaking stones." Sri Vinoba's style is marked by that brevity which is " the soul of wit." Sri Viyogi Hari has done, indeed, a distinct service to the educated people by bringing out such a timely publication, which is a sort of a commentary on the vision, views and work of Gandhiji.

G. M.

SHIKAR : *By Shree Rama Sharma. Published by Sahitya-Sadan, Kirthara, P. O. Mukkhanpur (Manipuri) U. P. Pp. 266 with 6 illustrations. Price Rs. 2-8.*

If the famous dictum : " Style is the Man," could be appropriately applied to any Hindi prose-writer of today it would be the author of *Shikar.*

Shikar is a collection of 13 hunting sketches, embodying the thrilling experiences of the adventurous life of its author, beginning from the time when he was barely eleven and when a small baton was his only weapon, with which he once rounded up a dangerous snake, at the bottom of a deep but dried up well, down to the time when he rambled with his rifle on the hills of Tehri Garhwal in the Himalayas, wherefrom he once trekked into Tibet on a shooting

sojourn. And yet, it was not the lust for bagging the so-called "game" that impelled Mr. Sharma to undertake those difficult journeys,—for he is a strict vegetarian—but it was his boundless love for the beauty of nature and also his keen interest in what he once characteristically called "Jungle Politics," that made him take to the rifle. During these excursions into the Land of Dumb Life, Mr. Sharma learnt to understand the ways of different beasts and birds, their passions and those springs of action, which sometimes lead them to a blind fury and to mad search for food across the forests, and at other times to love and affection of the most genuine type.

Shikar is a masterpiece indeed, of modern Hindi prose.

B. P. C.

KHADI MIMAMSA : *By Balubhai Mehta. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 343. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is an encyclopædic work on the philosophy and practice of the gospel of the spinning-wheel. It has been written from the standpoint of history as well as from that of *human* economics. Facts and figures which are fully documented, fill every page and bring home to one the truth that the homespun (using the term in its broadest sense) has been for ages, the pivot and pulse of the prosperity of the people, and that on the day Manchester-made cloth ousted out *Khadi* from the countryside, it spelled disaster. In the light of *human* economics it becomes, says the author, the paramount duty of a people to patronise its own homespun and handicraft, even if these cost more than the machine-made goods, because thereby the well-being of a vast majority is insured. The author's arguments in favour of *Khadi* are based not only on an appeal to the patriotic sentiment, but are also irrefutable from the point of view of ethical, as against individualistic, political economy. The book is divided into three parts : (*a*) Philosophy (of *Khadi*) ; (*b*) technique and turnover of *Khadi* production in the various provinces; and (*c*) miscellaneous matters, such as the place of manual work in the world's economy, contribution of homespun in the American War of Independence. *Khadi Mimamsa* is the result of the life-long labour of a patriotic pundit of economics Its logic is irresistible, as its scholarship and sincerity are praiseworthy.

SABERA : *By Bhagwat Sharan Upadhya, M.A. Published by Saraswati Mandir, Jatanbar, Benares. Pp. 170. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is the first volume of a series of short historical stories, which the author has planned out for the purpose of giving a picture of the civilization and culture of India from the pre-Vedic times to the present day. The collection of ten tales, under review, centres round the social life in the country from its dim beginnings to the Rigvedic era. The first story, for instance, deals with the Matriarchal State in history; the second with the Patriarchal State, the third with the life of the pre-Aryan dwellers in the land, and so on. Each story is illuminated with poetic imagination, which has made every vision of the past vivid, but is founded in historical fact. This happy blending of "fancy" and fact has enabled the writer to report about the events and influences of bygone days in the spirit and style of an eye-witness. *Sabera* is a sociological study, in story-form, of the dawn of human civilization. As such, it and its successors in the series will render the reading of history "without tears" possible for the Hindi-knowing public. To the knowledge of the reviewer, Sri Bhagwat Sharan has struck out a new path in the field of Hindi literature. The ground covered by him is virgin, but he has trodden it with the courage of a pioneer, eye of a poet, insight of a philosopher and heart of a lover of the evolving and aspiring man.

G. M.

KIRAN BELA : *By Anchal. Published by Sukhi Jeewan Granthmala, Daraganj, Allahabad. 1941. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1 only.*

"Anchal" hardly needs any introductions today. The two collections of his poems, published under the titles *Madhulika* and *Aparajita*, have not only attracted the attention of the Hindi world, particularly its critics, but have also earned for him the enviable reputation of a young poet of the coming thought and generation. Kiran Bela is the third collection of his poems. It also contains a good many veritable literary gems. Most of the poems of this collection bear a deep stamp of the poet's vision that transcends the narrow and the particular and sweeps away the dust of time and dirt of the society as it is today. We earnestly hope Kiran Bela will receive the welcome it deserves.

M. S. SENGAR

TAMIL

THE OLD MORAL STORIES : *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.L. Translated from the original English by K. S. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A.L.T. Published by G. V. K. Swami & Co., Kumbakonam. 1940. Pp. 252. Price Re. 1-4.*

Very fine short stories, mostly drawn from Indian epics and tales, and slightly modified to suit modern tastes. They are full of humour and inspiring morals and so they deserve to be widely read.

NAVANEETHI KATHAIGAL : *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.I. Translated from the original English by K. S. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A., L.T. Published by G V. K. Swami and Co., Kumbakonam. 1940. Pp. 174. Price Re. 1.*

The author's imagination has had a free play in these funny stories. They are in some places a little coarse; but all the same, of sound educative value. The translator and publisher should however note that though grammatical blunders are committed in a reforming spirit, the University authorities rightly condemn them and such works get virtually proscribed from use by students.

MADHAVAN

KANNADA

NEMINATH PURANAM : *By Karnaparya. Madras University Karnataka Granthmala. Publication, No. 8. Edited by Sjt. H. Shesha Ayyangar, Junior Lecturer in Kannada, University of Madras. Royal 8vo. Pp. 3+lii+599. Price Rs. 5.*

Karnaparya belonged to the 12th century and wrote his monumental work during the reign of Vijayaditya of Shilahar line of Karahataka, *i.e.*, modern Karhad in Satara District. Neminath Puranam narrates the mythological story of Krishna, altered and adapted to suit the Jaina religious traditions. Kannada poetic literature is rich in Jaina Puranas. The earliest writers of poetry in Kannada whose works are now extant are Jainas and they have left their indelible impressions on the pages of literary and cultural history of Karnataka. Neminath, the hero of the present poem was, the 22nd Tirthamkara of the Jaina religion. Kannada poets were very fond of this story and therefore no less than four poets have sung of the glorious achievements of Neminath. Karnaparya's present

work is perhaps the oldest poetical contribution in this field.

Sjt. H. Shesha Ayyangar, the learned editor of the present volume under review, has dwelt on the most bewildering question of the date of Karnaparya. In his lucid and erudite inrtoduction, he has endeavoured to bring out in a poignant manner the peculiar genius of Karnaparya. Karnaparya's date and style of his poetry have formed the subject-matter of the lengthy introduction of the present volume. The editing of the present volume has been done with dexterity and skill peculiar to Mr. Ayyangar. The University of Madras deserves our warmest tribute for bringing out this important work in so attractive a form. Sri H. Shesha Ayyangar has earned the gratitude of Kannada literary public for his eminently readable piece of research work. The present volume will stand as a monument to the deep study and scholarship of Mr. H. Shesha Ayyangar.

V. B. Naik

MALAYALAM

JNAN KANDA AMERICA (America as I saw it): *By E. A. Varghese. Publishers: Popular Press, Trivandrum. 8vo. Pp. 194, illustrated. Trivandrum. Price Re. 1.*

The author, a Travancorean, who went to America for higher studies, contrived to see a wide section of the American scene during his four years' stay, and now records after his return his experiences and pleasures in *Jnan Kanda America*. The book he has made of his experiences is not intended as a learned study of America, or, indeed, as a study of anything. It is a record of impressions, of conversations, of personal adventures which are all too human, and of his comments on life, people and things. It is packed with information picked up by a curious observer, and in its purview are included social and religious movements, industrial and economic conditions in the United States of America.

The author, born in India, where religion constituting the very life of the people aims at the attainment of *moksha*, only by renouncing comfort, pleasure and fortune, found himself living in a different world in America where it is said, "Oh God, if there is a God, save my soul if I have a soul"; also accustomed with the traditions of his motherland where woman is denied freedom, equality and opportunity for service, he saw in that new world things just the contrary including "verandah marriages," "Adam-Eve" clubs (*nagna samitics*) and similar oddities which are revolting to the Indian taste and temperament. In this connection, one is reminded of Siegfried's remark in *America Comes of Age*. "If you visit the United States, you must not forget your Bible but you must also take a treatise on eugenics. Armed with these two talismans, you will never get beyond your depth."

The book is written in good Malayalam with characteristic wit and humour pervading it and it will serve as a helpful guide to intending visitors to America, but it is wanting in an introduction or foreword, the year of its publication and the year of the author's visit to "God's Own Country." These omissions are unfortunate and embarrassing to a reader.

P. O. Matthai

TELUGU

PREMA LEKHALU—Two Parts: *By G. Venkatachelam, B.A., L.T. Published by Abhisarika Grandhamala, Masulipatam. Pp. 271. Price annas eight each.*

The book, in two parts, contains a series of letters of two separated lovers. These letters give a psycho-analytical introspection of the lover. The highly sentimental outlook of his, is well seasoned with extreme realistic touches. The love and longings of a man towards his beloved are aptly delineated. The pleasant thoughts associated with the absence of one's sweetheart engages the interest of the reader. The language is throughout simple and lyrical. The flagrant exposition of sex-life and the coarse-grained emotional outbursts are strong even to the point of offence. But in the opinion of the writer, rightly considered, nothing is unclean. However, with a bit of restraint the author could do better without affecting the aesthetic value of the theme.

Some of his letter are colourful and original, reminiscent of Walt Whitman.

K. V. Subba Rao

GUJARATI

RAJYA AND RAJKARAN: *By Harkant B. Shukla, B.A., LL.B. Printed at Kharelayala Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Cloth bound. Pp. 528. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This voluminous work on "State and Political Science" is the first comprehensive book of its kind in Gujarati. The writer is a practised hand at the discussion of current political problems. His other work dealing with Indian States and the New Federation proposed by the Government of India Act (1935) has already made a mark, and this one, as the result of a deep study of all to a valuable literature in the subject has made it a comprehensive treatise and consequently a valuable one. Democracy, autocracy, dictatorship, minorities, majorities, and every other form of administrative item finds its due place, here, discussed from every angle of vision. It is up-to-date it need not be said. For sometime to come, it is bound to remain a leading book in this direction.

(1) NITISHALAK OF BHARTREEHARI, (2) DHARMYA MRITAM and (3) PURUSHOTTAM YOGA: *All three by Nalin M. Bhatt, M.A. of Bulsar. Printed at Navsari and Bulsar. Paper cover. Pp. 83, 50 and 89. 1940. Price for (1) annas six and (2) and (3) unpriced.*

The writer has secured Honors in Sanskrit and his intimate knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature has enabled him to present the subject-matter of the three small books ably. The first book is written for use of students and tried to be made as easy as possible. With that view a general idea is first given of what is inetnded to be conveyed by a particular *Shloka* (Stanza): Then the *Padartha*, meaning of each word is given in Gujarati and then the *Shlokarth*—meaning of each stanza. It is a useful method. The other two are translations with comments of the 12th and 15th adhyayas of the Bhagvad Gita. Swami Shri Hariprasad Vaidik Muniji has written a book is Sanskrit called *Gitopanishad Vaidik Bhashyam*. The two books are a translation of that Bhashya. The translation of each stanza is followed by a discourse explaining the purpose thereof. It is a laudable attempt to popularise the Gita, but rather difficult for the masses to follow.

K. M. J.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for December, 1941, p. 579, footnote: *Read* "P. C. Sinha" *for* "B. C. Sinha."

WOMAN IN RIGVEDA

By S. M. SRIVASTAVA, I.C.S

The book* is an excellent treatise on the status of women in Rigvedic times. It will be read with interest by all students of Hindu social organisation. The author has dealt impartially with all aspects of the question and the book is fully documented by quotations from the text of the Rigveda.

It is refreshing to find that in those ancient days the position of woman in practically every respect was far superior to what we find now in Hindu society. In spite of all adverse facts—and these are many and frankly discussed by the author—the Rigvedic woman easily ranks high among the women of other races of her contemporary times. And she undoubtedly occupied a much more honourable position than the present day Hindu woman.

The Rigvedic maiden was a free girl—free to move about, free to love and find a husband for herself. There was no seclusion of women and *purdah* was unknown. Girls took a prominent part in all social gatherings and festal meetings. A noted annual fair was the *Samana* where maidens flocked to make merry and to look for a husband. In this respect, they were entirely different from their Greek sisters of past Homeric times. But, though the Hindu girl chose her own husband, yet as a precaution against youthful mistakes, the parents had a right of veto. For instance, when Syavasva, the son of a priest begged for the hand of a princess, daughter of the King Rathavati, the Queen objected to the marriage as her ideal of a son-in-law was different from what Syavasva was and the marriage was stopped although both the lovers were eager for it. With all this freedom, naturally there was bound to be a certain amount of laxity in sexual relations among the unmarried men and women and this, the author admits, existed frankly. This laxity, however, lasted only so long as the youth and the maid were not married. The Rigvedic society insisted upon a high standard of conjugal fidelity and there were hardly any instances of corruption amongst married women.

The Rigvedic marriage was not a purely romantic marriage with pleasure and passion only as its bases. It was a religious act and a sacrament. It was a life-long arrangement of two persons for a common ideal. The marriage hymns express the majesty of marriage better than the marriage ritual of any other community in the world. The Rigveda contains no evidence of divorce obtaining in practice. It was apparently not regarded as a temporary association to be dissolved at the fancy of the parties.

The status of the wife was of an absolute equality with her husband. She was the mistress of all she surveyed in the house and she was brought in by the husband for the lordship of the family. She had an undisputed authority over the household and was not the meek creature of the presnt times or like the woman of other contemporary races. There was as a matter of fact so much equality tnat a man was considered incomplete without the wife and goddesses are invariably mentioned with the gods in all invocations. The wife and husband were complementary to each other, each fulfilling his or her function in the common life. It seems as a necessary corollary of this consideration of man and wife as one unit that independent profession were not ordinarily available to women.

Marrying only one wife was generally the order of the day, although there are instances of polygamy also. This was, however, a privilege of the few—kings, nobles, etc.—and Vedic culture did not tolerate a society where polygamy was a fashion as amongst the Arabs and Jews. Polyandry also was not unknown. And such practices as Niyoga (the makeshift by which the absence, impotency or death of a husband was no bar to the wife raising progeny to her husband) were common. Frequent allusions are made in the Rigveda to this custom of levirate, *e.g.*, Purukutsain obtaining a son in the absence of her husband.

The position of widows deserves prominent notice. As a matter of fact there were very few widows as they were all expected to remarry sooner or later. The marriage of the widow often actually formed one of the funeral rites. The widow was asked to lie down by the side of the dead body of her husband, when the priest addressed her: "Rise, come unto the world of life, O woman! come, he is lifeless by whose side thou liest. Wifehood with this thy husband was thy portion, who took thy hand and wooed thee, as a lover." And the husband's brother was expected to take the woman as his wife then and there. It is significant that in the whole range of Rigveda there is not a single reference to the self-immolation of the widows. A verse in the Atharvaveda, mentions it as an unapproved relic of a former custom.

The Indo-Aryans well recognised the importance of education and boys and girls were equally treated in this respect. The Rigvedic girl was not an ignorant being like the Hindu girl of today. She received a liberal education in almost all the branches of physical and spiritual instruction obtaining at the time including religion and fine arts. But as stated above usually independent professions were not open to women. Often they too received education in military science and Vispala, the warrior wife of King Khela, and Mudgalani were experts in the art of fighting. And there were great women rishis like Ghora, Apata, Lopamedra, etc.

The Rigvedic woman was, it is interesting to note, careful about her clothes and toilet. She dressed in woollen and also perhaps in cotton clothes dyed in various colours. "There were usually four pieces—the upper and the lower garments, the occasional headdress and the all-covering shawl." The women wore ornaments like necklace, ear-rings, armlets, wristlets, etc., but the nose-ring was conspicuously absent. They wore long hair, oiled and combed it and knit it in long, broad plaits. The application of dark unguent to the eye-lids and of perfumes to the body were important items of a woman's toilet.

The Rigvedic daughter was loved by her parents and not regarded as a curse, as in later times. She was an untiring worker in the Aryan household. She had certain rights in her father's property. She inherited

* *Woman in Rigveda* by B. S. Upadhya. Published by N. K. & Bros., with a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, 2nd edition. Rs. 5/-.

it in her own right in the absence of a brother, enjoyed the right of maintenance in her father's family until her marriage or until death if she chose to remain unmarried all her life, wrested her dowry from her parental possessions which thus formed her *Stridhan*, and could give away her ornaments as largess to Brahmins on the occasion of her marriage (R. V. I, 117, 7, अमाजू *ibid* II. 17, 7; X 39, 3).

We have discussed summarily the position of women under different aspects. The author has profusely quoted from the Rigveda to illustrate all his points and has not withheld any criticism of adverse facts. The high position in which the Rigvedic woman was held is indicated by the attributes ascribed by the Veda to various goddesses. In the opening chapter of the book the author gives a vivid description. As he says, "the very goddesses of the Rigveda embody the dream of India's future womanhood and reflects aspirations." I am tempted to quote a part of the description of Usha—the goddess of the dawn. "The goddess shines like a mother bending her kind looks on all the world below. But then because she is conceived as a woman the poet brings her down to the earth from the heaven and paints her as a real woman, charming and graceful. She is a maiden decked by her mother showing her form. She generates motion in every living being and understands the voice of each adorer. Clothed in light, the maiden appears in the eastern horizon and unveils her maddening charms to the beholders. The immortal goddess has shone in days of yore, she shines today and she will shine hereafter, never ageing. Like a shining silver wheel she revolves ever anew, and ever 'shortening the ages of men, she shines forth, the last of the dawns that have always gone, the first of those to come.' Effulgent in peerless beauty she does not give her light with discrimination but she floods the entire world, all small and great with her brilliant torch. Rising resplendent as from a bath, showing her charms she approaches with light, dispelling the darkness. . . . ."

COMNENT AND CRITICISM

Should All Bengalis Learn Hindi

I AM surprised to find in your editorial notes under the caption, "Resolutions of Eastern India Rashtrabhasha Conference," in the current (July, 1941) number of *The Modern Review* that you are "entirely in favour of all Bengalis learning Hindi." Whilst it is not difficult to appreciate the reasons which prompt your support to the promotion of Hindi in Bengal, it is not so clear why *all* Bengalis should learn this language. As one of the foremost languages of modern India, Hindi can rightfully claim some adherents in the different provinces and it may be desirable that as many Bengalis as possible should cultivate the language. But there are other important languages also which have a similar or perhaps even a better claim. What about Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil and Kannada, spoken in some of the most advanced territories in India which have contributed materially to the cultural renaissance of the country? And about Assamese, Oriya and Maithili, the languages of our immediate neighbours, our very next of kin, with whom we brush shoulders almost daily? I take it that you do not recommend that *all* Bengalis should learn each of these languages also.

I have followed with interest your valuable notes and other contributions in both *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi* in recent times on the vexed question of a common language for India and as far as I have been able to gather, you are of the view that Bengali has a much better claim than the lingual trinity Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani to aspire to the distinction of being the future official language of the whole country. That being so, it is all the more difficult to see why you should ask *all* Bengalis to learn Hindi. It will certainly be reasonable to say that *all* Bengalis residing in Hindi speaking areas should learn Hindi just as much as *all* Bengalis residing in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu should learn Marathi, Gujarati and Tamil respectively.

It may not also be very unreasonable to wish that *all Bengalis* should learn another Indian language in addition to their mother-tongue—although personally I feel that for the bulk of the Bengalis living within their own province, only one language, their own mother-tongue, should suffice. Instead of wasting their time and energy on efforts to master another language, it will be far more productive if they are to devote themselves to the pursuit of a particular branch of art or science. And it should be possible for them to do so through the medium of their own tongue. In any case, all that we can reasonably wish for is that as many Bengalis as possible should learn an additional Indian language. But granting even that *all* Bengalis should learn another Indian language, why should everyone of them take up Hindi to the exclusion of other languages? Is not the best result to be obtained by encouraging the cultivation of all the principal Indian languages? Many will of course, choose Hindi, but others may take up Maithili, Assamese and Oriya and still others, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. That will make for first-hand and real understanding of the cultural life of the different sections of the people inhabiting this vast country.

If you insist on every Bengali learning Hindi, you effectively bar the cultivation of other languages, except, of course, for the learned few. I guess that those, who are wedded to the cult—(it has indeed become a creed with them)—of Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani as the common language of India, will say that no harm will be done that way and the inter-provincial cultural exchange will flow through the channel of the common language Hindi, which it is the patriotic fashion now-a-days to describe as the NATIONAL language—as if the other languages are unnational and exotic! This method may help the spread of Hindi but will not bring the Bengali really any closer to the Marathi, the Gujarati or the Sindhi, etc.

AMIYA K. BASU

Editor's Note. When we wrote that we were in favour of all Bengalis learning Hindi, we did not use the word 'all' in the exact mathematical sense. We meant, all who have or may have business dealings with Hindi-speaking men and all who usually live in Hindi-speaking areas. Others *may* do so as part of linguistic or literary studies.

Sjt. Amiya K Basu's letter was mislaid. Hence the delay in its publication, for which we are sorry.

RABINDRANATH AND "THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR PEOPLE*"

BY PROFESSOR SAROJ KUMAR DAS, M.A., P.R.S. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

THE obituary notice on Rabindranath in the September issue of *The Modern Review*,—which, by the way, is a remarkable study characteristically luminous and objective, in detached admiration for the departed great,—makes an appropriate reference *inter alia* to his unquestionable eminence in the sphere of creative philosophical thought of the world. With a justified emphasis on the point it observes as follows :

"In philosophy he is not a system-builder He has been acclaimed as a Vedantist. He is of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole. His position as a philosophical thinker was recognized by his selection to preside and deliver the presidential address at the First Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925, and also when he was asked to deliver the Hibbert Lectures which appeared subsequently as the *Religion of Man*. Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy."

It is the purpose of the present writer, who happens to be one of the favoured two having first-hand experience of what lay behind this "selection" of Dr. Tagore, to represent with scrupulous care and precision the operative factors in the *denouement*.

My memory takes me back to a typical November morning with its soft, subdued light, when I had the privilege of conducting to the poet's residence at *Jorāsānko*, Prof. Sarvapalli Rādhākrishnan, (then) George V Professor of Philosophy in the Calcutta University and the Chairman of the Working Committee appointed for the inaugural session of the Indian Philosophical Congress. As we had arranged to meet the poet by previous appointment, we were readily shown up to the spacious room on the first floor which, by strange coincidence, happens to be the room where the poet drew his last breath ! Within a minute or two of our arrival there, in stepped to the cadence of music, as it were, the Apollonian figure clad in the familiar flowing robe and cap. Bewitched for a while before that august presence, we rose instinctively to tender our respectful compliments, each in his own way, to the poet who, in his turn, greeted the Professor with outstretched hands,—grasping the upraised hands in his own with unusual warmth and cordiality. The felt impact of the situation was then too intense for thought or expression. But as remembered in tranquillity, it has always appeared to me to be an enchanting study in contrasts. The light grey of early November morning matched with the dark grey of the poet's mantle presented a striking contrast to the aureole of his radiant face. No less striking was the contrast between the inaccessible height of the towering genius "that to the stars uncrowns his majesty" and the incredible breadth of the humanist's sympathy that offers, in his kindly condescension, "to the foiled searching of mortality" the divine "glory and consecration of a poet's dream."

To return to our theme now. As we resumed our seat, Professor Rādhākrishnan duly acquainted the poet with the nature of our mission—conveying the heartfelt desire of the Working Committee to have him as the President of the inaugural session of the Indian Philosophical Congress. With characteristic modesty—which he was pleased to term "timidity" in his exuisitely fine "Address"—the poet declined 'to enjoy the honour' of occupying 'a chair' which, he could 'not legitimately claim' as his own, and particularly, as he wondered whether it would suit his 'dignity to occupy such a precarious position on an ephemeral eminence, deservedly incurring anger from some and ridicule from others.' The Professor was not at all unprepared for a reaction of this kind, and argued the case for philosophy with such persuasiveness as could hardly fail of its purpose. That he had been favourably impressed and his diffidence got over was clearly attested by the generous acknowledgment in the "Address" :

"The only thing which encourages me to overcome my diffidence, and give expression in a speech to my unsophisticated mind, is the fact that in India all the *Vidyas*—poesy as well as philosophy—live in a joint family. They never have the jealous sense of individualism maintaining the punitive regulations against trespass that seem to be so rife in the West."

No wonder that in such an edifying context the slightest touch from an enlightened quarter would set up sympathetic vibrations resulting in a harmony.

Having thus attained a stable ground, and a firm footing at that, in our perilous excursion, the Professor made a further sally in the direction of unexplored heights of that myriad-

*This was exactly the title of Dr. Tagore's address at the First Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at the Senate Hall on 19th December, 1925.

minded personality, and to our unexpected joy, we discovered the master-mind in its elements. Being in the enviable position of the listening third of that exalted company, I was privileged to follow up in detail the track of the dialogue, which then proceeded on that high level. I hope I have succeeded in reproducing hereinbelow the substance of the relevant portion of the discussion :

S. R.—" Is it not rather strange, Dr. Tagore, that the creative urge of Indian thought, which had embodied itself in the traditional systems of Indian philosophy, should have all on a sudden lost its vital flow and survived only in the shape of elaborate commentaries and scholia, thereby inaugurating an age of scholasticism in the history of Indian thought and culture ? "

R. T.—" It is really, as you say, Professor, a strange phenomenon, and calls for an explanation. My own feeling in the matter is that the philosophical genius of our race, though ceasing at times to express itself in cut-and-dried systems of thought, never lacked its vital function."

S. R.—" What you mean to say is that the vital current of philosophic thought was switched off into new channels of self-expression."

R. T.—" Exactly. Forsaking the high roads of expression and advance, the creative thought of India filtered down to the mass-mind, fertilising it and fulfilling its own mission in an unexpected manner. I wonder if you have ever gone through the philosophical fragments and devotional lyrics of Kabir, Dādu, Rajjab, as also the *Baül* songs of mediæval Bengal, collected and published from time to time by my friend Pandit Kshitimohan Sen. These may not be quite in strict accord with the canons of philosophical orthodoxy, but they reveal nevertheless the historic continuity of the spiritual culture of India."

This part of the conversation flashed at once into my mind, with added authority and conviction as we later heard Dr. Tagore preaching in the " Presidential Address " :

"Plato as a philosopher decreed the banishment of poets from his ideal Republic. But, in India, philosophy ever sought alliance with poetry, because its mission was to occupy the people's life and not merely the learned seclusion of scholarship. . . . That may not be remarkable in itself, but when we find that these songs are not specially meant for some exclusive pundits' gathering, but that they are sung in villages and listened to by men and women who are illiterate, realise how philosophy has permeated the life of the people in India, how it has sunk deep into the sub-conscious mind of the country."

This came in for further confirmation about four years later in the " Foreword " contributed by the poet to Pandit Kshitimohan Sen's " Bhāratīya Madhyjugê-Sādhanar Dhārā," *i.e.*, " The Tradition of Spiritual Realisation in Mediæval India " wherein *inter alia* Dr. Tagore makes an authorative statement to this effect :

" India has, after all, a way of spiritual life, all its own—the veritable legacy of her soul. Its unbroken continuity has threaded its way through all the vicissitudes of her political career or status. What is striking about it is that this current (of spiritual culture) is not hidebound by the steel frame of scriptural orthodoxy. The formative influence of learning, if it has any, is almost negligible. As a matter of fact, this traditional way of life is, to a large extent, unorthodox, unconventional and undetermined by social discipline. Its fountain-head, which lies hidden in the innermost heart of the people, has acquired a natural flow by breaking through the stony resistance of injunctions and prohibitions. The people, in and through whose hearts this outpouring manifested itself, were all recruited from the average or common run of people. But whatever they received and revealed in their own way was achieved neither by acumen nor by extensive scholarship (*na medhayā na bahunā srutena*)."

Now we proceed to the concluding part of our cherished interview. As the poet expounded, with sweet reasonableness, his own view of the problem, I was enabled to realise, in a moment of inspiration, the illumination of the " Dark Age " of India—somewhat paradoxical in sound but no less real in sense. Having then obtained his final consent to preside over the ceremony, we took leave of him with appropriate greetings.

The long looked-for 19th December dawned with profusion of golden beams of light, which thrilled us with a happy augury, and happily was the promise fulfilled. Just at 10-30 A.M. half an hour before the scheduled time for the commencement of the function, I was deputed by the Professor to escort the President-elect from his *Jorāsānko* residence to the Senate Hall. On being shown up to the chamber near the main stair-case on the first floor of the eastern block, I found the poet clad in his *garad dhoti, punjābi* and *chāddar*—a veritable impersonation of beauty, proportion and harmony. As I stood up after a reverential bow at his feet, the poet greeted me with that characteristic smile of benign grace which had always the stamp of his personality, and remarked in an inimitable tone of geniality and an untranslatable turn of words : *" Tumi bāpu āmay anêk dukkhu diley "* [*i.e.*, " My dear fellow, you have contrived to inflict on me a long-drawn trail of sorrow "] With the intrepidity of youth I made the ready retort : " It is only out of sorrow, such as yours,

that we hope to reap a harvest of joy." A remark like this, read out of its context, may naturally appear to have an air of impertinence about it. But the endearing tone and the reassuring smile of this great man, at the moment, drew forth from me the retort with perfect naturalness and propriety, and he also appeared to be evidently pleased therewith. Without losing a minute we got into the car, waiting ready for him, and started for the Senate Hall, followed by his distinguished guests, Professors Formichi and Tucci, in another car.

As the poet entered the Hall and stepped on to the dais—which, alas was the venue recently of three obituary celebrations in his memory—the expectant assembly in that spacious Hall was converted into a whispering gallery. Lord Lytton, the then Governor of Bengal and Chancellor of the University, arrived, with his household staff, to the minute, and as being probably the lineal descendant of a celebrated poet, greeted Dr. Tagore with evident warmth and marked emotion. At the conclusion of the Chancellor's opening speech, preceded by a brief welcome address from Sir Ewart Greaves, the Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. Tagore got on to the raised seat on the dais to deliver his presidential address.

The setting in which he delivered it was a peculiarly felicitous one. A fairly long-sized table, about three feet high from the ground, draped all over in rich silk and mounted with a carpet mattress and velveteen pillows to line the two sides, served as the improvised platform for the purpose. Squatting cross-legged in the Indian ceremonial style on this raised platform or pulpit—symbolic perhaps of the eminence of the poet in the world of thought and culture, Dr. Tagore delivered the historic address. What with his magnetic personality and what with the grandeur of the theme, the poet-philosopher conjured up, with the thrill of a contagious fervour, the faded vision, in that uncongenial environment, of some ancient hermitage with the priest or the preceptor at the altar, discoursing on the secrets of creation or the life Divine. What lent a stage-effect to the whole scene and imparted a romantic grace to it was the enfeebled beams of the orient sun, piercing through the tinted glasses about a skylight on the southern side of the Hall and displaying their variegated colours, as they lit up in rhythmic succession the head and face of the poet, without causing any irritation to his eyes. It was strange to see that the tinted rays of the sun selected only a restricted area—kissing lightly the tips of his golden curls and intensifying the gold thereof, and finally vanishing at the crown of his head. It was an unforgettable scene, at once realistic and symbolic. Towering, as he did, head and shoulders above others—even from a seated position—he became the chosen head for special illumination and consecration. To the imaginative mind, this romantic sight conveyed the suggestion of a pre-established harmony and affinity between the luminary within and the luminary without. Curiously enough, this adventitious light died away with the delivery of the address.

In this Oriental setting—in the mystic splendour of a cultural *milieu*—was delivered the memorable address, charged with a profundity of thought and fraught with a universality of appeal. "Superb", is the word for it—superb in conception, superb in diction, superb in elocution. The extraordinary clarity of his throat on that day, supplemented by the natural timber and pitch of his musical voice, contributed materially to the remarkable effect on the audience; and, as I saw him next at Sāntinikêtan at the conclusion of the 7th of *Poush* morning function, the poet observed with evident satisfaction: "You see, I could have on that day made myself heard distinctly from the farthest end of the Senate Hall." With regard to the intrinsic value of the address it must, however, be admitted that on the academic philosophy-mongers who always go sniffing for "systems," home-grown, or imported, it is too apt to fall flat. No "system," thank God, does it own allegiance to, nor is it what we had bargained for. Though it provides no system that supports, yet it offers, what is far more valuable, a stem that grows on the soil of human life, and perfects itself in a *Lebensanschauung*, a view of life, that does not merely mirror forth, but lives into, Reality. If, as Prof. Whitehead in our own day puts it, all systems must be regarded as transitory, true intuitions alone serving as a treasure for ever, Dr. Tagore's address may be said to have achieved the high-water mark in the artistry of truth. If, as Carlyle once said in a famous context, "all deep things are songs," this song of "The Philosophy of our people" is destined to survive for posterity as a classical inheritance, "when eternity affirms the conception of an hour." If, as we also testify with Browning's "Abt Vogler":

> "Sorrow is hard to bear, and doubt is slow to clear,
> Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal
> and woe."

the poet-philosopher has vouchsafed in and through this artistic performance of his the elevating faith :

> "But God has a few of us whom He whispers in
> the ear,

The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis we musicians know."

Even at the risk of impertinence I can not help transcribing here a few characteristic flashes of intuition, and conclude this imperfect and sketchy review, with a reproduction of the high-pitched key on which the poet closes his edifying address :

"As in the world of art, so in God's world our soul waits for its freedom from the ego to reach that disinterested joy which is the source and goal of creation. It cries for its *mukti* into the unity of truth from the mirage of appearances endlessly pursued by the thirsty self. The idea of *mukti*, based upon metaphysics, has affected our life in India, touched the springs of our emotions, and supplications for it soar heavenward on the wings of poesy."

"The modern civilisation is largely composed of *atmahano janah*, who are spiritual suicides. It has lost its will for limiting its desires, for restraining its perpetual self-exaggeration. Because it has lost its philosophy of life, it loses its art of living. Like poetasters it mistakes skill for power and realism for reality. In the Middle Ages when Europe believed in the Kingdom of Heaven, she struggled to modulate her life's forces to effect their harmonious relation to this ideal, which always sent its call to her activities in the midst of the boisterous conflict of her passions."

"Let me close with a *Baul* song, over a century old, in which the poet sings of the eternal bond of union between the infinite and the finite soul, from which there can be no *mukti*, because it is an inter-relation which makes truth complete, because love is ultimate, because absolute independence is the blackness of utter sterility. The idea in it is the same as we have in the Upanishad that truth is neither in *vidya*, nor in *avidya*, but in their union :

'हृदयकमल चल्तेछे फुटे कतो युग धरि,
ताते तुमिओ बांधा आमिओ बांधा, उपाय की करि ।
फुटे फुटे कमल फुटार ना हय शेष ;
एइ कमलेर ये एक मधु रस ये ताय विशेष ।
छेड़े येते लोभी भ्रमर पारोना ये ताइ,
ताइ तुमिओ बांधा आमिओ बांधा, मुक्ति कोथाओ नाई ॥'

"It goes on blossoming for ages, the soul-lotus in which I am bound, as well as thou, without escape. There is no end to the opening of its petals, and the honey in it has such sweetness that thou like an enchanted bee canst never desert it, and therefore thou art bound, and I am, and MUKTI is nowhere."

SOYA BEANS—A UNIQUE WARTIME FOOD

By R. A. MAITRA

The importance of *Soya* as an article of food, especially in wartime, for a country which has to depend for the most part on imported stuffs cannot be spoken of too highly. The food value of *Soya* can be judged from the popular saying that a country can be self-supporting if it has iron, coal, wood and *Soya*. Unfortunately, very few amongst us have an exact idea of the most wonderful yet extremely obscure plant. The utmost one knows about it is as the staple food of millions of Chinese. The Chinese are a queer race. They have given us tea, gun-powder, paper, umbrella and several other indispensable adjuncts of modern civilisation. Their latest, maybe not the last, gift is that unique food plant *Soya*. Doctors and scientists tell us that it is the cheapest form of concentrated nourishment. Their observations are based not only on laboratory experiments but are corroborated by the hard, healthy and happy life which millions of Chinese families lead by existing on this food alone.

A country which is involved in war with no indication of early termination should find as much interest in the cultivation of this all-food plant as in the production of arms and ammunition. Britain is involved in such a war, and owing to its being an insular country it has to depend on its mighty navy for importing essential food-stuffs and industrial raw materials from all corners of the earth. So long as the Royal Navy controls the ocean routes, there is absolutely no risk of starvation in Britain. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Agriculture in Britain did not neglect to examine the possibilities of growing this plant on the English soil when a few years ago the world realised the value of *Soya* from the Chinese. After several years' unsuccessful experiments, excellent types of this bean were obtained. It is not an empty saying that a country which grows *Soya* provides food for "its people, its cattle and its guns."

It will interest our readers to know that *Soya*, which has so recently come into limelight has nearly 300 known uses. To name a few, it is helpful in making paint, varnish and plastics for munition, glycerine (and explosives); soap, lubricants, lamp oil, linoleum, artificial wool and rubber, ink, candles, insulators and waterproof substances. Now about the use of *Soya* as a substitute for food in wartime. What do the experiments of dieticians show ? This is what they found : *Soya* has the highest protein and fat content of any known food. It is an excellent substitute for meat. It has all necessary salts and vitamins for the human system. Several foods can be prepared from *Soya*. They are bread, milk, cheese, soups and confectionery.

It has many times the uses of beet. In short, *Soya* is an insurance against malnutrition as a consequence of wartime shortage of food.

Soya is widely cultivated in U. S. A. and the Japanese are also growing this wonderful food in Manchuria on a gigantic scale to feed their huge army of occupation in that country. We do not know what steps have been taken in India to grow this bean on a large scale. In this connection, it will not be out of place to draw the attention of the Council of Agricultural Research to undertake investigation as to the possibility of producing this vital health food in this country, and popularising its use among the masses. Why not launch an "eat more *Soya*" campaign in this country as well?

A PLEA FOR SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF HINDU UNFORTUNATES

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.),
Secretary, All Bengal Census Board

DURING the last census operations the present writer received complaints that many Hindu unfortunates were going to remain uncounted; and he tried to remedy it as far as possible in consultation and in co-operation with the Census authorities. To one or two enthusiastic enumerators and supervisors of a Ward in Calcutta, where many of these public women are congregated, a certain questionnaire was suggested, and in response the information digested below was received. As the number counted (79) is small, no definite conclusion can be drawn; and the writer is of the opinion that no very definite conclusion should be drawn. At the same time the information received has a value of their own; and he has been told by those students of social problems whom he consulted that they are worth publishing.

1. *Caste Distribution.* The various castes from which these public women are recruited, and their proportionate strength are shown in the Table below. For facility of comparison the proportionate strength of these castes to the total Hindu population of Bengal is shown side by side.

Castes.	No of prostitutes	Percentage of prostitutes	Percentage to total Hindu population	Relative incidence (3)—(4)
Brahmin	13	16·4	6·5	2·5
Kayastha	41	51·9	7·0	7·4
Baidya	2	2·5	0·5	5·0
Sadgope	8	10·1	2·7	3·8
Other castes	15	19·1	83·3	0·2
All Castes	79	100	100	

It will be seen that an overwhelmingly large proportion of these unfortunate women are Kayasthas. Is it because that they have denied their *true* castes, and described themselves as belonging to the highly respectable Kayastha caste? Among the non-*Bhadralok* castes the preponderance of the Sadgopes seems to be significant.

2. *Civil Condition.* What was the civil condition of these unfortunates when they came out of the social fold?

The statistics are :—

Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Total
3	15	61	79
3·8	19·0	77·2	100 p.c.

Although widowhood, and the consequent hopelessness as to re-marriage amongst the Hindus account for more than three-fourths of the cases, the married women furnish not an inconsiderable quota, thus pointing out to social *malaise* or mal-adjustment in marriage.

3. *Age.* To the query at what age they come out of the social fold the answers furnished are interesting. We have analysed the answers in the following table.

Age	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Total
Below 15		2		2
15-20	3	5	39	47
20-25		8	19	27
Above 25			3	3

Thus 15—20 seems to be the most fatal age at which most women, be they unmarried, married, or widow, come outside the social fold. The fact that we find 2 married women go astray at the early age of below 15 points towards mal-adjustment in marriage. Our enquiry is imperfect, as no questions were asked as to how many years after they became widows they left the social fold.

From what has been stated above the writer believes a sufficient case has been made out for further sociological survey by competent scholars.



Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek



China's democratic way of life is shown in Madame Chiang Kai-shek's care of air raid victims



A squadron of fighter-planes in formation flight



Squadron leader gives instruction to his men, before Chinese bombers take off to bomb enemy air bases



U S. S. "North Carolina": A new and mighty addition to the U. S. A. Navy

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

ANOTHER year of war has dragged its miserable course out of this world. It has added more suffering and more calamity to the already overflowing cup of misery held at the lips of humanity by the gods of war. Man's greed, avarice and lust for power has many times before brought civilisation to a sorry pass, but never in the history of this world has strife encompassed the four corners of the earth in its deadly coils to this extent. Perhaps civilisation never had so many false ideals, man's voice had never before uttered so many falsehoods, men blinded by power and drunk with a false sense of prestige had never before perpetrated and tried to perpetrate so many crimes against their fellow human beings.

The other day we were discussing this *danse macabre* in which all the civilised nations and their satellites are engaged in. Each point of view seemed to be gloomier than the other and no prospect offered any cheer in the near future. We were unable to find any message of hope, for the world in general and our little world in particular, either in the news of world or the comments of the worldly-wise. My friend was engaged in delivering himself of a bitter jeremiad against our special pantheon of tin-gods, when my second daughter came dancing in, her usually serene face radiant with smiles. Earnestly we enquired of her as to what glad tidings had reached her that we had missed, as to what message of hope had been given her that had been denied us. She said that she had just discovered that she would see A.D. 2000, even before she attained her grandfather's age. On being gravely assured that that was truly a wonderful prospect, she went on her joyous way,



Field Marshal von Brauchitsch

the mundane world at her feet lit up by the radiance from the vision of a future far too distant for our tired and worldly eyes to perceive.

Anno Domini 2000, the millenium to come! What promise of the future is buried therein? Perhaps by then man would have realised the folly of his ideas about mundane glory, perhaps



Chinese "Suicide" Squad rendering time bombs harmless
[With acknowledgements to the *Asia* magazine

by then he would have learnt to weigh fairly and properly the cold facts of death, destruction, torture and slavery against the transient beauty of the Dead Sea fruit offered to him as a price for all his suffering by the false gods in men's guise that he himself had put on pedestals. Perhaps in that distant future this war, that really began with the commencement of this our present century, would have ended and the historian and the scholar would be able to take a detached view of the workings of the forces of evil let loose by the bestial lusts of men in power—through gold or political power bought with gold—who stopped at no sacrilege, no blasphemy to attain the goal of their unnatural desires. Perhaps the scholar would be able to work undetracted by the clamour of propaganda and the historian would be able to sift the true facts from the heaps of false data flung out in masses by the machinery that has been prostituting learning at the command of Mammon and Mars. Perhaps by then even the profiteer and the tinsel caesar would have received punishment fitting for their crimes. Let us hope all this for the unborn generations, and let us hope at least that if these hopes be not realised then the hopes of those who are now hoping to get away with the fruits of their evil designs be equally frustrated. For the present, we who are in this part of the world can only hope that we shall be given the strength to bear all that the future may have in store for us with the fortitude and calm shown by the peoples of many other realms under the unimaginable horrors let loose on them by the forces of war.

As yet we have only suffered from the general dislocation of trade and industry consequent on war and from the uncontrolled rapacity of the profiteers and racketeers whose happy hunting ground this unhappy land has always been.

* * * *

In Russia the German war machine has been immobilised by "General Winter." There can be no doubt that the failure to get Moscow has been a severe blow to the German High Command and that the removal of General Brauchitsch has followed as a consequence. Whether this was due to his disagreement with Hitler's policy of fighting on to the approaches of Moscow after winter had set in Russia or whether it was due to some inefficiency in his conduction of the Russian campaign is a mere matter of speculation. In any case the Axis forces are now trying to fight the Soviet's forces to a standstill so that the armies now under Hitler's direct command may winter in Russia under conditions of trench warfare. The Russians have the advantage of being inured to the conditions now prevailing on the Eastern Front in Europe and their supply and reconditioning bases are much nearer than are those of the German forces. The Soviet troops can be brought back to shelter to recoup after they are worn out, which is much more than can be done for the majority of the Axis forces which are now exposed to the appalling conditions of the merciless Russian winter. All the same it must not be forgotten that the Russian troops have to face even worse fighting conditions when they attack the entrenched Germans and in consequence a heavy price is probably being paid for the advantages gained.

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This winter is the last great chance for the recouping and refitting of the Russian armies, before Spring inevitably brings in the new German offensive. The terrible losses in men and material suffered by the Soviet's forces have to be made good, all the ground regained from the Germans have to be consolidated and all the defences guarding the vital supply centres, remaining with the Russians, have to be strengthened anew in the light of the experience gained of the methods of German mechanised assault. There is not the slightest doubt that

this winter offensive was undertaken by the supreme authorities of the Soviets with full knowledge of the problems that are besetting them now and with full cognizance of what the end of the winter respite will mean. The question is whether the allies of the Siviets will be able to render aid in adequate measure with the added difficulties facing them after the Japanese onslaught has started.

The armies trained, organised and equipped by the late Marshal Tukachevsky and his staff have covered themselves with glory in bearing the brunt of the three most devastating assaults ever delivered in the history of mankind. It is of no use speculating as to how the war would have gone had the Marshal and many others with him not been liquidated. It remains to be seen how much further the already harassed German High Command have to retreat before they can check the Russian advance guided by the successors of Tukachevsky. Two main objectives of the Russians seem to be the consolidation of the defences of Moscow and the Caucasus—in which substantial progress seem to have been made—and the re-establishment of communication with Leningrad. Everey new success of the Russians add new problems to the plans of the German General Staff and although no major defeat has yet been inflicted on the Axis forces in Russia, the cumulative effect of minor gains by the Soviets is bound to tell on the efficiency of the Axis war machine, provided a prolonged effort can be kept up by the Soviets under the very adverse conditions they are facing.



Soviet Ski Troops

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Asia has now new battlefields following the entry of Japan in this World War. This entry has been spectacular and Japan has gained many successes right at the outset. But as yet the element of surprise has counted most and no real trial of strength has yet developed in any area. Japan has succeeded in making substantial breaches in the lines of communication across the Pacific. She has also substantially secured her own routes of supply across the China sea into Indo-China and Malayasia. For the present the A.B.C.D. group are fighting a defensive war in isolation from each other. The position remains very obscure in places and many 'hings have happened of which no adequate explanation has yet been given. The world was being told for months of the preparations of the A.B.C.D. group to meet all eventualities. The sending of the H. M. S. Prince of Wales, was announced broadcast all over the world. Even the arming of the volunteer crops in Hong Kong was announced in the press some time back. The impregnability of the defenses of Hawaii, the strengthening of

those of Guam, Wake and Midway islands were all made features in the U. S. A. Press. And yet when the assault came—and it was known to almost all that a "Hara Kiri" attempt, in



Rendering time bombs harmless
[With acknowledgements to the *Asia* magazine

U. S. A. parlance, would most certainly be made—there was failure all round. In Malayasia it was known that in any assault that could be made, the use of the air-arm would predominate by far, both in attack and in defense, and it was just for that reason that an Air-Marshal was made the Commander-in-Chief in that area. And yet when the attack came, almost along the chalk marks made a thousandfold across the maps and air-bars, the defenses did not prove adequate

The sinking of H. M. S. Prince of Wales and H. M. S. Repulse also appear to tyros, such as ourselves, to have taken place under circumstances that lead to only one explanation, and that is a gross underestimation of the strength of the Japanese air-force. And this is the explanation that solves many other riddles elsewhere.

The manifold direction of the Japanese attack is also developing along just those lines where, their air-craft carriers and land-based squadrons can adequately cover the landing and advance of their land forces. In this manner they are now attempting the isolation of Singapore and the clearing of their communication lines arcoss the China Sea by overwhelming the U. S. A. forces in the Philippines. If they can accomplish that then the main assault will no doubt develop in the Dutch East Indies, as that with Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula has been the declared goal of the Japanese programme.

But as yet we have only seen the results of the first terrific surprise impact, which was carried through with a considerable thoroughness and with the typical Japanese disregard of all consequences that would have followed if by chance their plans had miscarried. The Japanese had evidently counted on a great deal of shortcomings on the part of the A. B. C. D. group, and they are evidently counting on the same even now. If a worker of miracles came on the scene now—on the A. B. C. D. side—and cleared up the unholy mess of political tangles and the supply and defense bottlenecks consequent therefrom, then the situation would be quite different. The Axis powers have all through counted on the inability of the democracies to overcome their triple handicaps of party-politics, profiteering and a most senseless and perverted conception of prestige. It is to be seen how far in this year the leadership and statesmanship of the democracies are able to surmount the difficulties rising from them. Unless that is done—and that very soon, for it is already very late now—there is little hope for the democracies in the near future. We have had reiteration of



Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov

the statement of vast resources on many occasions and from many eminent authorities and there can be no doubt about the ultimate truth of these declarations. But if even after two and



Premier Luang Bipul Songgram of Thailand



The late Marshal Tukachevsky

a half years of war no clear evidence of the *efficient* utilization of these resources can be seen then what is the use of repeating a catch phrase *ad nauseum ?*

Inefficiency is the greatest sin of modern times and the wages thereof are paid in death, destruction and misery. Unfortunately the innocent suffer equally with the culpable unless the latter are ruthlessly eliminated. Where ideals are concerned the Democracies may profess to have reached far greater altitudes than the Axis, and we have no doubt that they or their leaders will reap a just reward for their work along their chosen path in Hereafter. But on this miserable earth of ours we see that the Axis has gained so much in these few years just because they set efficiency on a higher pedestal than any other virtue. No considerations of prestige, birth or of heaven-born infallibility has been allowed by them to stand in the path of efficiency. If results fall short of expectations, no lame and ancient excuses, no putting forward of garlands of resounding phrases backed by a party vote, no considerations of a non-existent prestige are allowed to stand in the way of the removal—even liquidation—of the inefficient, however great his name or party backing. We do not know why this method could not be followed by the democracies, but we do know of scores of instances in this country alone where it has not been adopted.

Profiteering and the determination of the vested interests to exclude "outsiders" have been the two greatest factors of waste and lowering of output in the democracies. We are not supposed to know nor are we supposed to reason out logical deductions for ourselves. And therefore the paradox of the "Have not" nations producing vast quantities of all their necessities under most adverse circumstances and the "Have" nations panting in an attempt to catch up. A high placed Indian remarked the other day that he "was thunderstruck to learn that a destroyer cost two crores of rupees and that a battleship cost twelve crores or more." We think he would have an apoplectic fit if he learns how much they cost in the various Axis countries and the reason for the difference in cost.

An excellent example of the vested interest's mentality is given by the opposition put up against the Indian enterpreneurs who wanted to develop shipbuilding, aircraft production and automobile manufacture. As against this a most wonderful scheme was put forward by "great" brains for the raising and production of raw materials and intermediate products in India, then *shipping the same* over thousands of miles of Sea routes—that have now become precarious in the extreme—and producing vital war equipment, such as shipping and aircraft, in a country where neither labour nor raw materials are available in anywhere near the quantities or cost as in India. Final products were to be shipped back to India to confound eminent Indian bureaucrats with their cost !

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China is at last recognised as one of the associates of democracy. Perhaps it will also be conceded now that this latest phase of the war would have assumed still further disastrous results for the democracies, had not the China of Marshal Chiang-kai-Shek fought on in spite of the most fearful odds against her and the most lukewarm of all supports for her. It will perhaps be realised now that the ruthless foe she has been fighting so gallantly for the last five years is as efficient in the craft of war as any Western power.

The fortitude and determination of China has been long a source of pride to her friends. The loss of vast stretches of territory including almost the entire sea-board, the destruction of her great economic structure, the death of millions of her gallant sons, the closing of almost all her communications with the outside world, has failed to daunt her. The indomitable spirit of Marshal Chiang-kai-Shek and his associates —not the least being " Madame " his wife—has proved to be an inexaustible fount of inspiration for those who are carrying on this epic fight for the freedom of China and the old world.

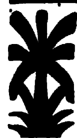
One of the objects of the Japanese onslaught in Malayasia is the closing of the Burma road. The bombing of the Burma road and that of Chungking and Kunming, although carried out with great ferocity and on a very large scale, has failed to affect either the nerves or the resisting power of the Marshal's organisation. So it is well on the cards that a thrust at this last supply route might be developing either from Indo-China or from Thailand. Marshal Chiang-kai-Shek has proved to be resourceful beyond measure in many a tight corner. So he is not likely to be caught unawares if such a move materialises.

Fighting for an ideal is a common slogan in all the countries now involved in war. Even in an avowedly peaceful organisation like our own national Congress, this term has been repeatedly used by accredited leaders. But nowhere in the world the burden has been so grievously weighty and the problem of continuing with the fight for freedom so immensely complicated as in China.

No other city in the world has had such a long drawn trial by fire as had Chungking and no fighting organisation has had as yet to face the problem of supply over precarious long routes as had the free armies of China. And yet over all these and against the might of Japan have prevailed the leadership of Marshal Chiang-kai-Shek and his devoted band of advisors. Chungking has not flinched under its blitz bombing and as for the army they have even made a heroic attempt to relieve their new allies.



Martinique : Fort and Harbour



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Religious Reform

Christmas represents the Birth of Christ—not a historical event but a mystical one. *The Aryan Path* observes :

It symbolizes the Second Birth—the awakened soul enlightening the mind to live the life of peace within and of good-will to all creatures. Christianity, like every other organized religion, suffers from materialism of the spirit. It does not help men to live a conscious life in spirit because it calls its votaries away from the quest of Truth to a mere belief in notions and taboos.

A revaluation of religion as an aid to life is overdue. No one can help appreciating the motive of the writers eager to see radical reform introduced in the sphere of religion; but we doubt if a real and lasting spiritual revolution can come from within the sectarian creeds. By leaving them alone, by proclaiming that all religions are at their roots the same, but that each is overgrown with false belief and with superstition, by seeking the one common source of them all can men and women of today find the way to the Higher Life—conscious life in spirit. Instead of trying to reform organized religions run by salaried priests and money-seeking purohits men should reform themselves and experience the joy of real Christmas—Second Birth. Even a few attempting and succeeding in this task will prove themselves real Servants of their fellow-men, superior to politicians, economists and sociologists.

Peace and Womanhood

The genuine women of all countries should unite and band themselves together to preach justice and contentment and to work for peace and harmony amongst the nations of the world. In the course of his article on Internationalism and Peace in *The Twentieth Century* Col. Sir K. N. Haksar states :

I pin my faith to womanhood, as I am absolutely convinced that no moulding influence can more effectively create among men a disposition to peace than the occult power which our mothers and sisters, our wives and our friends of the fair sex, exercise. To the instinctive judgment of an earnest woman—not necessarily of the suffregette type—speaking from deep conviction backed by the irresistible charm with which Nature has endowed her, every man must surrender his own. I am not thinking of patriotic women, of amazons who step into the shoes of men when they are supposed to be engaged in fighting for their countries. I am not thinking of women who are ready to take up the responsibilities which men leave behind in wartime—nor of women who plead the stress of economic conditions as an excuse for ceasing to be women. I am rather thinking of women who desire to be women and are content to be women.

The strongest condemnation of modern civilisation is that in the name of emancipating women, it has made them worse slaves than they ever were.

It has done this by the conditions it has created which, in the economic field, throw them on their own resources. It has done it still more by setting up standards of attractiveness which seeking to adorn nature, destroy nature's inherent beauty. The modern woman, it has been remarked, is like a suddenly realised spring which overshoots the mark. Personally, I share Will Durant's hope for the ultra-civilised, unsophisticated women of the present day :

"Their present period of imitation will pass; they will discover that men do not deserve this flattery; they will preceive that intellect is not intelligence, and that happiness, like beauty and perfection, lies in the fulfilment of our natural selves. Those women who carry emancipation onward, will seek not to be imperfect men, but to become perfect women."

There are still perfect women, good women and true, to be found everywhere and in sufficient strength to promote the cause of Peace.

I think what is indicated is a world organisation with women at the head to guide, in the light of their insight into the human heart and their unerring instinctive judgment, their male coadjutors in the task of creating a pacific disposition amongst the bellicose by temperament and the belligerent by tradition.

What a service to humanity can such an organisation not render, apart from the prevention of war? The civilised nations, more than the others, are groaning under a crushing burden of taxation necessitated by the maintenance of fighting Forces. If all the wealth that goes to the production of cannon and cannon-fodder could be released and diverted to the many social needs of the people, would not life be more liveable and the world happier and lovelier?

I verily believe that if such an organisation is worked with faith and earnestness, it will achieve more than the International Section of any future League of Nations.

War Policies and Broken Threads

The war represents clash of two world power combines seeking to dominate the earth. K. M. Munshi writes in *The Social Welfare* :

Britain, which now forms part of the Anglo-Saxon combine, holds the destiny of India in its hands and in 1939-40 was naturally not interested in anything which did not help to retain its world predominance. The decision of National India not to help the war effort unless India was taken into partnership, was the direct result of the policy of racial predominance which Britain was then fighting for. To frustrate India's effort to convert the war into a war of white and coloured demo-

cracies therefore became the war policy if Britain. Its underlying assumption was that the spontaneous co-opération of India based on partnership, would endanger exclusive Anglo-Saxon domination after the war.

There is a natural law by which all selfish ambitions carry within them the germ of self-destruction.

Hitler started with a narrow racial exclusiveness; Ribbentrop now upholds the unity of Europe. Britain started with an ambition to continue to dominate the world exclusively; it has ended by being a junior partner of U.S.A. and dependent upon its dependency, India.

Even the *Times,* the semi-official organ of Whitehall, has had to plead for 'a new constructive effort on the part of the British Government to make another attempt to heal the breach between India and Britain.'

The *Daily Herald* fulminates against the 'sit-down strike' of the British Cabinet as regards India. In substance Britain cannot wage the war on the strength of Indian lives and resources and retain its imperlialistic war aims.

But Mr. Amery represents a school of thought which still thinks of exclusive British domination of the world, a school which even the *Times* has ceased to belong to.

Mr. Amery should know that as things are the war is not going to be over soon; that it will not result in the exclusive British predominance of the world even if the Anglo-Saxon combine wins; and that by the time it ends arrogant imperialists would have been long swept off the stage.

A world catastrophe is on us. Neither Britain nor India, nor any other country or people on the earth will be able to go back to September 3, 1939.

The new situation deserves attention. Britain cannot prosecute the war in Asia—where it has come now—to any end which implies the survival of both Britain and India without spontaneous Indian aid. At the same time India cannot stand aloof from the war, even if it wants to.

With the new situation a fresh need has arisen for a new policy; a policy which accepts what in fact exists, that the war is no longer a struggle for political or racial domination but a world cataclysm which will alter the course of history and leave a trail of woe behind, in which every people has its share of burden to carry. To re-orient the policy to the new situation is the duty of those who lead the Anglo-Saxon combine; of Britain above others, for its existence is at stake. It cannot be blind to realities. It dare not leave the fortunes of the world in the hands of men who like the Bourbons never forget and never learn anything.

The Dictator Through the Ages

Our present day autocracies have different ideologies. Communism relates happiness to wealth, Fascism to national glory, and Nazism to racial superiority. In the course of an article in *The Indian Review* Justice B. J. Wadia observes :

It is a new myth that Europeans are higher than other men, that Germans are higher than other Europeans, and that the lowest of all are the Jews. The State is the idol. No one is master of himself. The State thinks for him and acts for him. All is decided for him and not by him, and it is a crime to resist. In republican Rome none was for a party, all were for the State; now the State is the only party, and the State is for all, acting in one way only. Every one of the Dictators repudiates both individual freedom and the tradition of western civilization which makes the State the servant and not the master of the individual. Every one of them rules by superlative ability coupled with ruthlessness and craft. The Dictator of Paraguay in the beginning of the last century even attracted the notice of Carlyle as one of his Heroes or strong men. The Dictator alone represents the popular will, and power is a consuming lust. He must be admired, followed and obeyed, though millions must be sacrificed because he has determined their death.

The fate of civilization is once more being settled on the battlefield.

And the battle is once more between the old ideals and the new, between a conception of the world as the chessboard of the war-lords and a conception in which men can live in society as free, virtuous and rational individuals.

Democracy does not believe in the superman. But it can no longer live in the old, careless, oblivious ignorance of the events on which its existence ultimately depends.

Democracy can at times degenerate into mass tyranny, and it is not everything good that has come from political freedom. The last century hoped it would, but no magic genie emerged from the ballot-box. It is strange how mankind gets itself amused by words and phrases. Rousseau's famous slogan—Man was born free and is everywhere in chains—is a half-truth. Yet it sent thousands to the guillotine, and ultimately gave to the great Corsican the revolutionary armies with which he started on his career of world-conquest. It was evidently reserved for the false prophets of this century to make concrete another slogan, the witches' slogan—"Fair is foul and foul is fair." When the witches have vanished, and the atmosphere is clear again, let us hope that our men of destiny will not leave one more seed-bed of hate and despair in the heart of western civilization.'

Suppressio Veri

The New Review observes :

What editors usually forget in their obsession with news value is that what does not happen may be as important as what happens. A libellous statement may be news but the denial of the cause for libel is equally important news.

As bad is the systematic suppression of what does take place. A striking instance can be had in the news about America's public opinion on the war. Conditions in the U. S. A. are not so simple as the daily Press would lead us to believe.

Statements by the President, by members of his Cabinet and by some of his supporters are lavishly quoted; also the sayings of Dorothy Thompson, Quentin Reynolds and a few others: all of them definitely and even vehemently anti-German. The usual sources of information are the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune* which represent the extreme pro-British view; but, as *The Weekly Review* notes, editorials in America are not to be credited with the same influence in America as in England; the editor of the *New York*

Times is by far not so big a man as his colleague of the London *Times*. Hence the extreme pro-British view is given a disproportionate prominence in England and in the Empire. Again one might again be led to infer, and this would be quite wrong, that the Isolationists are little more than a herd of anti-British nonentities.

Were we consequent, we should put in the Isolationist camp people like President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill himself. Did not the President, repeatedly and still recently, declare that he wanted to keep America out of the war? Did not the English Premier protest that he did not want America in the war, neither this year, nor next or any other year? On the other hand, what one should note is that the most prominent among the people labelled as Isolationists are supporting the President in his policy of all-out aid to Britain. Why denounce them and acclaim others for the same measures? Mr. Hoover's case is typical. People usually fancy that he is anti-British; they even accuse him of doing the work of Dr. Goebbels. Now Mr. Hoover has from the very beginning of the war given his untiring support to the policy of all-out aid to Britain.

One phenomenon is to be observed; none of Mr. Hoover's hundred speeches have been reported; occasional quotations culled here and there which give a wrong impression contrary to his leading view and misleading summaries are all that he gets from editors.

Mr. Hoover re-entered political life to help the passing of the Lease and Lend Bill; yet he is criticised as an opponent of the Bill; he risked his popularity in going and addressing Isolationists; yet he is represented as attempting to defeat the purpose of the Bill.

Why this prejudice against Mr. Hoover and others? It is because of a failure to understand the background of their reasoning. American opinion as a whole wishes for a British victory and a death-blow to Nazism. But opinion is sharply divided as to how to achieve it best; any discussion of means would make the division sharper than ever. Some Americans want a declaration of war at once; Mr. Hoover says that this would be the worst possible thing to do. And his argument is not without foundation; America does not yet produce enough to keep Britain and Russia equipped to the full and at the same time to put the U. S. A. on a war footing; declaring war at present would add to the number of Britain's Allies and cut down the number of Britain's tanks and planes After a few months, the outlook will be different. Why Mr. Hoover's views are not given proper publicity can only be explained by the superficial and prejudiced way in which information is studied; by themselves they are a clear indication that sympathy for Britain is often hidden under the Isolationist label.

In order to have a complete picture of American opinion, one should also note that Americans are growing nervous about the extraordinary powers granted to the President.

That the only way to destroy dictatorship in far away Europe involves establishing in the U. S. A., a system which looks so much like dictatorship or which could so easily drift into a dictatorship is a view that American opinion is reluctant to accept until it has become clearly unavoidable. Moreover Labour are apprehending that war conditions might allow employers to avoid sharing war profits with the workers and to hamper and even prevent the growth and achievement

of labuor unions on a national basis. These fears cannot be dismissed as groundless; and they have a hold on people who see the danger from very close and who doubt about the wisdom of their intervention twenty five years ago. From the first Americans felt vexed at being troubled once more with Europe's quarrels; it took France's collapse to force their attention and start their effective co-operation. However engrossed on the present they are denounced to be, they look to the future and they want to make sure that no further intervention will ever, be needed.

Water Requirements of Plants

Dr. P. S. Khankhoje, an Indian residing at present in Mexico, carried on his investigations on "some factors which influence the water requirements of plants" at the Washington State Agricultural Experiment Station at Pullman. The paper dealing with his investigations was first published in the Journal of the American Society of Agronomy a few years ago and later reprinted in book-form. In an article in the *Nagpur Times* Anandrao Joshi gives a brief outline of the results of his investigations :

Kind of Crop.—Different kinds of crops take different amounts of water to produce a unit of dry matter.

Strength of Soil Solution.—The strength of soil solution has influence on water requirements of plants. The amount of water to produce a unit of dry matter is decreased when the strength of solution is increased. Popularly speaking, a fertile soil will produce a greater yield with a less amount of water than will infertile soils under similar conditions.

Age of Plants.—Younger plants take more water than the older plants. The experiments show that the plants in the first period of their growth take more water than in the second period; and in the second period they take more than in the third.

Amount of Moisture in Soil.—The plants grown in the soil having more saturation take more water to produce a unit of dry matter than the plants grown in the soil of less saturation.

A Common Language for India

In a symposium compiled by Dr. Z. A Ahmed an attempt has been made to bring together the views of some of our contemporary writers and political leaders on the question of a common language for India. The volume, *National Language for India*, Kitabistan Series No. 1, thus helps to focus the country's attention on this important question. *Science and Culture* observes :

It must be borne in mind that the question of language is important not because of its ephemeral political or communal implications but because it will have an important and lasting bearing on any future scheme of general mass education or cultural development of the people, and on the promotion of the unity of India, at the same time preserving the rich diversity of her inheritance. Inclusion of some more of India's eminent educationists, scholars, linguists and *litterateurs* who have no strong political or communal bias in the list of contributors to the symposium, would have enhanced the value of the publication. Rabindranath Tagore is a very significant omission. Sarojini Naidu, who of all our present day political leaders has the greatest claim to literary distinction, has not been included though her name appears in the list given on the cover. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who is an Urdu scholar and writer of great reputation also does not find a place. Scholars like Suniti Kumar Chatterji (Calcutta), Siddheswar Prasad Varma (Kashmir), Mohiuddin Kadiri (Osmania University), Habib (Aligarh), S. M. Kare (Poona), Nilkantha Sastri (Madras), who have made linguistics their life's study, are conspicuous by their absence.

If the reader looks at the analysis of opinions, he will find that with a few exceptions, the contributors are mostly those whose mother-tongue is, actually or professedly, either Hindi or Urdu.

Persons speaking the other great Indian languages, *e.g.*, Bengali, Marathi, Maithili, Assamese, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, etc., have been ignored. This takes away much from the value of the book as representing all shades of Indian opinion.

Coming to the practical suggestions regarding the shape to be given to the common language we find even Gandhiji, who might be expected to give a lead in the matter, evades the real issue.

"Hindi and Urdu" says Gandhiji, "will continue to flourish. Hindi will be mostly confined to Hindus and Urdu to Muslims. . . . . . Hindustani of the Congress conception has yet to be crystallized into shape. . . . Hindustani spoken to a Bengalee or South Indian audience will naturally have a large stock of words of Sanskrit origin. The same speech delivered in the Panjab will have a large admixture of words of Arabic or Persian origin. Similar will be case with audiences composed predominantly of Muslims who cannot understand many words of Sanskrit origin"

Any thoughtful reader will see that Gandhiji has been spinning round a circle, without being able to suggest any progressive step at all. Do not Hindi and Urdu serve in Northern India the same purpose today which is sought to be served by Gandhiji's brand of Hindustani ?

Gandhiji has given his opinion about what should be the form of "Hindustani" when meant for Muslims or Hindus, and Punjabis or Bengalees and South Indians. But what should be the form of Hindustani when it is meant for an all-India audience ?

What variant of Hindustani would he prescribe for Congress leaders when addressing an all-India audience from the Congress platform, or an author who wants his book to be read in all parts of India and by ll communities? Will there be a 50:50 ratio between Sanskrit and Arabic or Persian words, or will the Congress prescribe any other suitable ratio ?

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's analysis of the common language question is much more rational, and there should be general agreement over many of the concrete suggestions made by him. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed the emphatic opinion that while the common language of the country should be Hindustani *the provincial languages must be allowed to remain dominant in their respective areas.* In provinces like Bengal, Madras or Bombay, which have their own languages with rich inheritance and each spoken by millions of

people, it is absurd to think, nor is it desirable, that any common all-India language should infringe in the least on the domain of the provincial languages. For these provinces and others, Hindustani will serve the purpose of a *lingua franca;* it will only be accepted as a common all-India medium of communication. Masses can grow educationally and culturally only through the medium of their own languages, and therefore our system of education and most of our public work must be based on the provincial languages. The official language of each province for affairs of State should also be the language of the province. In the Hindustani speaking area both Hindi and Urdu should be officially recognized.

Human Cultures in India during the Stone Age

Man has been known to have lived in India during the Stone Age, and evidence in the shape of stone artifacts, both crude and polished, has been found from all over the country from the early sixties of the last century. Dr. B. S. Guha writes in *Science and Culture* :

Indian prehistory so long remained at best a typological study giving ample scope for imaginary conjectures and irresponsible datings.

De Terra's work (*Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures* by H. de Terra and T. T. Paterson, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. 1939) removes thees desiderata and attempts for the first time to provide a scientific foundation for Stone Age Culture Sequences in this country determined in terms of glacial cycles and their association with fossil animal remains. It is the result of a geological and archæological expedition carried out under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution, the Yale and Cambridge Universities and the American Philosophical Society. The leader of the Expedition was Prof. Hellmut de Terra of the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale University.

With him were associated Dr. Teilhard de Chardin, the distinguished French palæontologist and Messrs. T. T. Paterson and J. Drummond of the University of Cambridge. Three Indian scholars were also attached, namely, Messrs N. K. N. Aiyengar from the Geological Survey, D. Sen from the Calcutta University and Krishnaswamy from Madras.

The object of this Expedition carried out under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution was to investigate the Ice Age history of Kashmir with a view to working out a standard sequence of geologic events for measuring the history of Early Man in India.

In the opinion of de Terra, the dating of prehistoric cultures merely by associated animal remains, is insufficient. A close integration with glacial cycles is necessary before their chronology can be considered as definite. It is for this reason that the greater part of the time of expedition was taken up by the study of the glacial cycles in the Himalayas, and the valleys of Sind and Liddar in Kashmir were chosen for a glaciological survey which was carried out with great details by de Terra, Paterson and de Chardin.

De Terra agrees with Dainelli that there were four major glaciations in the Himalayas with three interglacial periods, of which the first glacial and interglacial occurred in the Lower, the second glacial and inter-glacial in the Middle and the 3rd and the 4th glacial and the 3rd inter-glacial in the Upper Pleistocene. Though exact correlations of the glacial cycles of the Himalayas and the Alps have not yet been worked out, the four major Himalayan Ice Advances may roughly be said to correspond to Mindel, Riss, Wurm and Wurm I, respectively of the Alps.

Using the ice cycles of Kashmir as standard measures, de Terra attempts to determine the history of Early Man in India, evidence for whose existence he finds for the first time during the Boulder Conglomerate of the second glacial, and more abundantly in the interglacial period that follows it.

From the primitive culture of the Middle Pleistocene to the civilisation of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa De Terra finds an unbroken chain of evidence for continued habitation of man in India.

It appears that there were two parallel cultures in the Punjab during the Middle Pleistocene, in one of which hand axes of the Abbevillian-Acheulian type predominated, and in the other, in the Soan Valley proper, flake and pebble industries occurred. From their typology, Paterson classified them into three distinct groups, namely Early Soan, Soan Proper and Late Soan. The lithic industries in the Soan Valley when viewed together show how from crude and simple forms a finely fashioned flake culture developed necessitating the careful preparation of the core and mastery over the technique of flaking.

Science is indebted to all those associated with the "Carnegie-Yale Expedition" and specially its leader,

Dr. Hellmut de Terra for placing prehistoric studies in this country on the right scientific lines.

Ideals of Education

It is necessary that we should be clear in our minds about human destiny and be sure whether we are merely to earn our living and enjoy our life on earth or are a being nobler and higher than only a larger ape. The proper care of the body and the training of the intellect are of course necessary; they are the foundation of all systems of education. But the process must not stop there. It must lead to something higher. In the course of his presidential address at the seventeenth All-India Educational Conference, as published in *The Indian Journal of Education*, Prof. Amaranatha Jha observes :

In a changing world education must hold fast to certain ideals and the educator must be quite clear about his goal. He cannot afford to drift. He must plan so that the world regains its equilibrium. In most of the countries that are under totalitarian authority, the initiative has been taken out of the teachers' hands and the aims of education defined in clear terms by the decree of State. General Chiang Kai-Shek thus declared in 1939 what China's educational policy and programme were to be :

"Modern life is wartime life, and individuals and communities failing to adapt themselves to wartime conditions cannot escape extinction or elimination by others. Educators of today must regard themselves as warriors storming forts and braving death, as forerunners in social reforms, as founders of a new nation who defy all hardships, as sages and heroes who play decisive roles in critical moments of the nation. Today we cannot subscribe to the campaign for educational independence, which would place educators beyond the laws of the nation, as if they constituted an isolated group. Any discussions of education today should aim at providing a link between it and all other activities, be they military, political, social, or economic; education must become a vital and essential factor in the creation of a new Chinese nation."

In Nazi Germany, according to a competent observer, new ideal of man has been posited.

"It is the ideal of the racially pure German, the Nordic, endowed with all the racial characteristics ascribed to him in national-socialist thought, to wit : a strong and beautifully-balanced body, untiring and resistant to any kind of hardship, and, chief of all, the hardships of warfare; loyalty and obedience to the appointed leaders rather than individual self-assertion; a passionate desire to help in the accomplishment of the German nation as the master nation above all other races. Most of these qualities are the qualities of the soldier. The soldier is the new ideal of man."

In Italy the educator is constantly preaching the Fascist motto : "Work, obey, fight."

In Soviet Russia, the underlying doctrine is that of Lenin, who said, "The school, apart from politics, is a lie and a hypocrisy." The walls of the nursery-infant schools used to be decorated with political posters and slogans, pictures of tractors, and Red Army soldiers; the education is frankly atheistic, religion being explained as something needed by the primitive man but now as being an obstacle to progress; at the University, everyone has to offer social science, with its two divisions of political economy and history of class struggle; manual labour is part of everyone's education. There are recent indications that even in Russia, popular education is now controlled by the belief that humanism and beauty must be the basis of education. In democratic countries, the aim is rather vaguely described. Thus, some of the leading American thinkers say in a book entitled *The Educational Frontier* :

"It is reasonable to expect the school to set up an environment in which all of its pupils, through active participation in its organisation and control, may move progressively to a more complete appreciation of the deeper significance of the democratic way of life."

The healthy animal, the intellectual animal —is that all we seek to produce ?

The *Taittiri-yopanishad* says; "The purpose of education is the realisation of the divine in everything." Plato, in his *Laws*, says : "We have to fight an unceasing battle in which amazing watchfulness is needed. Gods and spirits are our allies, and we are the property of these gods and spirits. Wrong, arrogance, and folly are our ruin; righteousness, sophrosyne, and wisdom are our salvation : and these have their home in the living powers of the gods, though some faint trace of them is also plainly to be seen dwelling here within ourselves."

Tagore Memorial Meeting in Mauritius

"We are mourning today the loss of one of the lights of our nation—Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore; and the literary world the loss of one of its principal ornaments. The Indian Cultural Association has been bereft of one of

its earliest and strongest patrons." *The Indian Cultural Review* of Muritius writes :

Tagore passed away on the 7th of August last Two memorial ceremonies in which the whole Mauritian community was represented were held in the Island. The first took place on the evening of the 8th : a special broadcast from Radio Maurice in the course of which speeches were delivered by Mr. K. Hazareesingh and Dr. S. Ramyoolam, a poem on Tagore was read by its author Mr. R. E. Hart, and a translation of this poem by Mr. R. C. Wilkinson and a few prose extracts from Tagore were read by Dr. F. W. Jepson.

On the 9th a memorial meeting under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Gujadhur was held at the Hindu Maha Sabha. Over 300 members of the various sections of the population attended. The speakers were, besides the chairman who briefly outlined the place of the poet in world's literature, Mr. R. E. Hart, the Rev. Father Dussercle, President of La Societe des Ecrivains Mauriciens, Mr. L. Seenivassen, Bar-at-Law, Swami Ghananand of the Ramkrishna Mission, Hon. Dr. S. Ramgoolam, Mr. Dhunputh Lallah and Pandit Deodat Sharma. The sympathies of "Le Cercle Litteraire de Port-Louis" were expressed in a letter forwarded to the meeting by its President, Mr. Arthur Martial. A message of sympathy associating the Indian Community and friends and the principal literary bodies of the Island was sent to the bereaved family.

Ideologies and the Present War

The war that has been going on in the world for nearly two years now involves not merely a conflict of arms, but also of ideas. Broadly speaking, there are three sets of ideologies in conflict. Germany speaks of the New Order for Europe; Britain speaks of the ideals of Democracy and Freedom, and so also does America Japan also talks of a New Order in the Far East. S. P. Sharma writes in *The Mayurbhanj Chronicle* :

There is no duobt as to what Germany means, and intends to achieve. She wants a "Europe purged of economic nationalism, a single commerce area with stabilised currencies and multi-lateral trade, where each country produces the goods which it is best adopted to produce, a Europe which sends its manufactures to colonies systematically and fully exploited, and draws from them raw-materials, a Europe permanently peaceful and increasingly prosperous."

Hitler has been very clear as to what he wants. In *Mein Kampf* he says. "The primordial racial elements are of the greatest significance for mankind .... On this planet of ours, human culture and civilisation are indissolubly bound up with the presence of the Aryan." And by somehow equating the German and the German only with the pure Aryan, he comes to the conclusion that the Nazis are the pre-destined masters of the world. By mans of this war, he seeks to bring about "a peace which would not be based upon the waving of olive branches and the tearful misery-mongering of pacifist old women but a peace that would be guaranteed by the triumphant sword of a people endowed with the power to master the world and administer it in the service of a higher civilisation."

Other Nazi leaders have been no less clear as to what Germany wants. Dr. Ley, the leader of the German Labour Front, said recently : "If Germany, thanks to its power and creative energy, set up more factories than other nations and showed more initiative in every sphere, it must also have the right to extract for this purpose the necessary labour-supply in order that Germany might accomplish these tasks which were part of the mission."

Obviously, the lot of non-German nations is merely to help Germany to fulfil her mission and not to have missions of their own. The Japanese New Order in the Far East does not extend to the whole world but applies only to the areas near about Japan.

What is claimed amounts to giving Japan a free hand in the Far East to do what she likes at the expense of her weak neighbours. Thus, she does not want interference from anybody with her policy in China and now in Indo-China. She wants also to play the mistress of the seas surrounding her.

The third set of ideologies is associated with Britain and her allies, and it is tantamount to the democratic ideals held by Britain, America and other countries.

They are based on the theory that each people has an individuality of its own, and should have the freedom to develop it, according to its own history, traditions and capacity.

In other words, the British Empire can live only so far as it ceases to be an empire, not merely in profession but in practice. The same remark applies to America as well having within herself a population of twelve million Negroes who are treated little better than as sub-humans.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Free India!

While India remains in bond
The soul of the world is bound.
Of other lands you may be fond,
But Ind is holy ground.

To see the others, look around.
For India look within.
A crime to hold another in pound.
To fetter Ind is sin.

She asks for only what is due,
The freedom others vaunt.
But, India, we turn to you
For dreams that none can daunt.

That love be law, and you the goal,
And gentleness conquer wrong,
With holiness an aureole,
And the humble proven the strong.

RALPH CHEYNEY in the *Unity*.

India's Struggle for Freedom and America

While the American people are so eager to support the cause of human rights everywhere, their comparative lack of comprehension or sympathy towards India's struggle for freedom is conspicuous. In an article in the *Unity*, Hilda Weirum Boulter, in part, writes :

If it is true that America's aid is indispensable to Britain—and we are certainly being led to believe that this is the case—and if it is true, as the President says, that our support goes to those "everywhere" who struggle to gain those human rights whose supremacy means freedom, then we have a duty to perform : a duty which we cannot shirk, under pain of being false to our faith and to all that we hold most dear. That duty is to say plainly and baldly to the British Government : We no more recognize your right to hold India against the will of the Indian people, than we or you recognized the right of other aggressors to hold Poland against the will of the Polish people. It makes no difference how long you already have held India—except insofar as each day that you stay there increases the magnitude of the injustice done the Indian people. India is a large country with a huge population and great potential wealth and strength. Given proper *support* during the crucial period of initial independence, it could become self-defending in a very short time, and would constitute no menace to future peace. The much discussed communal problems of the Hindus and Moslems are for the Hindus and Moslems to settle —they are not your business, nor ours. They have grown in intensity since the beginning of foreign rule —your rule. Your financial tie-ups, your investments in India can all be equitably arranged—in time. We are willing to be on a commission to help settle such matters, if necessary. But, we insist that you give freedom to India now, that you help in the substitution of an Indian national government for your own aggressor rule, that you honestly and decently withdraw,—we insist upon this as the price of our further assistance to you in your struggle against aggression. We cannot support you while you are still maintaining in India a government of aggression against the will of the people of India. We must feel that our hands are clean. We cannot so feel if we are partners with you, whose hands are as stained with crime in India as other hands are stained with crime in Europe.

If this war is to settle anything at all, there must first be a settlement of the imperial system. And India is the very cornerstone of the whole system. If we really believe that in the justice of our cause lies our strength, we cannot permit any miscarriage of that justice. If America is to trust her safety to arms, her own or those of others, which derive their strength from any moral fervor, she must be as sure of the morality as of the fervor.

Hitler's strength lies in the faith of his people that he is fighting *for* something. If we really fight for freedom we can have a like faith. As it is, the dark shadow of Imperialism makes a mockery of our claims. The sufferings and sorrows of those sons and daughters of India who now languish in prison because they struggled to free their own homeland from British rule, are a weight around the neck of every British soldier—and will be a weight on the soul of every American, unless we speak out honestly and fearlessly, and insist that justice be done *"everywhere."*

The Bantu Society in Trial

The "civilizing mission" of the Western people have created havoc in many indigenous societies, even some are faced with complete extinction. Due to the contacts that Europe has forced on them, and the concommitant disequilibrium produced by it the Bantu races of South Africa is faced with a crisis. T. Cocker Brown writes in part in *The International Review of Missions* :

That the Bantu races in southern Africa are passing through an extremely dangerous stage in their development must be patent to any close observer of conditions there.

The writer makes no pretence to be an expert on South African affairs. He wishes merely to share a deep concern for a state of social chaos developing among the southern Bantu peoples, a condition so serious as to involve the danger of a complete moral debacle. The impressions recorded were received in the course of two visits to the Union of South Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Southern and Northern Rhodesia in 1933 and 1940, after an absence from the country of more than thirty years.

Owing to the contacts that Europe has forced on them in the course of the last hundred years, the Bantu have had to make adjustments in their mental outlook, social organization and moral habits within that short period such as Europe has made in the course of two

thousand years. Adjustment so fundamental and hurried could not fail to cause acute difficulty.

The discovery of precious and useful metals, added to the land-hunger from which Europe suffered in the latter half of the nineteenth century, caused a rapid infiltration of white races into southern Africa, and large-scale industries have grown up for which a cheap and fully-controlled labour supply was necessary. This led to the complete subjugation of the Bantu, in early days under the crude institution of actual slavery, in later times under an economic oppression that differs little from slavery. It was inevitable that civilized forms of government should be set up, but this has been done with a strange disregard for the human rights of the Native peoples and little concern for their future development. The lack of anthropological knowledge led to a clumsy destruction of the delicate mechanisms of Bantu social organizaztion. The tribal system had given not only a fairly stable government to individual racial groups, but a certain balance and rhythm of life that had stood the test of centuries. Its disintegration has robbed the Bantu of their chief centre of moral authority, the discipline that came from it and, so, of moral security. The social milieu of industrialism and urban existence into which he has been flung is dominated by individualistic conceptions of life to which the Bantu is a stranger, and a cash economy equally strange is forced on him by taxation and a growing need of the products of modern civilization. He has had to make his adjustments to this bewildering whirlpool of new, unintelligible forces at the very moment when he has been robbed of his main source of moral authority —the tribal system. The assumption of superiority, issuing in a certain crude contempt on the part of the white for the black man, has added a dangerous psychological element of inferiority sense on the side of the latter. The conditions set up are naturally more pronounced and acute in the southern areas where infiltration and industrial development are further advanced and these areas provide the most striking examples, but the same process of deterioration is going on steadily right through the countries that lie south of the Equator. There are some extremely serious indications of moral collapse among the Bantu.

India Under British Rule—An American Estimate

In a well-documented article James McCawley writes in a recent issue of *The Catholic World*:

Once before, India lent its armed aid to Britain on the promise that after the war, India would be granted the fullest measure of self-government. The arrival of the Indian Expeditionary Force in France in September, 1914, was said by Sir James Wilcocks, to have saved the Allies from a crushing defeat at the beginning of the Great War.

Yet in 1919, while Europe was being carved up to give small nations such as Czecho-Slovakia the boon of self-government, new repressive laws were introduced into India, which led to the tragedy of Amritsar in which three hundred members of an unarmed mob, all pledged to non-violence, were shot and beated to death by General Dyer's soldiers (

Indians know that the promise of self-government for India is one which British conservatives exploit for home consumption, to resolve the doubts of British labor which has become increasingly uneasy about official British policy in India.

The attitude of British conservatives, never expressed in public, is that of Lord Birkenhead—the same Birkenhead who threatened to arm Ulster if Ireland was granted self-rule - who wrote to Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, "to me it is frankly inconceivable that India would ever be fit for Dominion self-government."

How has India fared under British rule ? Let's ask the Indians. "India today is the poorest country in the world. Her hours of work, wages, and conditions of labor are worse than they were in Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After more than a hundred and fifty years of British rule, labor legislation in India is still in its primitive state.

And such small progress as has been made is due to Indian and not British initiative Only ten per cent. of our people can read or write. Our average age is twenty-three. Four hundred out of every thousand children born, die in their first year. The average income of the Indian per day is not more than a penny. The vast majority of my countrymen are on the brink of starvation."

Writing on the burden of government assessments, Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I., the Historian of India, in the Viceroy's Council, in 1883, stated : "The Government's assessments does not leave enough food to the cultivator for the support of himself and his family throughout the year."

Twenty-one years later, Herbert Samuel, in his volume, *Indian Life*, comments, "There is no more pathetic figure in the British Empire than the Indian peasant. His masters have been ever unjust to him. He is ground down until everything has been expressed except the narrow of his bones."

Much of the misery in India can be laid at the feet of the slave owners—the Indian princes, and there is no doubt that, but for the assistance given the princes in curbing revolts within their realms, few of the rajahs

would have survived. Indian royalty has been conspicuous for its absence from the ranks of the Indian Nationalists, and for a definite reason. Once India is accorded dominion status the power of the rajahs will be curbed or extinguished.

After quoting various authorities both Indian and European and giving extracts from *The Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India* in support of his statement the writer proceeds:

During the "civil disobedience" campaign newspapers were forbidden even to mention the names of persons accused, arrested or convictes, even though they printed without comment.

India is twenty times the size of England and Scotland, and almost as large as Canada. It is the poorest as well as the riches country in the world—rich from the point of view of the Indian princes and British investors but poor from than of the Indian masses.

British conservatives fear their dividends on a total investment of $4,000,000,000 will be sadly reduced should Indians enforce legislation similar to that secured by English laborists. Such legislation has been introduced by the National Congress Party.

Those who honestly believe India incapable of self-rule point out the fact that India has 45 races, 200 languages and 2,400 castes including the "untouchables" plus a religious problem in which 75 per cent. of the 350,000,000 population are Hindus and the balance Moslems. The religious factor has been a problem in the 562 princely states where the royal governments found it useful to keep the natives divided and where religious riots were instigated on much the same lines as the industrialists in Belfast, Ireland.

In the eleven British provinces, eight of which were captured by the Congress Party at the last election. Moslems and Hindus have made common cause. As a matter of fact the former are represented in the party and in the local legislatures in a greater proportion than their population strength.

With the memory of the bloody guerilla war in Ireland which followed broken promises as a guide to Indian policy, it is to be hoped that Britain will decide to throw the Indian princes overboard and give India dominion status under a federal plan covering the eleven provinces and the principalities.

Tagore Memorial Meeting at California

Speaking at a Memorial service meeting held under the auspices of the Anand-Ashrama of California, Dr. Syud Hossain, the guest speaker paid his tribute to the sacred memory of Rabindranath. In his Address, reproduced here in part from the *Vedanta Quarterly*, Dr. Syud Hossain said,

It was not for nothing that Tagore was called the Poet Laureate of the world—not the Poet Laureate of India, but of the world. In the entire civilized world today there is no figure that matches his for universality of range, nobility of spirit, grace of mind and beauty of vision. For a whole generation, directly of indirectly, he stimulated the higher thinking and deeper feeling of civilized men everywhere. He was the outstanding witness to the spiritual and aesthetic values of life in a world delivered over to materialistic chaos.

Then the speaker read a few passages from what he wrote of his impressions on his return to America from a world tour:

"Just before I sailed from India, by a happy coincidence I had my last interviews with both Gandhi and Tagore on the same day in Calcutta. I had an hour with Tagore in the morning, and an hour and a half with Gandhi in the evening. It was a great and memorable experience. These two men, in their respective spheres, and with their vastly contrasting personalities, have, in my opinion, done more than any others to redeem the honor of the name of India in the world outside, during the culminating epoch of India's political bondage and social decay. And at home they have been a spiritual tonic and inspiration in the colossal task of national rehabilitation and redemption.

"Gandhi is an ascetic; Tagore a mystic. Gandhi, a man of action; Tagore a poet. Gandhi derives his strength from self-identification with the sorrows of a suffering humanity. Tagore takes that suffering and converts its into joyous and benignant song. Gandhi exalts and exemplifies the duty of self-abnegation and and sacrifice. Tagore is enwrapped in, and enraptured with, the multifold beauty of the Universe—internal and external. Yet they have both stood for that immemorial and eternal tradition of spiritual idealism which characterizes India's name and place in history."

No one could have come in contact with Tagore even for a few minutes, without sensing the tremendous beauty and strength and harmony that he radiated. A life dedicated to beauty and truth alone can evoke a presence of that kind. It is not merely the kind of physical beauty that can be simply inherited. One must have earned it.

One of the things that struck me most in Tagore was his intense and keen sense of life.

His mind and spirit were ever alert and active. He loved to be surrounded by children and young people, and if you could see him with them, in spite of his venerable appearance, you knew that he was one with them in spirit.

Rabindranath has elaborated his most important philosophical ideas in such of his writings as *Sadhana* and *The Religion of Man*. The speaker then gave quotations from Tagore's writings:

"That which I most value in my religion or my aspiration, I seek to find corroborated, in its fundamental unity, in other great religions, or in hopes expressed in the history of other peoples. . . . Whenever we find, in the immensity of the human mind the prototype of something which we hold most precious in ourselves, we should rejoice. The pride of special possession can cling only to that which has merely a market value."

Tagore was a living exemplification of the great maxim of Jacob Boehme that "the passion for Truth and the passion for God are one."

Dr. Albet Schweitzer rightly refers to Tagore as "The Goethe of India" and says that he has given expression to his personal experience of spiritual truths "in a manner more profound, more powerful and more charming than any man has ever done before him." And we may all agree with Dr. Schweitzer when he says: "This completely noble and harmonious thinker belongs not only to his own people but to Humanity."

Printed and Published by Ramesh Chandra Roy Choudhury, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.


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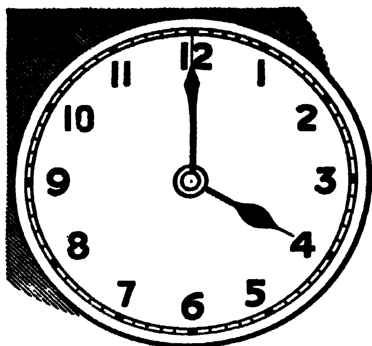
Single Copy As. 12
Annual Subscription Rs. 8-8

THE MODERN REVIEW

Vol. LXXI., No. 2 Whole No. 422

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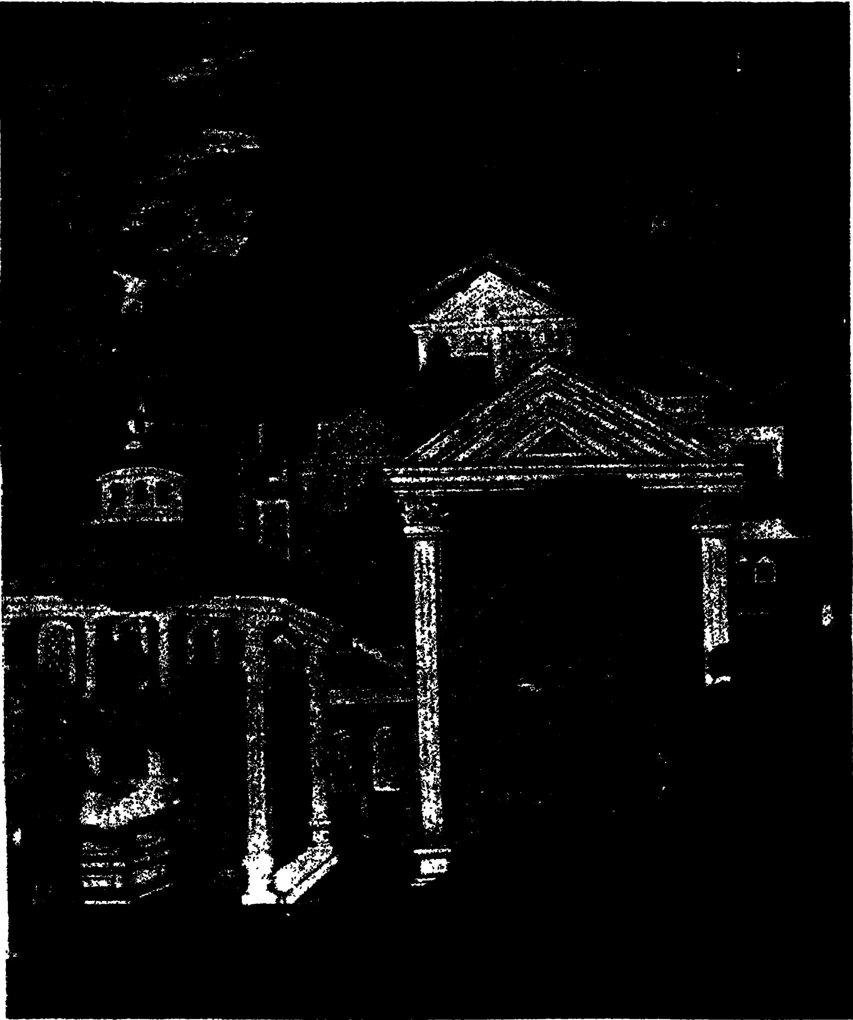
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ST. JOHN. (XVII CENTURY)

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY  *1942*

VOL. LXXI, No. 2 WHOLE No. 422

NOTES

"Single Answer" Amery

William Gerard Hamilton (1729-1796) was the name of the British statesman who is popularly known as "Single Speech Hamilton." His maiden speech in the British Parliament, delivered on the 13th of November, 1755, during the debate on the address, which excited Walpole's admiration, is generally supposed to have been his only effort in the House of Commons. But the nickname "Single Speech" is undoubtedly misleading, and Hamilton is known to have spoken with success on other occasions, both in the House of Commons and in the Irish parliament.

The honorific title "Single Answer" may be prefixed to the name of Mr. Amery, the present Secretary of State for India. It may be considered 'misleading'; for to many questions asked in the House of Commons he has given many replies. But to questions as to whether he would take any steps to lead India onward in the path of constitutional progress, he has very firmly and consistently given the same answer repeatedly.

These qualities of firmness and consistency, which mark him out as a "strong" ruler, have been displayed by him on many occasions. Recently they were again displayed by him in the House of Commons when he stated on the 8th January last:

"I have noted the resolutions passed by leaders of the political parties in India towards the end of December and various statements made by political leaders in connection therewith but I regret I cannot discover in them any satisfactory response to the Viceroy's recent appeal for unity and co-operation in the face of common danger. Government will, not abate their efforts to promote that measure of agreement which is essential to the fulfilment of their pledges in India, pledges which though given independently of the Atlantic Charter are in complete accord with the general principle affirmed in that declaration."

Mr. Amery says, Government will not *abate* their efforts to promote that measure of agreement which is essential to the fulfilment of their pledges in India. It is taken for granted that Government have been and are making such efforts. But Indians are not aware of the existence of such efforts. Let us have a single proof of their existence. There are abundant proofs of their non-existence.

Mr. Amery says that the British Government's pledges are in complete accord with the general principles affirmed in the Atlantic Charter. But not a single party in India has been able to discover this "complete accord."

Speaking for the British Government, Mr. Amery has repeated *ad nauseam* that he wants an agreed settlement among the parties—that he wants unity and co-operation. This he and the Governor-General of India have been saying, though the British Government has not done, will not do, anything to put an end to the Communal Decision, etc., which keep the parties apart and promote dissension.

But in spite of these things which have promoted separatism and fomented communalism, different parties have combined to form a coalition ministry in Bengal, which will co-operate in the war effort. Some quondam prominent Muslim Leaguers like the Nawab of

Dacca have joined the coalition. What is the British Government's attitude to this ministry? It is commonly believed in Bengal that the authorities did not look favourably on the prospect of the formation of this ministry, when it was still to come into existence, and that they favoured the formation of a new Muslim League ministry under the premiership of Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin.

The Hindu Mahasabha has all along offered full co-operation in the war effort. In recognition of and as a reward for this offer the Bhagalpur session of the Mahasabha was banned.

On a vote of no-confidence being passed on the Saadullah ministry in Assam and on the resignation of that Ministry Sjt. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, an ex-Minister, offered to form a coalition ministry, giving proofs of his ability to command a majority in the legislature and guarantees for his ability to secure co-operation with the war-effort, and the proofs and guarantees were considered satisfactory by the Indian public. But the Governor of Assam made it known that he was not satisfied, and so he has suspended the constitution and taken over all powers in his hands.

"We cannot make further progress constitutionally in India until there is some willingness on the part of the leading parties to work together. It is not in our power to bring them together"—said Mr. Amery in reply to another question.

In Bengal the leading parties have not only shown willingness to work together, but they are actually working together. Has Mr. "Single Answer" Amery noted this fact? What has he done to recognise or promote a similar spirit of unity elsewhere?

He says, "It is not in our power to bring them together." One cannot but admire this humble confession of powerlessness! But contemporary history has shown that it is in the power of the British Government to keep them apart. It is also in the power of the British Government not to recognise the working together of parties when they do work together. None so blind as those who will not see.

Mr. Amery made the above statement in reply to requests for a statement on India by Mr. Graham White and Major Milner while Mr. Sorensen had asked Mr. Amery "whether he appreciates the desire of Pandit Nehru and the Indian nationalist movement to co-operate on the basis of equal status with Britain and Allied Powers and whether in view of the present situation, Government intend taking any further action to remove the impression caused by the restrictive interpretation of the Atlantic Charter and to mobilise politically conscious Indian opinion in the interest of world freedom and democracy."

Mr. Graham White in a supplementary question asked Mr. Amery,

"Having regard to the growing desire and anxiety in India and this country that something should be done to take advantage of the more fluid state of affairs in India, can you do something on the return of the Prime Minister to see whether we cannot at this stage take some step which will lead us towards removing the difficulties?"

Mr. Amery said: "Government are naturally anxious to take advantage of any real willingness on the part of the political parties to come to an agreement."

The same Single Answer! Why *"naturally"* anxious? Why not "artificially"?

It is of course the British Government which is to decide whether there is any *real* willingness on the part of the political parties to come to an agreement.

Major Milner asked: "Why do you not take some active steps yourself and not continue this policy of masterly inactivity?"

Mr. Amery: "I will do so when there is some prospect of result."

The judge of "some prospect of result" is, of course, the British Government.

Mr. Sorensen asked: "Don't you realise the significance of the fact that political leaders of various types in India are unanimous in characterising the present situation as one which should have a great response from the Government of this country, and, secondly, that the Atlantic Charter in its interpretation in this country does not in any way meet the demand of the Indian people for the application of its principles to them in the same way as to other countries."

Mr. Amery: "I am afraid the resolutions to which you refer were far from being unanimous. The resolutions of the Moslem League and the Congress are in direct contradiction to each other."

There we have the real truth! You must agree with Mr. Jinnah. He has been vested with plenary power to veto everything which he does not like.

Mr. Shinwell asked: "Are we to understand from that reply that the Government's policy for the time being at any rate is to rely exclusively on the Viceroy's appeal for co-operation?"

Mr. Amery replied: "We cannot make further progress constitutionally in India until there is some willingness on the part of the leading parties to work together. It is not in our power to bring them together."

We have already commented on this reply.

Goodwill Mission

Mr. Gordon MacDonald asked Mr. Amery whether he had given consideration to sending out a "Goodwill Mission" to India to discuss with the representatives of Indian opinion ways and means of improving the position throughout India.

Mr. Amery replied: "I have considered this suggestion from time to time in consultation of course with the Viceroy but as yet we have seen no good prospect of such a Mission achieving fruitful results."

Here we are in complete agreement with Mr. Amery and the Viceroy. As the British Government is determined not to part with an iota of real power, they are quite right in holding that

there is no prospect of even the Best Will Mission' achieving fruitful results.

Mr. Gordon MacDonald asked Mr. Amery what action was being taken by the Government to secure the restoration of popularly elected governments in different provinces throughout India?

Mr. Amery replied: "You will be aware that ministerial government was resumed in Orissa on November 23rd. I am not aware of any immediate prospect of its resumption in other provinces in which normal working of the constitution has been suspended but the Governors are ready to welcome any such measures of co-operation among political parties in the provinces as will lead to the constitution of ministries willing to undertake the responsibilities of office in the present circumstances."

Did the Governor of Assam welcome measures of co-operation among political parties?

Mr. Gordon MacDonald asked, "Are you satisfied that this passive attitude on the part of Government is the best that can be adopted? You tell us that they are willing to do certain things. Are they taking any action of their own to try to bring this about?"

Mr. Amery: "We will do everything possible when ministries are ready to serve."

Everything possible was not done in Assam when a ministry made known its readiness to serve.

Mr. Sorensen asked Mr. Amery, in what provinces have Governors now assumed complete personal responsibility for Government, what representations he has received respecting the government of India from non-Congress and Moslem League sources and whether these are receiving consideration?

Mr. Amery replied: "There are seven provinces in which the administration is at present carried on by Governors in accordance with proclamations issued by them under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, namely, Assam, Bihar and Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, the North-West Frontier Province and the United Provinces. I have seen summaries of the resolutions on constitutional and other matters passed by the Moslem League on December 26th and 27th and by the National Liberal Federation at Madras on December 27th and 28th. These and other suggestions affecting Indian constitution continue to receive full consideration of the British Government and the Government of India."

When will the British Government and the Government of India finish their "full consideration" and communicate the results to an expectant world?

This Year's Independence Day Pledge

This year's Independence Day Pledge, printed below, was taken on the 26th January last in all provinces in towns and villages too numerous to mention, even if all their names were available, by vast gatherings which included not only members of the Indian National Congress but many other nationalists as well. The gatherings contained only a fraction of all those in India who consider freedom and independence as the political goal of India, though they may not have taken any pledge to make lifelong efforts to make India free and independent.

Among those organizations which have declared independence to be their objective is the Hindu Mahasabha, which has gained in strength and enthusiasm by the unwisdom of the Bihar Government in banning its Bhagalpur session.

The following is this year's amended Independence Pledge:

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people as of any other people to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry on non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular require successful working of the constructive programme of khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy imperialistic system, we have no quarrel with Englishmen whether officials or non-officials. We know that the distinction between caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished and Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faiths may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"Charkha and khadi are integral parts of our constructive programme for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly and use for our personal requirements nothing but khadi and so far as possible products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise. We pledge ourselves to the disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress whenever it may come for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India."—(*A. P.*)

We fully believe in and support the first two sentences of the pledge.

The reasons why, according to the Congress, India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence, are discussed in a separate article in this issue. We believe that the British Government *has* deprived the Indian people of their independence and *has* based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and that these are valid grounds and strong reasons for seeking independence. And to the extent that the British subjugation of India has injured India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, that is also a cogent reason why India should be independent.

The most effective way of gaining our freedom is correctly stated in the second paragraph. Even those who do not believe in following non-violent methods under all circumstances will, we believe, admit that the method advocated in that paragraph is best suited to existing Indian conditions.

Those who have no objection to taking any pledge will find no difficulty in pledging themselves anew to the independence of India and in solemnly resolving to carry on non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained. But pledge or no pledge, for Indian men and women the only way to prove that they are true sons and daughters of India is to carry on the struggle for freedom without rest, fearlessly, unflinchingly and without compromise.

We do not quite understand how non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action are dependent upon the khadi programme; though we have used khadi ever since it came into vogue. But as we have never spun and are not likely to do so in future, for us to promise to support the full khadi programme would be hypocritical. We do not like to be classed with those Congressmen who do not spin but are lip supporters of the spinning wheel. But we do believe that khadi has its place and use in the economic system of India—particularly at the present crisis when the supply of clothing is insufficient and cotton cultivators have surplus stocks in their hands.

We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular *do require* successful working of the programme of communal harmony and removal of "untouchability." The meaning of the removal of "untouchability" should be extended. At present it means that no Hindu groups should consider any other Hindu groups "untouchable." The interpretation which is desirable is that Hindus should not consider Muslims, Christians, etc., "untouchable," as also that no group of Muslims should consider any other Muslim group "untouchable"—for in the Muslim community, too, there is "untouchability."

There is no question that we should "seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We should endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed."

We are in full sympathy with the observation that, "though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system, we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials."

"Though our religious faiths may be different," "in our mutual relations" we should undoubtedly "act as children of mother India bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest."

We have already observed that we have never spun and are never likely to spin. But we believe "charkha and khadi are" one of the effective means "for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses." We have also stated above that we use khadi, but for certain reasons connected with personal health conditions we cannot promise to use nothing but khadi. Living in a city like Calcutta and, owing to the infirmities of age, dependent on others for the procuring of necessaries of life, we can only say that we try to use products of village handicrafts.

A British Call to British Government to Recognise India's Independence

London, Jan. 24.

A resolution calling on the British Government to recognise immediately national independence of India was passed at an India League Independence Day demonstration in London today (Saturday). The Government was also asked to negotiate at once with the Indian National Congress for setting up a provisional government.

Mr. Harry Pollitt said, if the Allies were to win, Britain must reverse her Indian policy. "Japan is taking full advantage of the people's lack of confidence and trust in the professions of the Imperialist Powers." Mr. Pollitt said, "Once we change our attitude it will be the start of a mighty anti-Fascist movement in the Far East which will soon put paid to Japan's intentions there."

The Bishop of Chelmsford said in a message that the value of the Atlantic Charter was gravely prejudiced if India was to be excluded.

Mr. D. N. Pritt, M.P., wrote: "British Government must be made to realise that India is the acid test of our wholeheartedness in the anti-Fascist struggle."
—*Reuter.*

Though we do not and must not build any hope on such resolutions, they are welcome.

Anti-Axis Declaration of Twenty-six Nations

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.

The White House announced that the United States, Britain, Russia, China, the Netherlands and 21 other anti-Axis nations have signed a joint declaration pledging to use their full resources against Axis and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemy.

SIGNATORIES TO NEW PACT

India is among the signatories to the Anti-Axis declaration, Sir G. S. Bajpai signing for her.

The signatories include Britain, the United States, the U. S. S. R., China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costarica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia.

President Roosevelt signed for the United States and Mr. Churchill for Britain.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY

A brief statement on international unity of purpose said also that other nations may adhere to it in the event of their rendering material assistance "in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism."

Mr. Guardia said: "The resolution is short and to the point. It includes a declaration of solidarity and a pledge of full co-operation with the stipulation that none of the nations fighting the axis will sign a separate peace."

Another Latin American diplomat, who declined to give his name, said the countries signing have also agreed in principle to what was outlined in the Atlantic Charter. He said the resolution constituted a joint declaration against the Axis and would probably serve as the basis for any future steps. It did not include any provision for joint collaboration in the war policy of the pooling of men and equipment and supplies, he added.

During the morning representatives of Dutch, Norwegian, Luxembourg, Belgium and all the nine Latin American countries that declared war against the Axis called on the Assistant Secretary of State to sign the resolution. Mr. Guardia said the resolution had designations for 26 or 27 signatures.

THE PLEDGE

The preamble to the pledge is the following declaration by the united nations: joint declaration by the United States, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the U. S. S. R. and other nations already mentioned. The Government signatory hitherto, having subscribed to the common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being confident that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in the common struggle against savage brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare.

Countries formally declared "firstly, each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with whom such Government is at war. Secondly, each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto not to make separate armistice or peace with the enemy" and concludes "the foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are or which may be rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism. Done at Washington, January 1, 1942.

THE REPRESENTATIVE

M. Litvinoff signed for the Soviet Union, Mr. Soong for China, Mr. Casey for Australia, Mr. Leighton McCarthy for Canada, Mr. Frank Langstone for New Zealand, Sir G. S. Bajpai for India and Mr. Ralph Close for South Africa.

CHURCHILL'S MISSION TO U. S.

Mr. Churchill's mission to the United States can be said to be a tremendous success, both with the American public and Government. As far as the public is concerned the results of Mr. Churchill's visit has been seen in the signing of documents some time today, Friday, which will be in the form of an alliance between nearly thirty nations making war on one or all of the Axis powers and it will pledge their full co-operation in securing the complete defeat of Nazism everywhere and bind each not to make separate peace. But beyond that there is much of utmost value which Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have accomplished which will only be seen as the grand strategy develops in the course of the year.

Reuter understands that one of the big accomplishments of the Washington Conferences has been the metamorphosis of lease and lend which now promises to become what it was ideally meant to be originally.

The industrial machine of each country in the grand alliance, though in practice it means chiefly the United States, Britain and Russia, will produce to the utmost limit those war materials for which each is best fitted and the resulting products will be distributed to whatever fronts which require them. The dollar sign will remain eliminated from these transactions and material will be charged against material.

NEW SUPPLY COUNCIL

A supply council with great powers will be required for moving these enormous quantities of ammunition, food and other materials and Washington observers also foresee a shipping control council charged with the enormous task of shipping materials to the many fronts in this blobal struggle.

Incidentally the new scheme appears to require drastic changes in the tariff systems particularly in the United States. How Congress will view this is not known but it is expected that the urgency of the situation will overcome its tariff complex. It is understood that it has been agreed that there will be no "ceilings" to productions—no aim to produce certain numbers of tanks or air-planes within a given period. Instead every effort will be made to produce every possible tank, gun and plane to smash the Axis in the shortest possible times.

It was reported in Congressional circles that the creation of an American Ministry of Supply to centralise the tremendous wartime supply problems, both civilian and military, has the approbation of Mr. Churchill who it is understood pointed out to American officials that a centralised British Supply Ministry contributed greatly to Britain's war effort.

The question of supreme command in the different theatres of war is still under discussion and apparently no final decisions are yet taken. President Roosevelt has promised reporters an important statement from the White House this afternoon.—*Reuter.*

Pan-American Declaration For Rupture of Economic Relations with Axis Powers

RIO DE JANEIRO, Jan. 24.

The Economic Committee of the Pan-American Conference has unanimously approved of the rupture of economic relations with the Axis.

Following a long conference with Mr. Sumner Welles and the Mexican, Argentine and Chilean delegates this morning Senor Aranha, President of the Pan-American Conference told the Press that he expected to be able to announce a formula of agreement "which will not break the continental unity" at a public session this afternoon. The delegates are to meet in secret session after lunch.

The Pan-American Conference has approved a formula for rupture with the Axis "in accordance with the laws and circumstances of each country."

FOUR-POINT FORMULA

Senator Matinzo explained that the modified declaration, to which all nations had agreed, consisted of four paragraphs which are as follows:

Firstly.—The American Republics reaffirm their determination to consider all acts of aggression by an extra-Continental State against one of themselves as an act of aggression against them all, and as constituting an immediate threat to the liberty and independence of the Americas.

Secondly.—The American Republics reaffirm their complete solidarity in the determination to co-operate for reciprocal protection until the effects of the present aggression have disappeared.

Thirdly.—The American Republics in accordance with the procedure laid down by their internal laws, and taking into consideration the position and the circumstances of each country in regard to the present conflict, recommend the rupture of relations with Japan, Germany and Italy, because one was the first to attack these States, and the other two have declared war on an American country.

Fourthly.—The American Republics declare in conclusion, that before re-establishing the relations referred to above, they will consult among themselves, so that their decision shall have the character of solidarity.

While the representatives of the 21 American nations signified agreement to the new anti-Axis declaration, the Mexican Foreign Minister, Senor Padilla, declared: "Here in this little room we have agreed to the *Magna Carta* of America. We must remember that behind us, Foreign Ministers, stand our peoples, looking not towards the present but the future." Senor Padilla was terrifically applauded when he said: "The whole world should admire Britain who has given all for liberty, not for gain."

APPROVED BY CONFERENCE

M. Matinzo (Bolivia) announcing the Conference's decision said, "As an affirmation of American solidarity the Conference recommends the rupture of diplomatic, political and commercial relations with Germany, Italy and Japan in accordance with internal laws and the circumstances of each country."

M. Matinzo explained that the original rupture resolution submitted by Columbia, Mexico and Venezuela had been modified because "two great nations believed modifications necessary." M. Matinzo added that no dissent from continental solidarity should be read into the attitude of Argentina and Chile. Every effort had been made to bring these two countries into complete accord with others. The difference was one of form rather than fundamentals. Matinzo then read the new formula which the Conference had approved and which differs from the original formula in that Article III now "recommends" rather than "insists" on the rupture of relations between the American Republics and Axis powers.

URUGUAY'S DECISION

The Uruguayan Foreign Minister, M. Guani declared that Uruguay will break relations with the Axis tomorrow (Saturday).

CONFERENCE CLOSED

After Mr. Sumner Welles had indicated satisfaction with the terms of the "rupture formula," Senator Aranha, President of the Conference closed the session. No time was announced for formal signing of the new declaration.—*Reuter.*

This Pan-American declaration, though late, is not too late.

Similarly the earlier declaration of 26 countries of the world that they are and would be with the allied democracies and against the Axis powers, though late, was not too late.

Brotherhood and Fellowship of Nations

There are numerous individuals in the world who believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and there are many, particularly among communists, who, though they do not profess faith in God, are prepared to treat all men as brothers. But how few *nations* there are who really believe in the fellowship and brotherhood of nations and are prepared to act up to that belief! Or, rather, it may be asked whether there is a single such nation.

The pro-Allies declaration of 26 countries and the more recent Pan-American declaration are both prompted by anxiety for their own safety. When Italy attacked Abyssinia, when Japan attacked China, when Germany was about to swallow up Czecho-slovakia, none of these countries, none of the Allies, apprehended any hostile action against themselves, and so, not to speak of all of them, not even one of them raised their voice on behalf of the countries attacked and against the aggressors. If, moved by a sincere feeling of national brotherhood and fellowship they had then declared themselves on the side of the countries attacked, the world conflagration which we are witnessing today would not perhaps have broken out, or at least it would not have assumed the proportions that it has done.

Hence, for this world conflagration it is not the Axis powers alone which are responsible, though certainly they are the parties who are principally and directly to blame. Those countries which did not either in word or deed protest against the selfish aggressiveness of any nation as soon as it manifested itself, are also indirectly to blame.

And lastly, those whose weakness, to whatever cause due, virtually invited the attack of empire-building nations upon themselves, must also share the responsibility for wars of aggression, past and present. Weakness is not a virtue;—it is not synonymous with innocence.

Sir Nilratan Sircar's Message to All-India Medical Conference

The eighteenth session of the All-India Medical Conference was held at Hyderabad (Deccan) in December last. It was presided over by Dr. K. S. Roy. Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar sent the following message to the conference through Major M. G. Naidu:

"My dear Major Naidu,

"I thank you for your kind invitation to attend the ensuing All-India Medical Conference to be held at Hyderabad, Deccan. Although it will not be possible for me to attend the Conference I shall, I may assure you, be there in spirit.

"In the present international crisis, our responsibilities as medical men are very great. In these days of rapid changes in the social and economic order of the world, we have to overhaul the very foundations of our habits and life, individual as well as social, and orientate them to the rapidly changing conditions of society. We must fit ourselves to be the enlightened conscience of the community, the high priests of social regeneration, the exponent of scientific humanism. Let ours be a conscious human fellowship to which there is no outcast, individual or nation, and let us in this chastened frame of a humble and contrite spirit approach the problems which now face us.

"This Conference, indigenous in inception and animated with the instinct, not of self-approbation of a monopolistic service, but of self-dedication in the temple of national service, must bring to its task a collective sense of responsibility no less than a burning faith and conviction in deliberating on the great problems of health and life in India, supplying by their own alertness and vigilance that lack of initiative and correcting by their own intimate touch with living conditions that unreality which are the characteristic mark of the management of one people's life and fortune by another. Our responsibilities are, therefore, tremendous, but they are responsibilities of adult life, in other words, of conscious self-determination and self-help.

"No tangible result can be achieved by isolated efforts, individual or sectional. Efficiency demands organisation, which means combination. In the first place, we must combine and organise our Indian Medical Association thoroughly in order to make it an efficient instrument, not only of medical public opinion but also of national effort and action in the medical and allied departments.

"The ambition of our profession should be to feel, to think, to speak and to act like one man in a spirit of loving service to the nation.

"Blessed are we, the members of this noble profession of India, who have the privilege of being entrusted with the heavy burden of so many duties and responsibilities on our shoulders, and blessed be this Association in whose bosom we all unite with renewed Faith, Love and Strength.

"Wishing the Conference every success,

I remain,
Your sincerely,
(Sd.) Nilratan Sircar."

Some British Ideas of Some Indian Views

New Review (London, October 30, 1941) writes thus about satyagraha:

> End of *Satyagraha*?
>
> Nazi bombs were making a mess of Britain last year when India's homespun Saint Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi told an English writer that he would rather sacrifice a million Indians than give up *satyagraha* (non-violence) as a creed.
>
> An invader would soon get tired of killing people, philosophised the leader of India's powerful Congress Party, and would be compelled to come to some sort of understanding with the masses.

Regarding some Indian attitudes since the U.S.S.R. was attacked by the Nazis the same paper writes:

> In India, since the U. S. S. R. was attacked, there have been two trends among nationalists. One group will do nothing to help the embattled British until independence is guaranteed. The second will not yield an inch on the question of independence, but demands co-operation to help the Soviet Union.
>
> In a resolution passed at a Calcutta meeting of the All-India Kisan Sabha's (Peasant Organisation) Central Council last July, India's peasants announced themselves solidly behind the Soviet people in their fight against Hitler.
>
> Why did many Indians, including the most badly off, raise the issue of victory for the U. S. S. R. to the same level as that of independence for India?
>
> The answer is that India is a predominantly peasant country, and its peasants are poor. Politics for them is a question of bread. They believe that Russia, once almost entirely a peasant country, has benefited by socialism, think it might do the same for India. Being a simple man, the Indian peasant stops not to ask further questions, but marches forward shouting *Gandhiji ki jai!* (Long live Gandhi!) and *Inquilab Zindabad!* (Long live the revolution!) in the same breath. He means "We want freedom," even if his slogans get a trifle confused.
>
> On the whole, he backs the Congress, seeks unity, as distinct from Muslim Leader Mohammed Jinnah's

idea for partition between Hindus and Muslims.

Freedom, he concludes not unshrewdly, will be farther off than ever if Nazidom's forces of darkness are allowed to spread over East and West. Therefore he offers to co-operate with the Government if the Government will reciprocate.

"*Detention Without Trial*" *in Britain*

In India even in times of peace considerable numbers of men have been detained without trial. And, of course, in war time large numbers of persons are in detention in this country. In Britain during the present war some persons have been detained without trial. On the subject of such detention *The Spectator* (London, November 7, 1941) writes in part:

"The liberty of the subject is a matter of prime concern to every Englishman, in war as in peace, and it will be a sorry day if that ever ceases to be true. It is therefore both inevitable and right that public attention should have been immediately arrested by the notable dissenting judgment delivered by Lord Atkin in the House of Lords on Monday in a case arising out of the well-known Regulation 18B, which authorises the detention—in effect the imprisonment—by the Home Secretary of any person whom he deems it necessary to hold confined in the interests of national security. That is not a power which the House of Commons willingly granted or which anyone gladly sees exercised. *Imprisonment without trial or appeal to the Courts is a defiance of the Habeas Corpus Act and of Magna Carta itself. In peace-time it would be inconceivable*, but in war the principle that the safety of the State is the highest law is still accepted and must be." (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*).

The Spectator writes that in Britain "in peace time" detention without trial "would be inconceivable." But it is not so in India. It is not only not inconceivable in peace time, but thousands in India have actually suffered detention without trial in peace time. There is another difference between the two countries in this matter. Writes the same British weekly:

"It must not, of course, be thought that detained persons today have no appeal at all. A strong Advisory Committee presided over by Sir Norman Birkett has been hard at work for months reviewing the case of any *detenu* who asks to be heard. He appears in person, is told the grounds for his detention, and can state his case at length. According to the last return laid before Parliament, in 1,468 out of 1,583 cases so far heard the Home Secretary has acted on the committee's recommendations, 843 of which were for release and 625 for continued detention. In six cases he decided on release, and in 109 on continued detention, contrary to the recommendations. A substantial safeguard against injustice is thus provided, for the committee is a body in which complete confidence can be placed."

Yet another difference between Britain and India should be noted. In Britain a detenu can drag the Home Secretary to a law court to show cause for the detention, in India detenus have no such right.

Benares Hindu University Silver Jubilee Celebration

BENARES, Jan. 21.

The whole of Benares seemed to be in high spirits this afternoon when all roads led to the Hindu University where Mr. Gandhi was to deliver an address at the special Convocation for the conferment of honorary degrees upon some of the eminent men of the country on the occasion of the University's Silver Jubilee.

The Jubilee Pandal was tastefully decorated and on the dais were seated distinguished persons, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Mr. Sampurnanand, Mr. Sri Prakash, Maharajkumar Sir Vijay of Vizianagram, the Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney, the Hon. Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, Mr. Jugal Kishore Birla, Sir Aziz-ul Haque, Mr. G. B. Pant, Professor D. K. Karve, and others. The Pandal itself was filled to capacity, the audience being easily over 20,000.

After that Maharaja Sir Kameswar Singh of Darbhanga, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws upon Maharaja Shri Jayachamraja Wadiyar Bahadur of Mysore, Mr. Vijay Raghavachariar, the Maharaja of Morvi (in absentia), and Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee. The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon Seth Mathurdas Vasanji Khemji of Bombay. Professor Dhondo Keshava Karve of the Indian Women's University, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Mahamohopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkahusaman, Rai Bahadur Assbu Shamsunderdass and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

Tremendous ovation greeted Mahatma Gandhi when he rose to address the Convocation of the Benares University. Paying a warm tribute to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi declared: "Great as had been his (Malaviya's) contribution to the public life of the country his greatest achievement was the Benares University." The cause of the University had been dear to his own heart and he (Gandhi) had offered his services, however humble, whenever Pandit Malaviya claimed them.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi recalled his presence on the occasion of the foundation ceremony of the University 25 years ago and remarked amid laughter that he had not then been described as a Mahatma, and those of them as did use that appellation, he later discovered, had intended Mahatma Munshi Ram, later known as Swami Shradhanand. Pandit Malaviya, remarked Mahatma Gandhi, was the greatest among the proud and successful beggars and his devotion to a calling which he adopted in the cause of the University could be judged even now when he appealed for the modest sum of only Rs. 5 crores.

Addressing the students and teachers of the University, Mahatma Gandhi hoped he would be excused by them for his outspokenness when he criticised them for choosing English as the medium of expression of their thoughts. He would have been satisfied if Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu, Sanskrit or any other Indian language had been employed on this occasion. There was hardly any sense in blaming Englishmen for their treatment of India when "we hugged like slaves their language pathetically." Asked Mahatma Gandhi: "What further proof of our degeneration could there be than the farce of our feeling elated over the compliment from Englishmen that we spoke English so very faultlessly? And then there were very few like Pandit Malaviya and Sir Radhakrishnan who can justly claim such a proficiency."—*A. P. I.*

With due respect to Gandhiji we venture to say that he has unnecessarily used strong

language with reference to the choice of English as the medium of expression of their thoughts by the students and teachers. That our own languages should be used for the purpose, is not a new revelation. We all know it, and are gradually acting upto that belief, as our universities also are doing, to the extent that is practicable. Gandhiji himself uses English as one of the vehicles of his thoughts and feelings. It is unnecessary to dwell here on what we have gained by learning the English language and studying its literature. The Japanese and Chinese peoples, though independent, learn and use English. As we do not hesitate to use many European inventions and machinery, so we should not be too sensitive about using English.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, expressing his gratitude to "brother Gandhi for having graced the occasion" said that the University had been able to collect Rs. one crore and 60 lakhs so far, and he hoped that the two crores mark would soon be reached. In all, the University required Rs. five crores.

He assured the Mahatma that as text-books on Scientific and other subjects were coming to be written in Hindi he was getting to replace English as the medium of instruction at the University. He hoped the students and teachers would take to heart what Mahatma Gandhi had said and live up to the ideal of plain living and high thinking.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor, concluding the Convocation, eulogised the services of Pandit Malaviya to the University and thanked the Princes and people and the Government of India, as also other institutions and individuals who had contributed to the University funds and activities throughout its career.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan also announced, amid cheers, that on the occasion of the Jubilee various donations and endowments had been made available to the University. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner had sent in a cheque for Rs. 25,000, the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga had contributed Rs. one lakh for the construction of extension to the Ayurvedic College and given an endowment of Rs. 7,000 annually, with a capitalised value of Rs. two lakhs, for a diploma course in Ayurveda, the endowment to be named after his wife, Kameshwara Priya Devi, Raja Baldevdas Birla also gave a donation of Rs. one lakh for the construction of a building to house the College for Oriental Learning and Theology and a permanent endowment of Rs. 10,000 for a lectureship of Pali language and literature. The Kota State also contributed Rs. 20,000 on this occasion.

KHADI EXHIBITION

Described as the concrete proof of what the students of the Benares University had learnt and achieved after leaving it, the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, which was opened this afternoon by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the unavoidable and much-missed absence of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya attracted large crowds from far and near.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave facts and figures about the production of Khadi in the country and the amount of wages earned by spinners, weavers and others among whom the profits were distributed. In a predominantly agricultural country like India, khadi and village industries, he said, could not but occupy an indisputable place. May be, these had no meaning for the few city-dwellers or for the upper classes, but to the vast teeming millions they were a living, positive and beneficial reality. The exigencies of the war situation, he added, if anything, had brought into bold relief the need for intensifying the khadi movement.—*A. P. I.*

Australia Negotiates Directly With U. S. A.

MELBOURNE, Jan. 14.

Australia is now negotiating direct with the United States, according to political circles. This is a departure from the usual practice of communicating with overseas countries only through the United Kingdom.

There are indications, it is stated, that the United States appreciates the strategic importance of Australia. —*Reuter.*

Glowing Tributes to Ranade At His Birth Centenary

The Ranade Birth Centenary was celebrated at Poona on the 9th January last at Hirabagh, otherwise known as the Town Hall, of which the late Mr. Justice Ranade was the founder. The Rt. Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar presided. Many associations participated in the function. Mr. N. C. Kelker paid a glowing tribute to the late Mr. Justice Ranade and re-named the Town Hall which was founded by him (late Mr. Ranade) as "Ranade Hall."

Mr. M. R. Jayakar paid tributes to the late Ranade's contributions to every branch of human effort and remarked that

To those in Poona, where Mr. Ranade spent the best part of his life, his birth centenary was a great event. Remarking how in his general outlook, Mr. Ranade was a great optimist even in the midst of the misery and poverty in which he was born, Mr. Jayakar referred to Mr. Ranade's belief that India's future did not merely lie in giving its people the benefit of good education and peace, but it must be preceded with the development of her natural resources and the revival of her dying industries. He was one of those who believed that political and social reforms should go together hand in hand.

Sir Rafiuddin Ahmed, ex-Education Minister, Government of Bombay in his speech said that

The late Mr. Ranade was perhaps the one man who wrote historical books about Mahommedans in Ancient India and "we are particularly indebted to him for his great work of bringing forward the unity between Hindus and Muslims." His paper on social reform which he read at Lucknow and in which he had given a good account of what the Mahommedans had done for India was a great service to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had pointed out that no Mohammedan need be ashamed of the part which he had played in the past. Others had taken this view, but that Mr. Ranade should have come forward to make a public statement at Lucknow was considered a very great tribute to Islam. His view was that unless Hindus and Muslims agree, progress in this country was impossible. Mr. Ranade always practised what he preached and he was not ashamed of it.

Sardar Nassarwanji Dastur, the high priest of the Parsis in the Deccan, said that

The Late Mr. M. G. Ranade was India's greatest star illuminating not only our own country but the whole of Europe with synthesis of the rich wisdom of the past.

CELEBRATION AT MADRAS

"Ranade is perhaps at the head of our Guru Parambara. He was an embodiment of liberal thought and principles" declared Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer presiding over a public meeting at the Ranade Hall at Madras in celebration of the centenary of the birth of the late Mr. Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade. Sir Sivaswami Iyer said that

The Liberal Party in Madras had special reason to honour Ranade's memory. Ranade was in the line of our political and spiritual ancestry. He was the Guru of Gokhale and Gokhale was the person whom, more than any other, the Liberal Party revered is the greatest political social reformer.

NEW DELHI DISCUSSIONS

Paying a tribute to the late Justice Ranade at a large gathering at the Maharashtra Samaj, New Delhi on the occasion of his centenary, Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, said that

Justice Ranade was not only a public man but an inspiration to the men of his generation and the generations that followed and was thus the father of public life in India. Many people, said Mr. Aney, were proud to say that they belonged to the late Ranade's school. Justice Ranade was in public life although he was at the same time in Government service, as a Judge in a lower court and later in Bombay.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye described Justice Ranade as the rejuvenator of India's public life and reminded the audience that the policy of "accept what you get and fight for more" did in no way compromise the high ideal of complete independence.—*A. P.*

MR. SASTRI'S TRIBUTE AT BOMBAY CELEBRATION

BOMBAY, Jan. 18.

"In all departments of national endeavour and uplift he was a pioneer, and it would be the bare truth to say of him that he was the most considerable and influential among the builders of modern India."

Thus observed the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, presiding over the centenary of the birthday of the Late Mr. M. G. Ranade, held in Bombay today.

Continuing Mr. Sastri said that Ranade was cast in a big mould in body and in mind. He was a giant. His studies had amplitude and depth far beyond the common. History, politics, economics, blue books. Sanskrit literature and Marathi literature—these and similar subjects made up his gargantuan face. His knowledge and experience in the office and non-official sphere were at the service of a patriotism, fervent and sleepless, which comprehended all the sections and elements of our population. Like a true rishi he had toleration and mercy for all and planned and laboured for all alike.

Ranade, the speaker continued, rehabilitated the character of Sivaji and the Empire that he founded. His close study of constitutional and administrative problems of India and other countries was laid under contribution by the organisers and leaders of the Indian National Congress, and it was well-known that his advice and guidance were at the disposal of the Subjects Committee wherever it met year after year.

METHODS OF TEACHINGS

After giving a brief account of the true "gurus" of the past, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri said:

"The teachings and the methods and the subjects taught in these days must be made to suit our new exigencies and environments, but the spirit animating the teachings must be the same as that which led the first settlers to cross the Vindhya range and establish their colonies in the south. By reviving our ancient traditions in this matter we may hope in the near future to instill into the minds of our young generations lessons of devotion to learning, diversities of studies and personal loyalty to the teacher, without which no system of school or college education can ever bear any fruit. This, however, is not all. In addition to these lessons, our new teachers must know how to introduce their pupils to a correct appreciation of the forces which are at work in the wider world outside, and which, in spite of temporary checks or seeming reverses, represent all that is best in human efforts for the elevation and happiness of man. Our teachers must enable their pupils to realise the dignity of man as man, and to apply the necessary correctives to tendencies towards exclusiveness, which have grown in us with the growth of ages. They must see that our thoughts, our speech, our actions are inspired by a deep love of humanity, and that our conduct and our worship are freed where necessary from the bondage of custom and made to conform as far as possible to the surer standard of our conscience."

PAST TEACHERS OF INDIA

Concluding the speaker catalogued the past teachers of India and said

"A race that can ensure a continuance of such teachers can, in my opinion, never fail, and with the teachings of such men to guide and instruct and inspire us, I, for one, am confident that the time will be hastened when we may be vouchsafed a sight of the promised land."—*A. P.*

"We Can Better Organize India's Defence"

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, ex-Premier of the U. P., in an interview to the "United Press" at Lucknow on the 20th January last, said:

"The A. I. C. C. at Wardha again reiterated its position in unequivocal terms. I do not know if the British Government will prove equal to the occasion even at this critical stage. I have little doubt we could organise the defence of our country much more efficiently and effectively than the people who are preventing us from doing so.

"Obviously, no such opportunity can be available to us until we are free. The responsibility for the present state of affairs rests entirely with the British Government. There can be no question of any co-operation in the war effort except on the fulfilment of the conditions laid down in the resolution.

"Congressmen need not worry about the attitude of the Government, nor should they expect any response from them, but they should devote all their time and energy to the programme laid down by the A. I. C. C. They should carry out the instructions so that the country may be fully prepared to meet every emergency until we win independence."—*United Press.*

It is not a vain boast that the leaders of a country can organize its defence much more efficiently and effectively than foreigners.

Ranade's Faith

The Subodha Patrika of Bombay writes :

"His lectures on Bhagvatadharma, his address on the Philosophy of Theism, his confessions of a theist, and his sermons, as a whole, constitute a symposium of ethics and religion and philosophy of life, that inspires and directs better than any theologian's writings on these matters. We have no space to dwell upon his contribution to theism and liberal religion. But we know and must say here that the faith by which he lived was the inspiring force of all his public work. But for that faith he could never have shown that magnanimity which enabled him to face and endure what he faced and endured in Poona in connection with the arrival and welcome of Dayananda Saraswati, in connection with the sessions there of the Social Conference in 1895, in connection with the treatment meted out there to Pandita Ramabai, in connection with the Widow Re-marriage and Social Reform and Female Education movement in that city in its first phase; in connection, last, with the campaign against Child-marriage and in favour of the Age of Consent and social reform generally.

"Poona was the one place, with all his services to that city in the social, political and educational fields, where he was most tried, bitterly attacked, and was found to come out best from the ordeal. And what gave him this strength to bear the cross, "to dare, to will, to execute and to be silent," if it was not the faith in him, the faith that was derived from and deepened by his association and vital relationship with the Prarthana Samaj? Call it theism, call it Hindu Protestantism, call it an ancient faith or a new version of it, call it, as Ranade himself has put it, "the old testament" or "the new gospel," it was that religion, the creed of which is so well put by Nanak, and the point of which is an intense conviction of the brotherhood of man. it was that faith which served him in all his efforts of national regeneration all along the line and from the foundation upward. It is for that faith and by that faith he lived, and all other things were added on to it.

". . . Let us not lose sight of the anchor by which he held. Then alone we can understand his message aright, and derive that inspiration from his life which will be our salvation as individuals and as a nation. He stands before us, across a century of years, as a teacher, as a wise leader, as a model patriot, because he was first a man of religion, a man of character—with the bedrock of pure faith as its foundation. That integrated his life and constituted the integrity and magnetism of his life. In an inspiring address on him Gokhale has described to us how religion and prayer were his daily food, how they fed the roots of his being and gave him strength, patience, and infinite love, how they made him humble in spite of his greatness, and made him trust in his Maker in all his doings. Faith, hope and charity do not come to one who has not this kind of spirituality in him. Ranade's greatness and goodness, apart from his extraordinary intellect, was a moral and spiritual force—a soul-force ignoring which we shall not be able to understand his life-work and the message it has for all of us.

"A great man is he who looms larger in the destiny of his people after time has removed him further away from us and behind the veil. Others who appear great in the limelight of the present, sink to their proper proportions, when the glamour of the misleading present had faded from their faces.

"Nature had cast Ranade in a big mould. He was as big in body as he was large of heart and brain, and he survives today in spirit to inspire and guide us in all the fields of our public activities, as Raja Rammohun Roy did before him."

"Controlled" Price of Paper

The Government of India in a press note apparently issued on the 23rd January at New Delhi fixes maximum prices of paper at 0/6/6 pies and 0/5/6 pies per lb. for two varieties. The prices of these in normal times, say in January, 1939, were 0/3/7½ pies and 0/3/4½ pies. Paper mills have recently declared dividends at the rate of 30 per cent per annum. They have also paid Excess Profits Tax at 66⅔ p.c. How are all these possible unless the mills sell their products at prices abnormally higher than the cost of production ? Profiteering is criminal when practised by small retailers but not so when done by big business. There is nothing sacrosanct about a Government press note simply registering the prices dictated by the mills. Does this procedure help the poor Indian father who has to buy loose sheets of paper, exercise books and books for his boys and girls reading in schools ? Does it help printers and publishers who promote the spread of knowledge? Paper mills, like so many other industries in India, have for years been enjoying protection of a high import duty voted by people's representatives in the legislature. They show their gratefulness by fleecing the poor consumer laid low in time of war by a falling income and rising cost of living. It must be noted that most of our Indian industrialists are in this respect no better than foreign concerns which have started mills and factories in this country. European and American industries here employ an unnecessarily large number of men of their own race on salaries often higher than those paid to the members of the I.C.S. Indian capitalists are copying this example and keep on their staff their relatives on similar emoluments. This is true of industries enjoying protection or a high import duty amounting to protection. All this goes on at the expense of the poor millions of the country. It is a pity that Indian members of the Central Legislature influenced by big business have kept silence for years and not demanded an enquiry into the cost of production of these industries on the same basis as in

Japan, where the highest salary paid to managers does not generally exceed Rs. 500 in our money. It is also a pity that Mahatma Gandhi in his recent article in the *Harijan* has let off the cotton mill magnates with the sentence "The mills may not be relied on in these times." These mill-owners owe their very existence to the country's sacrifice beginning with the great Swadeshi Movement in Bengal in 1906, which paved the way for the protective tariff. How they treat the poor consumer in this time of distress has been described in these columns. The price of a candy of cotton is now Rs. 203/-.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

The "Moderates's" Appeal to Mr. Churchill

Over a dozen prominent leaders including Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir Sivaswami Aiyyar, and Mr. Jayakar cabled an appeal to Mr. Churchill at Washington urging the need for "some bold stroke of farsighted statesmanship" so as to transform the entire spirit and outlook of the administration in India.

The appeal says:

"The gravity of the international situation compels some of us who have spent long years in the public life of India to make this appeal to you, Prime Minister, to realise the urgent necessity for transforming the entire spirit and outlook of the administration in India. Detailed discussions of the question of the permanent constitution may well wait for more propitious times, until after victory has been achieved in this titanic struggle against the forces which threaten civilisation.

GROWING DANGER TO INDIA

"But some bold stroke of far-sighted statesmanship is called for without delay in India, at this hour of growing danger to her safety, to enlist her whole-hearted and active co-operation in intensifying the war effort. Millions of men and women are required for the adoption of effective measures designed to protect the civilian population The heart of India must be touched, to rouse her on a nationwide scale to the call for service, undistracted by internal and domestic differences.

DECLARATIONS URGED

"Is it not possible for you to declare at this juncture that India will no longer be treated as a dependency to be ruled from Whitehall and henceforth her constitutional position and powers will be identical with those of other units in the British Commonwealth? Such a declaration should, we suggest, be acompanied by concrete measures calculated to impress the people that in co-operation with the war effort they are safeguarding their own freedom.

These measures are:

CONCRETE MEASURES

"(1) The conversion and expansion of the Central Executive Council into a truly national government, consisting entirely of non-officials of all recognised parties and communities, and in charge of all portfolios, subject only to responsibility to the Crown;

"(2) The restoration, in provinces now ruled autocratically by Governors in accordance with Section 93 of the Government of India Act, of popular governments broadbased on the confidence of different classes and communities; failing this, the establishment of non-official Executive Councils responsible to the Crown as proposed for the Centre;

"(3) The recognition of India's right to direct representation through men chosen by the National Government in the imperial war cabinet (should such a body be set up), in all allied war councils, wherever established, and at the peace conference;

"(4) Consultation with the National Government, precisely on the same footing and to the same extent as His Majesty's Government consult the dominion governments in all matters affecting the Commonwealth as a whole and India in particular.

"These are war measures whose adoption need in no way prejudice the claims or demands of different parties in regard to India's permanent constitution. But knowing intimately the feelings and aspirations of our countrymen as we do, we must express our conviction that nothing less than the inauguration of this policy can resolve the crisis in India. The urgency of immediate action cannot be over-emphasised. We appeal to you in all sincerity but with the greatest emphasis to act, while there is still time for such action, so that India may line up with the other anti-Axis powers on a footing of absolute equality with them in a common struggle for the freedom of humanity.

"Since this is a matter of great public importance, we propose to make it public after it has reached you."

Copies of the appeal have been cabled to the Secretary of State for India and posted to the Viceroy on January 2.- *A. P.*

The conversion and expansion of the Central Executive Council, to consist entirely of non-officials of all recognised parties and communities and in charge of *all* portfolios, including defence, finance and foreign affairs, would no doubt bring a little real power to Indian hands; but such a Council would not be a "truly national government," as it would be responsible to the Crown, which means that it would be responsible to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. To make it a truly national government, it would have to be made responsible to the Central Legislature. That would require Parliamentary Legislation, which, British ruling statesmen say, cannot be undertaken during war time. This we do not admit. But as they are, humanly speaking, masters of the situation, the Indian leaders who have sent the appeal to Mr. Churchill have suggested that the Council should be made responsible to the Crown. The British Government ought to accept their suggestion. But we do not yet (January 28, 1942) know what Mr. Churchill's reply to the Indian leaders' appeal is going to be.

The other three concrete measures suggested by the leaders are good and do not call for any criticism.

Mr. Amery Silent On Moderate Leaders' Appeal

On the 8th January last in the British House of Commons,

During question time Mr. Haden Guest asked Mr. Amery, "whether his attention had been called to the appeal in the name of the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and other persons—three of them members of the Privy Council—which does indicate a new centre and rallying point of Indian opinion and in view of that appeal, which was backed up by the "Times" this morning, will not he reconsider this stonewall attitude? Does not he feel that that is doing a great deal of harm to India and is a great danger to war effort in the Far East"?

No answer was returned.

That was only to be expected.

Lord Samuel on the Indian Situation

LONDON, Jan. 8.

Lord Samuel speaking in the House of Lords to-day (Thursday) said that political parties in India seemed to have gained a greater sense of the realities of the world situation.

"It was said that it was obvious that no great constitutional changes would be made in India during the course of the great war. I submit that so far from being obvious such a conclusion is wholly unjustified. The release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of Mr. Gandhi with his uncompromising pacificism from the leadership of the Congress Party and the emergence to the forefront, of some very wise Indian statesmen is creating a fresh situation.

"I trust the Government will give not only respectful but sympathetic attention to these proposals with a view to arriving at a provisional solution and securing united Indian effort in a cause that is supremely great."—*Reuter.*

But no attention has been yet (30th January, 1942) given.

President Roosevelt on Atlantic Charter

Though it is for us Indians to win complete independence, there is no harm in keeping ourselves informed as to what the great statesmen of the world think of our just aspirations, without of course depending on their theoretical support for the achievement of Purna Swaraj. The following message is of some importance from that point of view.

MADRAS, Jan. 4.

President Roosevelt concurs with the view, notwithstanding what Churchill might say, that the world has taken the Atlantic Charter as one of universal application and not confined to any particular region or race.

This is revealed in the course of a letter which Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in America, has written to Mr. N. D. Varadarachari, Advocate, Madras. Sir Shanmukham writes in that letter,

"Last month I had an interview with President Roosevelt. We discussed the Indian problem in the presence of the British Minister, Sir Malcolm Campbell. I told the President that notwithstanding what Churchill might say, the world has taken the Atlantic Charter as one of universal application and not confined to any particular region or race. The President concurred with me. I then told him that India would now consider the President as a guarantor of the pledge implied in the Charter to the Indian people and that India would look to him to ensure implementing of the principles contained in the Charter."—*U. P.*

Some Lessons of the Kumbha Mela

The bathing festivals known as the Kumbha Mela are of remote antiquity. When they were instituted is not known. Once every twelve years they fall at each of the four places of pilgrimage, Prayag (Allahabad), Hardwar, Ujjain and Nasik. These four places are far from one another and situated in different parts of India. Yet from remote antiquity, when travelling was very difficult, expensive and risky, hundreds of thousands of pilgrims congregated in these places. The gatherings have always consisted both of ordinary pilgrims and learned heads of different Hindu religious organizations and their followers. The ordinary pilgrims and the religious leaders have throughout the centuries been drawn from different linguistic areas. Yet exchange of thoughts on religious and spiritual subjects has always been possible. Linguistic differences have not prevented the cultural unity of India and the unity of spiritual outlook. Down the ages Sanskrit has been the connecting link. Hundreds of thousands have braved the dangers and difficulties of long journeys in quest of spiritual enlightenment, solace and liberation.

Women in the I. M. S.

The decision of the Government of India to recruit for the period of the war a limited number of women medical graduates to the Indian Medical Service with full liability for general service in and out of India, is a sign of the times. These Lady doctors will have the same pay and same military rank as the male members of the service. As qualified Indian women doctors are not a rarity, it is to be hoped that they will have preference, and that non-Indian women medical graduates will be recruited only if a sufficient number of our women medical graduates be not forthcoming.

A.-I. C. C. Adopts Bardoli Resolution

On the 16th January last at Wardha the All-India Congress Committee adopted the Bardoli resolution of the Congress Working Committee, moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with a few verbal alterations. Only 15 members voted against it. Those who supported it were larger in number. But a considerable number remained neutral and did not vote. There has

been some controversy in the papers as to the actual numbers of the three groups, into which we will not enter.

The following is the full text of the main resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee at its meeting at Bardoli on December 30, and accepted by the A.-I. C. C. at Wardha with a few verbal alterations:

"Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self-destruction. Members of the Committee have met again on their release from prison and given earnest thought to all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical state when old problems assume a new significance and the war has approached the frontiers of India, bringing new problems in its train, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder worthily with the full co-operation of the people of India.

FREEDOM ESSENTIAL

"The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world conditions and world freedom. The Committee are convinced that full freedom for the people of India is essential even and more especially in the present state of world turmoil, not only for India's sake, but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endure on the basis of world co-operation between free nations."

ATTITUDE TOWARDS WAR

"The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards war in their statement issued on September 14, 1939, wherein they condemned the Nazi and Fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and acted upon in so far as was possible in the present. If freedom and democracy were those objectives, then they must necessarily include the ending of imperialism and the recognition of the independence of India. Subsequent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government and their reactionary and oppressive policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people.

"The British policy was one of deliberate insult to Indian nationalism, of a perpetuation of unrestrained authoritarianism and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. Not only has every offer made by the Congress for an honourable compromise been rejected, but public opinion voiced by organisations regarded as moderate has also been flouted."

SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

"The Congress was, therefore, compelled in order to defend the honour and elementary rights of the Indian people and integrity of the nationalist movement, to request Gandhiji to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhi desirous of avoiding embarrassment to his opponent, as far as possible, especially during the perils and dangers of war, limited the Satyagraha movement which he started to select individuals who conformed to certain tests he had laid down. That Satyagraha has now proceeded for over fourteen months and about 25,000 Congressmen have suffered imprisonment, while many thousands of others who offered Satyagraha in the Frontier province and elsewhere were not arrested.

HOSTILE ATTITUDE

"The Committee desire to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhiji's leadership and of the response of the nation to it and are of opinion that this has strengthened the people throughout this period. The attitude of the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has functioned in India as a completely authoritarian Government insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people.

"Neither the profession of freedom and democracy nor the perils and catastrophes that have come in the wake of war have affected this attitude and policy and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse."

DETENUS IN PRISON

"The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance and the circumstances attending it and the official pronouncements made make it clear that it is not connected with any change of policy. The large numbers of detenus who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial and whose only offence seems to be that they are ardent patriots, impatient of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country still remain in prison. The recent arrests of prominent persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before."

"While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of the Congress must inevitably lie with the peoples who are the subject of aggression and who are fighting for their freedom, but only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war.

"The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government and not even the most far-reaching promises can alter this background nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from fascist authoritarianism."

The Committee is therefore of opinion that the resolution of the A.-I. C. C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940 holds today and defines the Congress policy still.

Gandhiji Both Ceases and Does Not Cease to Lead Congress!

At Bardoli the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution relieving Gandhiji of responsibility for leading the Congress:

"The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhiji and recognise the validity of the point he has raised and therefore relieve him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution referred to by Gandhiji, but the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence, adopted under his guidance for the attainment of Swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening, otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assures him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in a

free India. The Committee hopes that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission including the offering of Civil Disobedience."

The following is Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Congress President:

BARDOLI, Dec. 30.

Dear Maulana Sahib,

In the course of the discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all wars on the ground principally of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On re-reading the Bombay resolution, I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not for instance identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill-will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view, and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the war effort as the price of that independence I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission, whether I am alone or assisted by an organisation or individuals. You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution. I must continue civil disobedience for free speech against all war, with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions. I will not at this critical period select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi.

Though he has been relieved of the responsibility of leading the Congress, he remains the *de facto* leader;—at Wardha he advised the A.-I. C. C. members to support the main Bardoli resolution of the Congress Working Committee, which was consequently passed by a majority, and of which the gist has been thus interpreted by Shri C. Rajagopalachariar:

MADRAS, Jan. 4.

"If the British Government would entrust us with the responsibility of the defence of our country, and concede to us the necessary powers, we should not shirk the responsibility and we must organise our defence. This is the gist of the Bardoli Resolution," declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, speaking in Tamil at the conclusion of the Madras District (Fourth Circle) Political Conference at the Congress House to-night.—*U. P.*

It is said that a Congress split has been avoided. That, we presume, has been possible, because, in addition to the ordinary conscience which ordinary men have, Congress leaders, many of whom are or were lawyers, have a "legal conscience."

In any case, we are glad that there is no rupture.

According to the Bardoli resolution of the Congress Working Committee, afterwards accepted by the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha, the Congress would co-operate in the British Government's war effort if independence were guaranteed to India. The Congress would purchase *an assurance of independence* (not actual independence) by paying as its price abjuration of non-violence and participation in violence. And Gandhiji, who would stick to non-violence under all circumstances, asked the A.-I. C. C. members to vote for this purchase.

Though we think ahimsā is very precious, we have, as far as we remember, always held it legitimate to use force, including armed force, if need be, in order to win or keep freedom and independence.

"Japanese Continue To Advance By Sheer Weight of Numbers"

An A. P. I. message, dated Bombay, the 25th January, 1941, says, in part:

"According to Rangoon radio, reports from the Moulmein front state that our forces have been fighting vigorously with the enemy. Initially the enemy attacks were repulsed, but later he continued to advance by sheer weight of numbers."

This is not the only item of news relating to the campaigns in Malaya and Burma in which the enemy's superiority in numbers has been mentioned. India is very much nearer Burma than is Japan. India is many times more populous than Japan. And India possesses an army of more than a million soldiers, to which 50,000 recruits are being added every month. And it is undoubtedly the first and foremost duty of India's army to fight the enemy at her doors. Yet, we are told that the Japanese are superior in numbers in Burma and Malaya. The British empire has to fight in other fields no doubt. But so has Japan;—in China, the Philippines, in the Dutch East Indies, in Borneo, in New Guinea .....We are not strategists, nor do we know where the bulk of India's troops are. But everything has not been done for the defence of India which should have been and should be done.

Five Lakh Japanese in South-West Pacific

CHUNGKING, Jan. 26.

Reuter's special correspondent writes:

Chinese military quarters estimate that the Japanese are now using about twenty divisions—500,000 men in the south-west Pacific.

These are disposed as follows:

Malaya—5 divisions.

Philippines—6 divisions.
Thailand—4 divisions.
For action against Burma, New Guinea and Dutch East Indies—3 divisions and French Indo-China—2 divisions.—*Reuter*.

Why cannot India send at least equal numbers, if not more, to Malaya and Burma?

Sjt. K. C. Neogy Elected at Dacca

DACCA, Jan. 27.

Mr. K. C. Neogy was declared elected to the Central Assembly from the Dacca Division non-Mahomedan Constituency.

The following are the votes polled by the candidates:
Mr. K. C. Neogy—4,825.
Mr. Aghor Bandhu Guha—4,638.
Mr. Basanta Kumar Majumdar—1,004.
Rejected- 361.—*U. P.*

We congratulate the electors on their good sense and Sjt. K. C. Neogy on his success. He is a tried and experienced servant of India.

Is Abyssinia To Be A British "Protectorate"?

News Review, "The First British News Magazine," writes in its issue of October 9, 1941:

Violation.

Accidents happen in the best-regulated empires. Learned Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith, much-honoured constitutional jurist, Orientalist, and one-time Clerk to the Imperial Conference, spotted one in the making last week.

In August, when Planners Churchill and Roosevelt chinned over their famed Atlantic Charter, they proclaimed in Point One that Britain and the U. S. were not fighting the war for territorial gain.

Loud in his acclamation was outspoken barrister Keith, Professor of Edinburgh University. A widower of 62, he is a man of broad Liberal ideas, has jumped into most of the hottest political controversies of the past 20 years. Of the 1940 Emergency Powers Act introduced by the Churchill Government he tartly observed: "The divine right of making profits at the expense of the nation must be preserved at all costs."

Last week reports from Addis Ababa spoke of Emperor Haile Selassie being given a British Agent to advise him on policy, said that British officers would control the activities of native governors throughout the provinces of Abyssinia.

Cried Professor Keith, a stickler for law: "We propose to impose on the Emperor . . . what is nothing short of a protectorate. . . . Flatly does this violate the [Atlantic] Charter. . . . Why should the youth of America be sacrificed to add a new territory to an already over-large empire?"

In the Professor's opinion, Britain is still bound by the League Covenant to respect Abyssinia's independence. "There is only one honourable course open," he urged. "Let us make an alliance with the Emperor," lend him money and skilled administrators, "but let them be servants and let our advice be given not by a British Agent but by a British Minister or Ambassador."

Khastgir's Paintings Exhibited at Lahore

LAHORE, Jan. 23.

Before a large and distinguished gathering, Mr. G. D. Sondhi, Principal of the Government College, Lahore, performed the opening ceremony of the exhibition of the paintings and drawings of Mr. Sudhir Khastgir, of the Doon Public School, on Thursday evening in the Punjab Literary League Hall.

In declaring the exhibition open, Mr. G. D. Sondhi said:

"Thanks to the enterprise of the Punjab Literary League and its energetic Secretary, Mr. D. R. Chaudhri, the people of Lahore have been privileged to see the work of Mr. Sudhir Khastgir.

"In the confusion caused by the art critics it becomes difficult for a layman to pass judgment on the work of any artist. Sometimes we are asked to admire the realistic approach, sometimes the formal, sometimes his expressionism, and at other times his impressionism, or, are told to seek a reality behind the picture presented to us. It is time, however, that the layman refused to listen to these confusing dictums.

"Works of art, when all is said and done, are meant for enjoyment through the senses. The layman is on safe ground when he takes them as purely 'sensuour' experiences. Looked at from this point of view, I find a great deal to admire in the work of Mr. Khastgir.

"Above all, I am struck by the firm handling of his brush by the rhythm in his compositions, and by his frank enjoyment of colour. Mr. Khastgir does not seem to be a slavish imitator of any one style and paints as it pleases him. This in itself is a virtue, for, if the picture shows that the artist was enjoying himself while painting it, it is bound to be a source of joy to the beholder also.

"I wish Mr. Khastgir all success and hope that the people of Lahore will take full advantage of this exhibition."

Mr. Sudhir Khastgir belongs fundamentally to the Modern Indian School- receiving his art education as he did at Visva-bharati. He shows a remarkable individuality in his ways of expression through the medium of line, colour and form. His approach to art is that of one in humble search for knowledge. Sketchy as most of his work appears to be, they are full of grace and vigour happily combined.—*The Tribune*.

Attack on Hawaii and Philippines: Responsible Officials Caught Napping

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24.

The Hawaiian naval authorities were warned by Washington ten days before the Japanese attack that aggression against the Philippines was expected but, says an official report, the warnings "did not create in the minds of responsible officials in the Hawaiian area any apprehension as to the probable imminence of air raids."

Admiral Kimmel and the Commanding General, Hawaiian department, Lieut.-Gen. Walter Short, are accused in the report of "dereliction of duty."—*Reuter*.

Were any responsible British officials similarly caught napping in Malaya and Burma? Did the white officials in America and in Malaya and Burma refuse to believe that Japan, an Asiatic country after all, could have the daring to attack U.S.A. and the British Empire, two of greatest powers in the world, and could have made adequate preparations to launch these daring attacks?

Indian Education Suffers From Too Many Examinations

The annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education was held in Hyderabad,

Deccan, at the invitation of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government on January 13, 14 and 15 under the presidentship of Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, in the absence due to ill-health of chairman of the Board, Mr. N. R. Sarker, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The meeting was fully attended.

Among other subjects the Board considered that of too many examinations, from which Indian education suffers.

After considering a memorandum on the subject of examinations by Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmed, the board were of the opinion that Indian education was also suffering from too many examinations and that the whole position was one which required careful expert consideration. In view of the vastness of the subject, the Board decided, in the first place, to set up a committee to define the scope of the investigation.

Japan's Pose As Asia's Saviour

In our last issue we published an article on Japan's pose as Asia's saviour. We are glad to find that "The myth of the Asiatic Saviour" was the subject of a talk broadcast by Dr. C. J. Pao, Consul-General for China, Calcutta, from the Calcutta Station of All-India Radio on the 27th January last.

Dr. Pao said that the Japanese mediaeval-minded militarists, in order to justify their ruthless and merciless aggressive activities, claimed themselves to be the saviours of Asia, which according to him, was nothing but a "fanatic phrase." This phrase was a shameful shield to hide the conscience of the Japanese and was a poisonous drug to which weak minded persons might get habituated unconsciously.

"We must be properly equipped not only to halt its advance, but to counter-attack it for self-protection."

Describing "how the self-appointed saviour of Asia is saving China to-day," Dr. Pao pointed out that

More than five million civilians had been killed by the saviour's ruthless, indiscriminate bombing from the air and barbarous attacks on the land, together with approximately twenty million wounded and an innumerable number of persons rendered homeless. One and a half million children had been made orphan due to their action. Into ashes and shambles, billions of dollars worth of Chinese properties had been turned. "London might have been heavily bombed, Warsaw might have been destroyed, or, Rotterdom might have been wiped out as a city, but nothing could compare with the destruction that the saviour of Asia has given to my country and my people; and it will take years to describe the immoral and inhuman ways and means the Japanese are using to cause sufferings in China today."

Emphasizing that there was no saviour of Asia to-day, Dr. Pao remarked that

This phrase like the so-called invincibility of the Japanese Imperial army, was but a myth. He cautioned the Chinese as well as the Indian people, who were traditional friends to each other, against the influence of this sweet phrase which, he thought, was an invisible weapon equally as powerful as shells and bombs.

Concluding Dr. Pao expressed the confidence that

Eight hundred million people of India and China together with the people of allied nations would not be overpowered by the people of Japan whose "economic resources are already near exhaustion."

We, too, believe that in the long run Japan will be defeated. But in the mean time it would be unwise to underestimate her resources. So said Mr. Hugh Dalton, the British Minister of Economic Warfare, to a press representative on the 12th December last.

Prof. M. N. Saha's Foresight

Prof. M. N. Saha has, it is understood, asked the University of Calcutta to construct the underground room which was designed as a part of the main building on the newly acquired land near the University College of Science to safely store valuable apparatus of the different laboratories of the College at Upper Circular Road. It is estimated that the total value of these apparatus is about Rs. 4,00,000. It has been found out by Prof. Saha that in case of any damage to these apparatus it will be hard to replace them for at least 10 years after the conclusion of the war. Rs. 50,000 will be required to construct the underground room having an area of 4500 ft.

Children Should Be Removed From Air Raid Threatened Zones

In a recent article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Dr. K. S. Ray has drawn attention to the necessity of evacuating children in the danger zones to safe areas. The greatest damage to the young from an air raid, he points out on very good authority, is likely to arise no less from the effect on children's *psyche* than from physical injury to them. "Exposure to a single harmless air raid," Dr. Ray says, quoting Dr. W. E. R. Mons in the *British Medical Journal* of November 1 last, "can do great damage to a child's *psyche*, be he ever so normal and fearless on the surface." Children evacuated from bombed areas in England, Dr. Mons remarks, were found fickle-minded, dull and unable to occupy themselves with anything and incapable of arriving at any decision.

"Previously good and intelligent children become suddenly obstreperous, destructive, mischievous, lazy and unmanagable to the new billet."

This mental deterioration, Dr. Mons says—and in this Dr. Ray concurs with him—is the

expression of deep resentment against adults who have failed to provide them with that security and protection which is every child's birthright.

Other first-hand sources also stress the enormity of the fear-complex in children in bombed areas and the great difficulty experienced by their supervisors and teachers after they have been taken out into safe areas. Our children must not only be saved from death, and loss of limbs from threatened enemy raids, but also from the equally disastrous mental shocks, the effects of which are likely to persist throughout their lives.

The Central Government ought to have prepared long ago a scheme for the removal of children from danger zones to safe areas. The Provincial Governments also ought to have their schemes. The Ministry of Civil Defence in Bengal should lose no time not only to prepare a scheme but also arrange to carry it out. The Corporation of Calcutta also has a duty in this matter.

Australia's Plea for Recall of Australian Forces

CANBERRA, Jan. 28.

A telegram demanding the recall of all Australian Imperial Forces and Royal Australian Air Force units from Europe and Africa because of the "menacing" Pacific situation has been sent to the Australian Army Minister, Mr. Forde, by Mr. Calwell, Labour Member of Parliament for Melbourne.—*Reuter.*

On reading the above cable we at once thought that, if India had been at least as self-ruling as Australia, India would have demanded the recall of all Indian forces from outside Asia, because of the menace to India.

Immediately after that we read of the

Bengal Hindu Mahasabha's Demand of Recall of Indian Forces Outside Asia.

The demand that in the interest of India all Indian soldiers who are outside Asia should be brought back to India for effective defence of India is contained in a resolution adopted at the annual general meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha held on the 28th January last at the office of the Sabha in Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. The Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Government of Bengal and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Sabha presided.

CHURCHILL'S OMISSION

The Council expressed its regret that Mr. Churchill had not made any reference to India and to India's national aspirations in his recent statement in the British House of Commons.

RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATION

The Council re-affirmed the principle of responsive co-operation and expressed the opinion that co-operation between England and India in this war should be on honourable terms and that the same should be decided on the fundamental assumption that India was a free country and that the real solution of the present problem in India and the Far East would depend upon the adequate response of England to India's demands.

The Council enjoined that in the interest of both England and India the National Government of India and the defence of India should be carried on and undertaken and should be manned and conducted by Indians themselves and that along Australia and New Zealand and other Dominions India should have equal right to be heard in the formation and direction of British policy in this crisis.

The Council called upon the British Government to apply the principles of Freedom, Democracy and Self-determination of nations which were the avowed war aims of England and her allies, to India and to implement England's declaration that she had entered this war not in defence of her imperial possessions but in defence of certain noble ideals in order to safeguard vital principles affecting humanity and to ensure the orderly progress of civilization.

Another resolution adopted by the Council stated that the Hindus of Bengal were prepared along with the rest of Hindusthan to shoulder the responsibility in defending the integrity of their motherland and to undergo sacrifices for effective defence of India against all foreign aggression and in order to bring about the real urge for an effective united national effort there should be nationalisation of the Army in India.

All these resolutions are very timely and have our entire support.

Some Resolutions of Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha

The Council condemned the arrest of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose and his detention without trial and deeply regretted that the province had been deprived of the services of Sj. Bose in the critical situation with which the country was now faced and at a time when his services and co-operation would have been specially valuable for the formation and successful working of a National Coalition Ministry in Bengal. The Council demanded the immediate release of Sj. Bose.

The Council welcomed formation of the new Coalition Ministry in Bengal, felicitated Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee on his appointment as the Finance Minister, and congratulated Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister and his colleagues on their successfully purging Bengal of a communal caucus which was dominating the political life of this province and which was creating cleavage between the two communities. The Council urged that the leaders of both the communities without in any way surrendering or sacrificing the just claims of either community should strive for communal peace and harmony in view of the gravity of the international situation and in order to counteract the pernicious propaganda which was being carried on by disruptionist Muslim Leaguers in Bengal.

RELEASE OF POLITICALS

The Council demanded that in view of the present critical war situation all detenus and political prisoners should be immediately released.

By another resolution the Council called upon all the Hindu Mahasabha organisations throughout the province and all sections and classes of Hindus to offer their co-operation to the civic authorities and in particular to the A. R. P. organisation for taking suitable steps to cope with the ravages likely to be caused by air raids.

The Council called upon the Hindu Mahasabha organisations throughout the province to organise rural defence parties in co-operation with the local authorities for the purpose of protecting all rural areas against any

possible outbreak of hooliganism or internal commotion in this international crisis and also to start suitable stores for foodstuff and other provisions on a co-operative basis.

These resolutions have our support.

Re-inforcements to Far East "Would Be" Sent At "Earliest Possible Moment"

LONDON, Jan. 28.

Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons said that reinforcements to the Far East would be sent at the earliest possible moment drawn from troops most readily available and other reinforcements were being sent.—*Reuter.*

Will this "earliest possible moment" be before the Japanese occupation of other parts of the Dutch East Indies and of Malaya and Burma and other parts of the British Empire in Asia than those already captured by Japan?

British Criticism Of Hitler Which Is Applicable To British Empire Also

The Inquirer, a notable British weekly established in 1842, writes thus in criticism of Hitler, the would-be "world conqueror":—

The world is a large place, and it is extremely difficult to keep in touch with everything that is happening everywhere. Napoleon, who, on the whole, had only Europe in mind, could try to keep in touch by working eighteen hours a day and wearing out two or three secretaries, and then, of course, Napoleon was like a child playing with a make-belief situation. It is doubtful whether Hitler can work eighteen hours a day; according to rumour he must seek relief in films, and he sleeps badly; it is doubtful whether he or his advisers can remotely keep in touch with all that is happening in the world that profoundly affects his and their situation. It is certain that day by day they make prodigious mistakes. This assertion may seem ridiculous, or at least unimportant, in face of the great German victories of the past two years; but the same assertion would have appeared ridiculous and unimportant about Napoleon and his marshals at the height of their power, when they were actually making their most foolish mistakes. The simple fact is that there is a limit to the capacity of one man or a group of men. The world is not a place that can be "ruled" or "governed"; there are a few million people in it who have their own ideas upon that matter.

The British people may be reminded that, though the British Empire is not as big as the world, still it "is a large place, and it is extremely difficult to keep in touch with everything that is happening everywhere" there. That is proved by the failure of the British Government in Britain to make timely arrangements for the protection and defence of Malaya and Burma.

The British people may also be reminded that they cannot "keep in touch with all that is happening in the" British Empire "that profoundly affects" the empire situation.

The simple fact is that there is a limit to the capacity of [Mr. Churchill or any other British premier] or [the British Cabinet]. [The British Empire] is not a place that can be "ruled" or "governed"; there are a few million people in it who have their own ideas upon that matter.

One such idea is that the more than four hundred million people in India, Burma and Malaya whom Britain holds in bondage should have been allowed long ago to be self-ruling and that at present even under war conditions the minimum of self-rule that should be allowed to be exercised by them is that their accredited representatives should have the determining voice in matters directly and indirectly affecting the protection and defence of those countries.

Churchillian Defence of "Far East" Situation

In the course of his long review of the war situation in the British House of Commons on the 27th January last Mr. Churchill said:—

While facing Germany and Italy here and in the Nile Valley *we have never had any power to provide effectively for the defence of the Far East.* My whole argument so far has led up to that point. It may be that this or that might have been done which was not done but *we have never been able to provide effectively for the defence of the Far East against an attack by Japan.* It has been the policy of the Cabinet at almost all costs to avoid an embroilment with Japan until we were sure that the United States would also be engaged. The House will remember that when we were at our very weakest we even had to stoop to closing the Burma Road for some months. I remember that some of our present critics were very angry about it but we had to do it. *There never has been a moment, there never could have been a moment when Great Britain or the British Empire single-handed could be fighting Germany and Italy or could wage a battle of Britain, a battle of the Atlantic and a battle of the Middle East and at the same time stand thoroughly prepared in Burma, the Malaya Peninsula and generally in the Far East against the impact of a vast military empire like Japan with more than seventy mobile divisions, the third biggest navy in the world, a great air force and the thrust of eighty or ninety millions of hardy warlike Asiatics.*

If we had started scattering our forces over those immense areas of the Far East we should be ruined. If we had moved large armies of troops urgently needed on the war fronts to regions which were not at war and might never have been at war we should have been altogether wrong.

We should have cast away a chance, which now becomes something more than a chance, of all of us emerging safely from the terrible plight in which we have been plunged. As time passed the mighty United States under the leadership of President Roosevelt had drawn ever nearer to the struggle, and now that the blow has fallen it does not fall on us alone. The United nations are unquestionably capable of enduring a struggle retrieving losses and preventing another such stroke from ever being delivered again (cheers).

The sentences which we have italicized above contain a confession of selfishness. Britain has all along derived untold wealth

from India, Burma and Malaya and has employed Indian troops to extend or protect her empire outside India. But she has neither herself made India's defensive forces adequate nor allowed India to be selfruling to do the same. Surely India with her vast natural resources and nearly 400 millions of population could have had a land army, a navy and an air force superior to those of Japan. He speaks of the eighty or ninety millions of hardy warlike Asiatics of Japan. But undoubtedly India contains at least as many hardy warlike Asiatics. General Sir Ian Hamilton's *Scrapbook* is our supporting authority.

In a later part of his speech the British Prime Minister said :—

> The outstanding question upon which the House should form its judgment for the purposes of the pending division is *whether the Government was right in giving marked priority in the distribution of forces and equipment we sent overseas to Russia, to Libya and to a lesser extent to the Levant and the Caspian front and whether we were right in accepting for the time being a far lower standard of forces and equipment for the Far East than these other theatres.* The first obvious fact is that the Far East was at peace and the other theatres were at war. *It would have been obviously a bad policy if we had kept large forces and equipment posted in India, Burma and the Malaya Peninsula standing idle month by month, perhaps year by year without any war occurring. We should have failed to fulfil our obligations to Russia and we should have lost the battle of Cyrenaica, which we have not yet won.* We did not have the resources to meet all pressures that came upon us. But the question cannot be wholly decided without some attempt to answer the further.
>
> *Q.* What was the likelihood of the Far Eastern theatre being thrown into war by Japanese attacks ?
>
> I will explain how very delicately we walked and how painful it was at times, but it seems irrational that the Japanese having thrown away their opportunity of attacking us in Autumn 1940 when we were so much weaker and all alone, should have at this period come into a desperate struggle against the combined forces of the British Empire and the United States.

In the sentences which we have italicized above Mr. Churchill coolly takes it for granted that the forces raised and maintained by India belonged by right to Britain to be sent anywhere at Britain's will and pleasure. The fact is, it is only for India to decide and say where they are to stay or to be sent. India has the first claim upon Indian troops. The question of their remaining idle which has been raised is a very queer one. Take the case of the army of any independent country, *e.g.*, America. From the beginning of the war the army of the U. S. A. had been idle and most American troops are idle even now. Britain could not requisition American troops to fulfil British obligations to Russia, because America is independent: but because Britain has kept India deprived of freedom, therefore she feels justified in sending *India's* troops far afield to fulfil *British* obligations, jeopardizing *India's* safety !

Detention of Burmese Premier

The statement which the British Government has issued to explain and justify its detention of the ex-premier of Burma, is not at all convincing. There is no proof in the statement of any hostile contact between the Burmese ex-premier and Japan.

Suspension of Constitution of Rangoon University

The Governor of Burma has promulgated an ordinance suspending the constitution of the Rangoon University and appointing an administrative officer. He says that he considers this action necessary for the purpose of discharging his functions under the Government of Burma Act, but does not state what these functions are. If the Japanese invaders of Burma be not driven back, circumstances may arise necessitating the closing of the University and occupying its premises. But the Governor has not done that. Hence the Ordinance is difficult to understand. Britain, particularly London has been subjected to far more furious, continuous and devastating bombing than Rangoon. But the Government there has not taken the London University or any other University under its control.

Some More Comments on Mr. Churchill's Speech In Defence of Himself

Addressing the House of Commons on the 27th January last, Mr. Churchill said, "I must ask to be sustained by a vote of confidence of the House of Commons. I think it is highly probable that we shall have a great deal more bad news from the Far East. It is because things have gone badly and worse is to come that I demand a vote of confidence." Mr. Churchill should demand a vote of confidence of the Central Legislature of India, too, all the members thereof being asked to be present. This legislature is only partially representative. Still he may be challenged to demand a vote of confidence here.

As the defence of Malaya, Burma and India has not been given due weight at the proper time and as this inattention has caused the loss of thousands of lives, the destruction of much property and the loss of much territory in Malaya and Burma, and has placed the safety of India, too in jeopardy, it is only their vote of confidence that can prove that the British Cabinet has been free from blame.

Mr. Churchill said, "The outstanding question for vote is whether Government decision of priority of equipment of Russia, Libya and the Levant, when the Far East was still at peace, was justified. I am the man that Parliament and the nation has to blame." Are Mr. Churchill and his Cabinet so innocent of politics and diplomacy that they did not know or suspect that there might be an attack by Japan at any moment?

Mr. Churchill said, "There is no question of regarding the Pacific War as a secondary operation." But he and his cabinet *have* in effect and in practice regarded the Pacific war as a secondary operation. From the Malayan, the Burmese, the Indian, the Australian and the Dutch Indies points of view it is a primary operation.

Mr. Churchill announced that the British forces in Malaya have been considerably reinforced in the last week. Was not that very late, if not too late?

Mr. Churchill announced that Britain and the United States are taking measures to reinforce Australia and New Zealand. What of Burma?

Mr. Churchill announced that the British Government agreed to the request by Australia and New Zealand for the right to be heard in formulation and direction of policy. What of India Burma and Malaya?

"No obstacles will be placed in the way of Australian troops wishing to return to defend their country." How are Mr. Churchill and his cabinet going to meet India's demand that all Indian forces should be brought back to and near India for the defence of India?

Rabindranath Tagore and Greater Bengal

Rabindranath Tagore was never a politician; but all the same he rightly felt the pulse of the nation and was ever sympathetic to movements, which were for its welfare and which would lead to or expedite its cultural development or growth. He was glad when the Oriyas were going to be united under one administration and to have a separate province of their own; and he was sympathetic to the Greater Bengal movement for unifying all the Bengalee-speaking tracts under one administration. An article on the 'Redistribution of the Provinces—Greater Bengal' appeared in the August issue of *The Modern Review* in 1931. The writer of that article approached Mr. J. Chaudhuri with a reprint, who readily agreed with him. Mr. Chaudhuri then called an informal all-parties conference at the Indian Association Hall on the 12th October, 1931, at which the question of the re-distribution of boundaries of the provinces was discussed; and a strong representative committee formed. Rabindranath Tagore was approached; and he readily agreed to be either its Patron or its President. About that time the O'Donnell Committee was sitting for determining the boundaries of new Orissa; and it was decided to send a representation to it so that parts of Midnapore might not be included in new Orissa, and reiterating the claims of Bengal to the Singhbhum district. The draft of the representation, which was ultimately sent over Mr. J. Chaudhuri's signature, was shown to Rabindranath Tagore; he demurred to certain sentiments and strong expressions used therein, but as the draftsman (who was unknown to him) was not present he would not alter them even when asked to do so. The draft was afterwards altered according to his suggestions and sent to the O'Donnell Committee.

J. M. D.

Mr. N. R. Sarker on the Importance of Agriculture

"Agriculture," observers the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member for Education, Health and Lands in the Government of India, in his New Year message to the magazine *Indian Farming*, "is by far the most important limb in our body economic." "The well-being of the vast mass of our population," he proceeds, "is intimately bound up with the prosperity of agriculture. Agricultural development again is not a peacetime enterprise only; in war the production of food to supply the needs of the Army and the civilian population is becoming a problem of growing magnitude. With the enormous increase in numbers revealed by the census, it is evident that the Indian farmer is called upon as never before to raise food for a rapidly expanding population. To fulfil this enormous task satisfactorily, it is essential that he should adopt the most scientific methods of cultivation.

"Nothing is likely to reward the labours of Indian farmers more generously than the utilization of modern science and of the proved experience of successful cultivators. *Indian Farming* provides a wealth of information of practical, immediate importance to nearly every one, directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture. In reporting the achievements of science in the field of agricultural and animal husbandry research and in creating a forum for the exchange of information between practical farmers, this magazine, now entering upon its third year of

useful service, is performing an urgent national task. *Indian Farming* has already won a place for itself in the country's journalism by making the benefits of scientific research available in lucid and popular language to the general public."

"Hitler Means to Destroy Japan"

This is the heading of an article in the Special Section of *Asia* for November, 1941, by Anton Pettenkofer. This, we are told, "is the pen name of an Aryan German expert—now in America—on German geo-political and racial subjects. For years before the Nazis came to power he had studied their plans and warned European governments of the danger of Nazi world domination. From 1936 to 1938 he investigated Nazi conspiracies in South America and provided the governments of the Latin American countries with confidential memoranda." His article begins with the paragraphs printed below.

One of the most extraordinary illusions in history is Japan's innocent faith that Hitler, if he should win, would share the rule of the world with the race which he has denounced as "yellow vermin" and as less than men—"undermen."

On the contrary, Hitler's intention is not merely to rule Japan, but to *destroy* the Japanese people—not to enslave them as he has enslaved others—but literally to exterminate them, with poison gas and bacteria. This intention is written plain on the record.

The writer of the article then proceeds to state that "The Nazis do not consider the coloured races to be human beings. They are animals or 'undermen.' According to *Mein Kampf*, those who have come in contact with European culture and civilization are 'trained monkeys'." Proofs of these statements are to be found in the article.

How Japan Treats Korean Independentists

As Japan poses as the saviour of Asia, it would be interesting to learn how she treats those Koreans who try to make their country independent by putting Japanese rule to an end. The following is part of how a Korean 'rebel' was treated by the Japanese.

When I was questioned, the police asked, when did you enter the C. P., and what department are you in?

His answer in the negative followed.

The narrative proceeds :—

Nevertheless they put heavy chains on me, and put me into a narrow filthy room with sixteen other men. Next day, when we were given corn meal and radish with water, I threw mine into a filthy corner. When I was examined, I replied, "I don't know" to everything.

"Your comrades have already confessed that you are an organizer of the Third International" the police officer said to me to make me talk.

"Whoever told you that lied," I shouted.

After this had gone on for some days a car from the Japanese Legation came for me. I was to be sent to Korea. As they put the handcuffs on me, the Japanese officer said: "Excuse me, please, for this. It is regulations." Then he draped a woollen muffler over my forearm so the handcuffs would not show.

What angelic kindness and courtesy !

We went second-class. The plain-clothes policeman with me was a graduate of Waseda University, and rather sentimental. His present wife was a Korean, he said. He showed clearly that he admired me and begged that I give him some poetry of my own composition or tell him how I felt in prison. *All Japanese admire a life of courage and secretly respect revolutionaries, no matter how they may hate them.*

"Prison is the greatest college of humanity," I said. He wrote this down faithfully and looked up at me, pleased with the phrase.

"What did you learn there?"

"I learned that I have great force within myself If I had none, why should it be necessary for the authorities to use so much force to oppose me? The State and I are equal."

He liked that too and quoted it carefully. Some more conversation followed :

When I reached Korea I had to write down the whole story of my life again. Then my first torture began. One Japanese pumped water into my mouth and nose while another stood by with a pencil and paper to get a confession. The pressure was very strong, and my stomach swelled up to the bursting point.

When I became unconscious, they sent me to my cell. It was a wet, slimy place. I stayed in this cell forty days. Six times they gave me the "water cure," until I was unconscious. But I would not confess.

After seven days I was called into Court.—*Asia.*

Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works' Slit Trenches

Several industrial concerns in and around Calcutta have taken adequate protective measures against air raids. Pucca slit trenches with drainage and other facilities have been constructed by the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works for the safety of their workers at a huge cost. Besides covered shelters have been built by the side of vital machines. They have also organised fire fighting and mobile first aid squads.

All industrial concerns in the country should make similar arrangements, which are laudable and very necessary.

British Admiral's Candid Criticism Of Humiliation In Far East

In the British House of Lords on the 28th of January last, according to Reuter, the Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Chatfield, said, "The fact that we should suffer some humiliation in the Far East at the present time was due to a

mis-handling of our Imperial defence over a very long period of years.

"When we ended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, we created perhaps unavoidably for ourselves, a potential hostile force in the shape of the third greatest sea power 10,000 miles away from our home bases. But, unfortunately we neither watched nor prepared for the new menace."

But India was not 10,000 miles from the Far East. Why does not the Admiral or any other British man in high office admit even now that it was a great blunder and a great wrong done to India not to have allowed her to be self-ruling and have her own big navy?

The admiral proceeded

"In 1937, when Britain was once more free to build her navy, the Axis group, who had only to look after their own defences and aggressions, had exactly the same time in which to rebuild their navies as Britain had with her great Imperial responsibilities all over the world. It is, therefore, not surprising that at the present time we were in trouble.

"Had it not been for the struggle against rearming in Britain, sanctions would never have been necessary, Munich would not have been inevitable and the Japanese would probably not now be in the war."

India never prayed to be included in the British empire. She never asked Britain to undertake "imperial responsibilities all over the world," which Britain is not competent to discharge. No British man in authority admits even now that Britain would not have been in trouble at the present time if India had been self-ruling. Nor are the British Government thinking of the only means of getting over the trouble, namely, allowing India to be self-ruling.

It is the lure of empire-building, of which Britain showed the first evil example in modern times, which has misled Japan into undertaking wars for the purpose of imperial expansion. But for the existence of the big British empire "the Japanese would probably not now be in the war."

Lord Chatfield continued:

"Many were asking why were the 'Prince of Wales' and the 'Repulse' sent to Singapore unescorted by proper ancilliary vessels. He had the greatest admiration for the work of the naval staff in this war and could not believe that it was naval disposition to move those two ships out to the Far East.

"It was a political decision and it was an astonishing thing that one could never get a lay mind to understand naval strategy.

"The Prime Minister had said that these two ships were sent as a spear-point of the British navy. The battleships were not spear-points, they were not forwards in a game at sea. They are fullbacks and they should not be sent into dangerous positions where great disaster may occur unless they have adequate support which all naval officers know is necessary."

It is beyond the power of Mr. Churchill to answer this devastating criticism of the British Admiral.

Lord Moyne, Secretary for Colonies, said that

It was natural that both Australia and New Zealand should feel uneasy that the war should come to their homeland at a moment when the pick of their manhood was fighting battles in another theatre. "Everything possible will be done to strengthen their position and enable them to resist Japanese attacks in case they should come down to the mainland."

Nobody in the Lords appears to have noticed or even imagined that it was not Australia and New Zealand alone that felt "uneasy that the war should come to their homeland at a moment when the pick of their manhood were fighting in another theatre." India also felt similar uneasiness. India resented, in addition, the fact that the greater part of the pick of her manhood has not been allowed to arm and train themselves for her defence.

Lord Moyne said that

The problem of world-wide war control was without precedent, but methods of consultation between partners widely separated by geography but united in a resolution to victory, was well on the way to solution as a result of discussions between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. "I am sure the House would realise that in these matters we are limited by the competing demands of other theatres of war, but I give an assurance that in the Allied councils today the first priority is being given to measures to re-establish the position against Japan."

There should, of course, be, as there should have been long ago, "methods of consultation between partners widely separated by geography;" but what wisdom, what justice, is there in not admitting India to partnership?

Was there nobody in the House of Lords to speak for India?

Mr. Churchill Gets All But Unanimous Vote of Confidence

On the 29th of January last the British House of Commons approved the vote of confidence by 464 votes to one. The Member who voted against the vote of confidence in the Commons was Mr. James Maxton.

This vote of confidence is not a British Empire or even a "British Commonwealth of Nations" vote of confidence. For in the British House of Commons, there is no representative of India or Burma or Malaya, etc., nor anybody to represent even the Dominions.

Mr. Churchill's Reply to the Debate

Greeted with rousing cheers as he rose to reply to the debate Mr. Churchill said,

"No one can say that this has not been a full and free debate. No one can say that criticism has been

hampered or stifled. No one can say that it has not been necessary to debate. Many will think that it has been a valuable debate but I think there will be very few who on reflection will doubt that a debate of this far-reaching character and memorable importance in times of a hard and anxious war, with the state of the world what it is and our relationships to other countries being what they are and our own safety so deeply involved—very few I believe will doubt that it should close without a solemn and formal expression of the House in relation both to the Government the prosecution of war. In no country in the world at the present time could a Government conducting war be exposed to such stress. No dictator country fighting for its life dare allow such discussion. They do not even allow free transmission of news to their people or even the reception of foreign broadcasts to which we all now are so hardily innured. In even the great democracy of the United States the executive does not stand in the same direct and immediate day to day relations to the legislative body as we do. The President is in many vital respects independent of the Legislature. He is the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the Republic. He has fixed term of office during which his authority can scarcely be impugned.

Here in this country the House of Commons is the master all time of the life of the administration. Against its decision there is only one appeal—an appeal to the nation--and that appeal it is very difficult to make in conditions of war like this, with a register like this, with air raids and invasion always hanging over us.

The debate was full and free so far as Britain is concerned. But the vast majority of lands and the vast majority of the populations included in the British empire did not and could not have their say in the debate.

There is no question also that, so far as Britain herself is concerned, the debate in the Commons is a proof that the British Government is democratic even in war time. But that does not disprove the fact that the British *Empire* is the *biggest non-democratic State in the world.*

Mr. Attlee's References to India

Winding up the second day's debate in the House of Commons on the vote of confidence on the 28th January last, Mr. Attlee asked the House to give the Government their confidence in the sense in which a vote of confidence is always understood in the House—not as one meticulous approval of every individual and every action but as a general agreement with the Government on its policy and faith in its determination to carry us through to success. Mr. Attlee said it is quite true that there is a great reservoir of men in India, Malaya and elsewhere and great many of them are necessarily untrained and unarmed. Why "necessarily"? Why were they not armed and trained in time? "While there has been an immense increase in recruiting for the Indian Army the number of troops that can be raised is restricted by the number of training cadres you have in India." Why are there not more training cadres? "There is a great deal to be said for making India the great arsenal of the British Empire in the East. It is a long term policy on which more ought to have been done in the past years. But in actual circumstances of the time there is restriction of machinery and lack of trained personnel. I should not like it to be thought that Government is in the least neglecting that great source of man-power in India or that there is any feeling whatever that those people are not fit to fight. I should have thought that the record of our Indian troops in this war would prevent that. But we are restricted by the fact that though India had great potential economic power, she had not actual power. She had increased her production tremendously and through Eastern Supply Council various countries in that part of the world had been working together." India continues to be thought of as a country which can supply any number of mercenaries, *not of citizen soldiers* and as an arsenal for the use of Britain, not as a country inhabited by men who ought to be and can be self-determining.

Continuing he said, "our position in the Pacific depended on our command of the sea and we have not got it. The coast of Malaya is a very long one. The defence of Malaya depended on sea power and we were weak there. But could we have invited an attack by telling everyone that?"

But the attack has come without the British Government "telling everyone that"! The enemy knew "that" without the Britishers telling it to "everyone."

Dealing with re-inforcements to the East Mr. Attlee said, "we cannot say what reinforcement we have sent. If we tell the House we tell the enemy. I can assure the House that reinforcements were sent on their way to the East at the earliest possible moment and they were drawn from those places where those troops were most readily available."

The enemy appears to know a good many very vital things which the House of Commons has not been told.



INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS

By Dr. RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.SC., Ph.D., *Late Special Research Economist, International Labour Office, League of Nations, Geneva*

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The rise of Western culture in India is due largely to the establishment of British rule in India. The British, who are in the vanguard of Western civilization, have established, during the past two centuries, political, economic and and educational institutions all over India, and have also helped in the rise of new social values, ideals and aims among the people and thus laid a solid basis for the foundation of Western culture.

British rule in India may be conveniently divided into three periods, namely :—(1) the Company Rule (1737-1857), (2) the Crown Rule (1858-1919), and (3) the beginning of Home Rule or Self-government (since 1920); roughly covering the periods of expansion, consolidation, and nationalization respectively. The first period was devoted mostly to the conquest of new territories, in which British interest was the supreme concern; the second period, to the co-ordination of the political and economic interests of the British, in which the welfare of the people of India was also taken into consideration; and the third period began with the association of the people of India with the government of the provinces in 1920 under a system of dyarchy, which was further developed by the Government of India Act of 1935 into provincial autonomy since 1937. The Act of 1935 also provides for the federation of the British Provinces with the Indian States under a Federal Government, the coming into force of which has, however, been postponed owing to war conditions. Moreover, Domination Status, as modified by the Westminster Statute of 1926, has also been promised, which, if inaugurated, would make India practically independent.

Whatever may be the future of Indo-British relations, Western culture has not only been introduced by the British into the political, industrial and educational institutions of modern India, but it has also given rise to new values, ideals and aims as well as to the Indian Renaissance and social movements. In spite of these benefits, the very foundation of British rule, *viz.*, the government of one people by another, has led to some inherent defects. The impact of Western civilisation or rather of British rule on India may therefore be considered under two headings, (1) inherent defects, and (2) principal benefits.

However great Western civilization may be, it is not without some fundamental defects. British civilization being a part of Western civilization, the defects of Western civilization belong to British Civilization also. Western civilization is essentially objective in its outlook. In the struggle for existence, the main concern of the West was to control the external world rather than the inner self. While this helped them to develop a more scientific attitude towards life, it also deprived them of any deep moral and spiritual insight and experience which could be codified in the form of any great religious and ethical systems. Even Christianity with its high and spiritual ideals has scarcely taken any deep root in European character. The over-emphasis on material achievement and the comparative neglect of moral aspects have developed certain defects, which, though not absent in the East, have appeared in exaggerated form in the West. The outstanding defects of Western civilisation may roughly be summarised under the following headings, namely :—(1) materialism; (2) newer capitalism; (3) economic imperialism; and (4) race prejudice.

The greatest defect of Western civilization is materialism or the subordination of the moral and spiritual aspects of life to physical and intellectual needs. In contrast to the East, where man subordinated the life here-below to that here-after, the West tends to look upon success and pleasure as the *summum bonum* of life. The search for material success has undoubtedly developed many notable qualities in the lives of the Western people, but it has also led to the neglect of moral and spiritual values as well as to the exploitation of one class by another. In spite of great increase in national wealth and other forms of cultural heritage, for instance, considerable numbers of people are

deprived of the benefit of social achievements in housing, sanitation, comfort, education and recreation.

An important effect of materialism in the West is the rise of newer capitalism, which is mainly concerned with the high technique of production without adequate provision for distribution and consumption. The old capitalism itself helped in the concentration of the ownership of the means of production in a few hands, but the rise of newer capitalism in social organisation, where the institution of private property still holds good, has led to the accumulation of social wealth in a still fewer hands, who have no other incentive for commercial and industrial transactions than the desire for profit. Thus when the world conditions are disturbed and the chances of profit diminish, both capital and labour remain idle, throwing millions of people out of employment and depriving them of any chance of making a living. The insistence on high profit or the refusal to operate industry except under the conditions of normal profit is inconsistent with the public welfare in the modern highly industrialised and complicated society. Moreover, restriction on production and destruction of the produce for the control of price and profit in the midst of widespread want shows not only the basic immorality of the present system of production but also its economic unsoundness.

A third effect of materialism is the rise of economic imperialism or the economic exploitation of one people by another through political control. Some of the Western nations, like their Roman predecessors, are predominantly imperialists; and the so-called expansion of Europe during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, was nothing but pursuit of political conquest and economic gain. They have not only occupied the empty or sparsely populated territories for habitation, but have also spread their sway over the historical peoples for domination and exploitation. Like slavery and serfdom, this new imperialism is not only immoral, but economically unsound. It not only suppresses the full productive capacity of the exploited people, but also interferes with the growth of industrial efficiency and industrial enterprise on the part of the exploiting people, who are liable to rely for their income upon political power rather than industrial efficiency and industrial development. Moreover, it also interferes with the growth of international economy, the essence of which is the production by each country to its best capacity for international exchange.

Finally, perhaps the most palpable defect of Western civilisation is the rise of racialism, which, though not absent in the earlier communities, has been accentuated in modern times. Colour prejudice is very strong among the Anglo-Saxon races, as indicated by the policy of "White Australia" and "Asiatic exclusion" and the slogans of "the yellow peril" and "the rising tide of colour." Under the impulse of racialism there has been created a myth of the Nordic or Aryan race as a pure stock and all sorts of means have been adopted to show its superiority It is forgotten that the supremacy of Western civilization over that of the East is an achievement of the past two centuries or so and it is restricted mostly to the domain of material progress. Moreover, some of the so-called inferior and persecuted races have contributed more to the progress of the human race than the self-styled superior races and contain even today some of the most celebrated scientists, philosophers and literary men that the world has ever known. The self-claimed race superiority has recently been expressed in the organization of a perfect system of persecution, which, in barbarism, brutality and sadism, surpasses anything that had ever existed in human history. Moreover, the descendants of the people, which once stood for individuality in social organisation, have sheepishly followed worse dictators than had ever existed in the world. Racialism not only goes against the fundamental principles of Christianity, but saps the very foundation of social justice, which depends upon mutual respect and appreciation.

The inherent defects of the Indo-British relationship arise from the opposing interests of the rulers and the ruled, specially between those who are different in race and culture and are located thousands of miles apart. From the very beginning, the British had aimed at the trade control of India. Business transactions on the basis of equality and independence were of mutual benefit. But as soon as England conquered India, this relationship turned into one of the conqueror and the conquered. The Indo-British relations have not therefore been an unmixed good and there has arisen a number of evil consequences, which may be summarised under such headings as the political, the economic, and the social.

The oustanding defect of British rule in India is the loss of power on the part of the people in taking initiative and in enterprise in national affairs. In spite of the recent constitutional reforms, the final authority still rests with the British and the people have not yet acquired any voice in national defence, public finance and foreign affairs. The complete subjugation of

the people has the following consequences: First, liberty, which is valuable in itself and a moral and spiritual force, awekening national life, animating national activities, and leading to the realisation of the national goal, is lacking among the Indian people. Like slavery and serfdom, subjugation demoralises a nation and makes it degenerate. Secondly, the inability of the people to be arbiters of their own destiny, prevents them from attaining some of the highest virtues of national life, such as broader vision, greater capacity and creative statesmanship. Thirdly, the Indian people forming about 1/5 of the human race have no voice in international affairs, although such a right is enjoyed even by some small states with a few million population. Finally, foreign rule or the presence of a "third party" in the country is the main cause of internal conflict, such as separatism and communalism.

The economic consequences of British rule are in no way better. The outstanding feature of the economic life of India is the extreme poverty of the people, which, although partly due to over-population, has been brought about principally by the narrow policy adopted by the Government. Some features of this policy are:—First, the adoption of the policy of "*laissez faire*," which threw indigenous arts and crafts into competition with the highly organised industries of the West, led to their decline. Secondly, the lack of encouragement to the development of modern industries in India in the form of protection, subsidy and aid, which were not adopted until the Indian Industrial Commission of 1916-18 and the Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 made specific recommendations. Thirdly, the neglect of agriculture, which, although the most important industry in India and sustains over 3/4 of the population, had scarcely received any attention until 1926, when the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India was appointed and definite recommendations were made for agricultural development. Finally, the manning by foreign experts of all public and semi-public works, such as railways and tramways, electrical and hydro-electrical works, as well as of their construction, management and supervision, thus depriving the people of India of active participation in organisation and management of public utilities and modern industries.

The social consequences of British rule have also been unfavourable, although they are mostly results of omission rather than of commission. The British could not be vitally interested in the real welfare of the people, who are different in race and culture, and live in a country in which they never think of making their home. They have therefore neglected the most vital interests of India as indicated by the following:—(1) the gross illiteracy of the masses, over 9/10ths of whom cannot read and write, as against no illiteracy in most of the Western countries; (2) the low national vitality, which has reduced the general expectation of life to only about one-half in India as compared with that in most of the Western countries; (3) tardiness in social reform, which, involving legislative measures in many cases, could not be undertaken by the people until there was created a legislative assembly by the Government of India Act of 1919; and (4) racial discrimination, which is noticeable in social, political and industrial fields all over the country. In spite of the fact that the British have lived in India for about two centuries, they have developed neither love nor respect for the Indian people and have kept their social distinctions all throughout their rule.

In spite of these defects, which are inherent in the government of one people by another, British rule has produced a number of good results, the most important of which are modern institutions and new social ideals. The main object of British rule in India, specially under the Company, was the development of foreign trade, to facilitate and perpetuate which they gradually took possession of the country. Once the masters, the British devoted themselves to the consolidation of their political power and economic interests with the help of the legislative, executive and judicial powers, to which was also added education with a view to training the people as government officials, spreading literacy among the people and controlling public opinion. Modern institutions built by the British in India and new social ideals inspired by Western civilization may thus be classified under the following headings:—

First, the establishment of peace and order. Peace and order were not unknown during the Hindu and Muslim periods, but after the breakdown of the Moghul Empire and the rise of rival powers, the Central Government declined and lost its hold over the country, Provincial Governors defied the Central Authority, the Marhattas were carrying on civil war, the Persians under Nadir Shah invaded India, and confusion and anarchy reigned all over the country. Even in the beginning of British rule, the country was infested with organised banditry, and plunder and murder became common in many parts. British rule not only succeeded in rooting out anarchy and banditry, but also in organising administration for the preservation of peace and order almost all over the country.

Secondly, representative government. Although autocratic in the beginning, British rule has gradually developed into a somewhat liberal government under the influence of the growing liberal tendency in England and increasing demand on the part of the Indian people to have representation in their own government. A representative system has been established both in the Central and Provincial Governments, specially by the Government of India Act of 1935, which raised the number of voters, including both men and women, from 7 millions in 1919 to 35 millions in 1937. The parliamentary system has thus taken deep root in both Central and Provincial Governments.

Thirdly, efficient administration, by which the representative system of government has been strengthened. A good government depends upon an efficient administrative system as well as upon the honesty, impartiality and sense of duty of the personnel. The administration of India has been entrusted to a body of civil servants, who are selected from the younger generations on the basis of their moral integrity and intellectual attainments, and are given special training before they can take part in the actual government of the country. There is no doubt that the Civil Service has been up to the present moment rather a privileged and reactionary class and has also been a great hindrance to progressive government. But the development of national policy does not depend on the Civil Service, and recent experience in the provinces under the Congress Ministries has shown that the Civil Service may be adapted to progressive national policy.

Fourthly, progressive jurisprudence. Both Hindu and Muslim laws were efficacious in their days and they are still utilized in solving some of the legal problems concerning Hindu and Muslim communities. But society has evolved rapidly since the codification of Hindu and Muslim laws, and modern life has become much more complicated, showing the necessity of amending the old laws and enacting new ones. The British have not only put new interpretations on Hindu and Muslim laws, but also added a body of new laws in conformity with the growing needs of a progressive people.

Fifthly, the establishment of modern industrialism. Economic development in modern society requires a large body of statutory laws, by which finance, taxation, banking, joint-stock companies, railways, shipping, factories, mining and labour are regulated. The British are the foremost nation in modern industrialism and the laws and regulations enacted by the British after their own model are of great value to the development of modern industrialism in India. Moreover, modern large-scale industry requires finance, organisation, management and supervision, and England, as the home of the Industrial Revolution, has also been helpful to India inasmuch as the pioneers of modern industry in India have been mostly the British.

Sixthly, functional education. Both the Hindus and the Muslims had highly developed educational systems and built their education centres at different places, which, however, decayed long before the British became the masters of the country. The need of a body of educated Indians for carrying on government and other affairs led the British to build modern schools and colleges and to encourage English education among the younger generations. Although the scope of this education was very much limited in the beginning, it has been gradually enlarged and some of the Indian Universities today rank high among the world's educational institutions.

Finally, besides the above institutions actually established, English education has opened the vast heritages of Western culture in philosophy, science, literature and art to the Indian people, and recent developments of moral, intellectual and spiritual values, ideals and aims in the country have been largely influenced by Western culture. The first and foremost idealism in modern India is nationalism, the spirit of which is indicated by the fact that about 100,000 Congressmen courted imprisonment for the sake of their faith about a decade ago. In spite of the movements of separatism, sectionalism, provincialism and communalism, India is today more of a nation than in any other time in her history. The second important effect of Western contact is the growing spirit of social justice and equality before the law, which, though not lacking before, at least in theory, had very little practical value. No country is in greater need of social justice than India, where innumerable castes, sub-castes and outcasts still remain practically outside the influence of the highest Hindu culture. A third effect of the influence of the West on India is the liberation of the mind from the thraldom of traditions and the growth of an objective, rational and scientific attitude towards life. For ages the Indian mind has been controlled by conservatism, mythology, superstition, prejudice and idiosyncrasy, which brought about cultural inertia, industrial backwardness, social stagnation and political subjugation. It is the contact with Western culture, which has freed the mind and awakened and inspired new values, ideals and aims, which are essential for social progress.

THE CONGRESS INDICTMENT OF BRITISH RULE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

This year the "Independence Day Pledge" of the Congress has been amended by deleting from it the portions relating to the individual civil disobedience movement. This year's pledge, like that of the previous year, contains the following sentences :—

> "The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence."

Though we partly support what is said in the first sentence quoted above but not wholly, we give our whole-hearted support to the following pledge :—

> "We pledge ourselves anew to the independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry on non-violently the struggle for freedom till *Purna Swaraj* is attained."

The discussion which follows will show wherein we differ from the Congress view expressed in the first sentence in the first extract made above.

It is stated in the Independence Day pledge that as "The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually," *therefore*, "India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence."

These are undoubtedly sufficient reasons.

But the question may be asked : Supposing the British Government in India had not based itself on the exploitation of the masses and had not ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, would it not have been necessary and desirable for India to be fully free and completely independent even in that case ? We think, and we believe Congressmen also think, it would have been.

So far as our knowledge of the Philippines goes, the American Government did not base itself there on the exploitation of the Filipino masses, nor did it ruin the Philippine Islands economically, culturally and spiritually, and America has already given the Philippines Home Rule. Nevertheless the Filipinos have demanded independence and have got an assurance of it. For they are men, and it is not in human nature to be satisfied with anything short of independence.

Indians, too, are men, not cattle. Cattle are taken care of by others. Human beings, if they want to deserve the name of man, must take care of themselves, must manage their own affairs, and must continually grow to self-ruling capacity—by learning through mistakes, if necessary. Or, in other words, the ideal of life for human beings is not merely to be well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed and properly looked after, but also to be masters of themselves and their affairs and possessed of the capacity for and the power of self-direction in the onward march of progress. No doubt it is easier to rouse people to make strenuous efforts to regain independence by telling them how they have been opprssed and deprived of their rights and how their country has been ruined economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, than by simply calling their attention to the ideal of human life and appealing to them to realize that ideal. Nevertheless, in order that the people may carry on the struggle for freedom with correct understanding of its character and with full vigour, keeping before them the true and perfect ideal of life, they should be roused to action by both the methods mentioned above, with due regard to historical truth.

We shall now consider whether the British Government has ruined India economically politically, culturally and spiritually. This can be done here only very briefly. If such ruin has taken place in any direction during British rule, it need not be considered whether it has been brought about deliberately or is an indirect result of British rule and the British connection and contact with India.

Has the British Government Ruined India Economically?

That the *indigenous* industries and trades of India have been, some entirely and some to a great extent, ruined during British rule admits of no doubt. How this has come to pass is narrated in Major B. D. Basu's book on the *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*.. That endeavours have been going on for some time past for the resuscitation of the dying and dead indigenous industries of India and for the starting and carrying on of large-scale industries with

the help of power-driven machinery, does not disprove the fact of such ruin. It is no doubt a fact that at present India probably produces more goods than in the pre-British period of her history. But most of the large-scale industries are owned and carried on by foreigners and most of the profits go to them. Hence, though the quantity of goods at present produced in India probably exceeds what was produced in the pre-British period, the volume of production does not go to ameliorate the condition of the masses of the people. The masses of the people of India are at present far poorer than the mass of the people in free and independent countries in our day. Similarly, the volume of the inland and overseas trade of India may be at present greater than before. But formerly all the trade was practically in the hands of the people of the country. But now most of the trade is in foreign hands. The transport of goods within the country, the costal traffic and the carrying of goods and passengers across the seas have almost entirely gone out of the hands of the people of the country. The destruction of India's mercantile marine was effected during the rule of the East India Company. The State railways in India are only nominally the property of the Indian nation. They can be really so only when the country becomes politically and economically independent.

Has the British Government Ruined India Politically?

The very fact that India is a subject country proves the truth of the statement that India has been ruined politically. The Indian States are only nominally self-ruling. Even the rulers of the biggest States are no more independent, no more masters of themselves, than the humblest man in British India. The final political power does not rest with any Indian or any body of Indians in India but with foreigners outside India living far from the country.

Any comparison of the kind of administration prevailing at present with what was prevalent at the time of the gradual occupation of the country by the British is beside the point. Like the majority of monarchs of those days in countries outside India, the Indian monarchs were autocrats. But whether Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim or Sikh, they were Indian, and the final power was in their hands. There is now some local self-government. But the local self-governing bodies do not possess more power than what the village communities existing at the time of the British occupation exercised. There has been a brief spell of so-called provincial autonomy. But the constitution, which has pleased no community, class or section of the people, was British-made and is unalterable by Indians.

There is at present undoubtedly a greater political awakening through the length and breadth of India than during the period immediately preceding the British occupation. Our political consciousness is of the modern type. There is a feeling of national oneness which did not exist at the time of the British occupation. But it cannot be said that the British Government has deliberately and knowingly brought this political consciousness into being. It is the work of the Time-spirit, whatever that expression may mean. For, we find a similar awakening and a more fruitful one in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, China and Japan—countries which were never subject to British rule. But, though political awakening and sense of national unity are not peculiar products of British rule alone and were not produced of set purpose by the British Government, we need not quarrel with anybody who may say that the British rulers of India builded better than they knew or wanted to.

Has the British Government Ruined India Culturally?

We have not been able to understand exactly what the Congress leaders mean by saying that the British Government has ruined India culturally. The culture of a country includes its arts and crafts, its educational endeavours, its religion, its literature in the broadest sense, its musical and other entertainments and its science. Some of our indigenous crafts are no longer in existence and some are in a moribund condition. The purely Indian styles of architecture are no longer followed by our builders, but somewhat new styles of a mixed character have come into existence under British influence. An attempt is being made to revive a purely Indian style in a somewhat modified form. Perhaps no purely Indian style of sculpture is any longer followed, but successful efforts are being made to evolve an Indian style of sculpture.

In painting, Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples and followers have been successful in producing works which are the fruits of their genius. Other Indian painters, too, though not his disciples or the disciples of his disciples, have been indirectly inspired and stimulated by their examples.

Seeing that Rabindranath Tagore alone composed far more songs (and set them to music) than any master musician of the East or the West, living or dead, it cannot be said that the British Government has ruined India cul-

-turally in the sphere of music, though it has done little to encourage our music. Musical conferences promoted by Indians are the order of the day.

Speaking of Rabindranath Tagore, we find that he All-India Congress Committee in their resolution on the Poet-sage, passed at their last sitting at Wardha on the 16th January last, referred to him as "an embodiment of her (India's) rich and manifold culture." If India's culture has been ruined, how could any present-day Indian be an ebodiment of it?

We have no definite information as to the extent to which music was cultivated and the art of dancing was practised in the pre-British period;—perhaps professional musicians and danceuses enjoyed greater patronage than at present. Nor have we any precise idea of the indigenous theatricals of those days:—most probably they had at that time greater vogue than now. Dancing had long ceased to be looked upon as respectable in many parts of the country. But at present many girls and young women of respectable families dance in public, and new dance forms have been evolved—particularly at Santiniketan. As in music, so in dancing and the histrionic arts, Tagore's achievement has been very remarkable. The modern Indian stage owes a great deal to Western influence. But the British Government cannot claim any credit for all these developments. The cinema is an entirely non-Indian form of entertainment introduced into India. But there does not seem to be any fine type of culture in it. Nor is its introduction into the country due to State initiative or State encouragement.

In Science in its modern sense India has not produced as many masters as even some small countries of the West. But it must be said that it has produced during the British period some master minds in science, state encouragement to science of a very meagre description notwithstanding. Such scientists did not exist in the pre-British medieval India.

As regards literature, we can speak only of Bengal's achievement from personal knowledge. During the British period Bengali literature has made remarkable progress both in prose and poetry, so that Bengal now possesses a literature which surpasses any which she possessed before, both in quality and volume. This may be true of other provinces also. Both Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore—acknowledged masters in the republic of Bengali letters, have ascribed the flowering of Bengali literary genius, partly to Bengal's contact with English literature in particular and Western learning in general. We do not know whether this is true of the modern literatures of other provinces.

Of course, the progress of Bengali literature has not been due to State help. On the contrary, for some years past the idiosyncrasies and rules of the Bengal Government's text-book committees have resulted in debasing school literature.

As regards education, there was more literacy in Bengal (and probably in some other provinces, too) in the immediately pre-British period than now. And there were more primary schools per mille of population and more Sanskrit seminaries than now. But in the acquisition of knowledge in the modern sense and in higher learning in the modern sense, the country has made greater progress than before—though this progress is not worth speaking of in comparison with that of the civilized countries of the world outside India. The London County Council spends more money on elementary education alone than the British Government in India does on all sorts of education combined in the whole of British India!

Though the number of Sanskrit seminaries is smaller than before, modern scholars possess a wider knowledge of the treasures of Sanskrit and Pali literatures than in the age just preceding British rule, and Indian archaeology has made some progress. The State in India can claim a little credit for the small and very inadequate amount of money which it has spent for the conservation of ancient literatures and monuments and for researches connected therewith.

Religion forms part of culture. Whether there was more of true religion in India just before the rise of the British power in India than there is in modern times will be briefly indicated below.

While considering whether the British Government has ruined India culturally or not, we were reminded of a passage in a Bulletin, dated November 7th, 1938, received from the China Information Committee. It occurs therein in an article entitled "The Cultural Problem of China" and runs thus:

> "When two entirely different cultures meet and clash, two things may happen to the one which emerges second best from the contest. First, it may cease to grow and perhaps, even go out of existence, or it may re-orientate itself and carry on to a greater future. The latter process requires a great deal of cultural vitality and an abundance of willingness to unlearn and learn."

Indian culture, it seems to us, possesses this vitality and some Indians at any rate possess sufficient willingness to unlearn and learn. Hence our culture has not received its death-blow at the hands of any adversary and may

reorientate itself and carry on to a greater future.

Macaulay and some other Anglicists wanted to produce in India an educated class European in their ways of thinking and likes and dislikes but brown in complexion. For a time their desire found some fruition. But revulsion and reaction followed.

On the whole our opinion is that the British Government has not ruined our culture in India. Neither has it given it any encouragement worth speaking of.

No doubt, our culture has been influenced and modified by foreign cultures. But is there any other civilized country of which this is not true?

Has the British Government Ruined India Spiritually?

Whether the Government of the East India Company or that of the British Crown ever intended or tried to destroy India's spirituality need not be considered, though Western Christian missionaries with direct and indirect State aid and encouragement have tried to replace indigenous spirituality by Western Christianity. Only the present degree and extent of India's spirituality need be compared with what existed before the rise of the British power in India. Such comparison is not easy, for two reasons: it is not easy to give an exact definition of Indian spirituality, and we do not possess any adequate knowledge of the spiritual condition of India just before British rule. Nevertheless, let us place some considerations before the reader.

At present the places of pilgrimage of Hindus, Muslims and others are probably visited by more pilgrims than before. This may or may not be due wholly or mainly to the facilities for travel given by railways, steamers, etc. This fact may or may not be a test of spirituality. Indians at present perhaps spend more money on the establishment and maintenance of orphanages, asylums for widows, hospitals and other charitable institutions, and for the relief of sufferers from famine, flood, earthquakes and storms than before. This may be an indication of greater spirituality. At present, there are every year more Saraswati Pujas and some other Pujas by Hindus and more ceremonial cow sacrifices by Muslims than before. What is their 'spiritual' significance?

Some philanthropic activities of the Brāhmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj have been undertaken and Ramakrishna Sevashrams (Homes of Service for Suffering Humanity) have come into existence during British rule. They did not exist before. They are the results of spirituality.

Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Hindu Mahasabha, Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha, Bharat Sevashram Sangha, Hindu Mission and other Hindu organizations may give some indications of the growth or decline of Hindu spirituality if their non-political objects and activities be considered. These arose during British rule.

Similarly among Muslims, the Ahmadiya movement, the Wahabi movement, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, etc., arose during British rule and may be considered in order to decide whether Muslims are now more spiritually-minded than before.

As regards Buddhism, the Mahabodhi Society comes to mind. It belongs to modern times.

All the other Indian religious communities cannot be mentioned here exhaustively.

Thugs had a 'religion' of their own. Thuggee was suppressed during British rule. The cremation of living widows with their dead husbands, the throwing of babies sacrificially into the sea at Ganga Sagar, female infanticide among Rajputs, self-torture during the Chadak festival, and other similar practices were put a stop to during British rule. This fact may be taken into account for determining whether our spirituality has increased or decreased.

As Mahatma Gandhi was born and is living during British rule and as the truth, non-violence, soul-force and purity which he teaches by precept and example are spiritual qualities, it may be held that the British Government has not ruined Indian spirituality so far as these are concerned.

We have not yet mentioned any religious and social reform movements. Some will consider them as marks of the decline or death of spirituality, others as those of its opposite. But it may be permissible to mention them.

The Brāhmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Theosophical Society, the Radhasoami Sect, Sri Aurobindo's movement, the Ahmadiya sect, many Christian Ashramas, and the like did not exist before the rise of the British power in India; they exist now. So far as we are aware, reforming bodies and movements similar to these did not exist in India at the time immediately preceding the establishment of British rule in India.

The British period of Indian history can claim as its own, Rammohun Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Keshub Chunder Sen, Sivanath Sastri, Veereshalingam Pantulu, Sadhu Hiranand, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Shraddhananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo and others. Do their

lives indicate the utter ruin of India's spirituality ?

On the whole, we are of the opinion that the British Government has not succeeded in ruining Indian spirituality, if it ever tried to do so.

Of course, India's spirituality has been influenced and modified by contact with foreign spirituality. But so has the spirituality of every other country which has intercourse with other countries.

A New Enemy of Spirituality in India

If the British Government ever intended to destroy spirituality or religiosity in India, it seems to have given up that intention. It favours what is called religious education in educational institutions and wants, in the pursuit of its imperial policy, that Hindus, Muslims and other religious communities should be very orthodox, at least in the observance of the externals of their religions. In Bengal it allows the ministry to promote Muhammadan obscurantism as also to foster Muslim religiosity in schools and colleges unmindful of the inconvenience it may thereby cause to non-Muslims.

The enemy of spirituality which India has now to meet is not the British Government. A new enemy has to be met. And that is Marxism, Leninism, or communism—whichever name may be preferred. We recognize the good that there is in communism. We gladly recognize that it elevates the economic condition of the masses and endeavours to spread education among them;—we refer, of course, to what communists have done outside India. But as it does not attach any importance to spirituality, we have called it an enemy of spirituality. If all those who believe or profess to believe in spirituality do not make far greater efforts to raise the economic and intellectual condition of the masses than they now do, the masses everywhere will be captured by the communists.

"He Who Wrestles With Us Strengthens Us"

In considering the results of the contact and conflict of different cultures and religions one is naturally reminded of Emerson's saying, 'He who wrestles with us strengthens us.' Provided the combat does not lead to the utter collapse of either party, it cannot but strengthen both. This is as true of man's spirit as of his body.

Culture Contacts and Conflicts in Medieval India

During the centuries in the middle ages which saw in India the contact and conflict of Hindu culture and that of Arabia and Persia, the indigenous culture of India, including its spirituality, was not ruined or destroyed. The appearance of the great saints, reformers and poets of those times, Rāmānanda, Ravidās, Kabir, Dādu, Rāmdās, Eknāth, Tulsidās, Nānak, Chaitanya, Surdās, Tukārām, and others (we do not name them in chronological or any other order), rather betokens a great cultural and spiritual upheaval than the cultural and spiritual ruin of medieval India.

It seems that when any exotic culture comes from abroad, it acts as a sort of challenge to the indigenous culture. The protagonists of the latter feel called upon to put into circulation the ancient cultural and spiritual hoards of the country, adding to them fresh coins minted from ore extracted from the inexhaustible indigenous mines of the spirit.

What happens when a stranger comes to our homes ? If he does not come with any hostile intent, we make as brave a show as we can of our apparel, furniture, viands and plates. If he comes with hostile intent, we put on our most invulnerable armour and use our best weapons.

Something similar may happen when exotic and indigenous cultures are juxtaposed. Both may be energized.

Proselytizing missions and 'parliaments of religion' both bring out the most effective features of all living religious denominations.

When some variety of garden flower or fruit which was once fine deteriorates in quality, it may regain its lost excellence and vitality by being grafted on some wild stock of inferior fineness but greater vitality.

In ancient times in India it happened more than once that non-Indian invaders became Hinduized and the culture of the country flourished under them more vigorously than ever.

Examples of Cultural and Spiritual Conflict Leading to Renascence

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there was undoubtedly a cultural and spiritual conflict in our country. The renowned Christian missionaries of those days stigmatized Hinduism as mere idolatrous polytheism. Rammohun Roy took up the gauntlet and using the Vedānta and the Upanishads proved that Hinduism in its pristine purity was not at all idolatrous and polytheistic. He did not rest content with merely defending Hinduism. He turned the tables upon the trinitarian Christian missionaries. Nor did he rely upon the ancient spiritual weapons alone. The sword of his own rationalism was also brought into requisition.

In all the great movements which made for a renovated Indian nation Rammohun Roy took

a leading part, having in fact set on foot all the most potent of them.

The cultural and spiritual movement set on foot by Rammohun Roy has been continued and strengthened by Devendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, Sivanath Sastri and others, fighting, when the occasion demanded it, with the sword of the spirit. Vivekananda, though not in the direct line of 'apostolic succession,' has himself said that he took up the task, as he understood it, mapped out by Rammohun Roy.

The role of Rabindranath had a distinction all its own. Though deft in the use of the sword of the intellect and of the spirit, which he plied effectively when needed, the citadels of many an orthodox, many a doubting, many a scoffing and many a hostile heart capitulated to the strains of his *Vinā*, the captives remaining unconscious all the while that they had been captured. His devotional, patriotic and other songs are in universal use wherever the Bengali language is spoken and understood.

The Panjab having been for centuries the gateway through which successive hordes of Muslim invaders entered India and being also in the immediate vicinity of Muslim countries had been all but de-Indianized and Arabo-Persianized when Swami Dayananda Saraswati rose and chanted his Vedic spell. It was stupor, not death, which had overtaken the Land of the Five Rivers. So there was an immediate reaction and response, and Indian culture has been flourishing there again. In the initial stages Dayananda received help and co-operation from some of those leaders of the Brāhmo Samaj with whom he had spiritual affinity.

RABINDRANATH AS MAN AND POET

By CHUNILAL MUKERJI

I

President, Ladies and Gentlemen.

My connection with Rabindranath began this way. When my sister became a widow with her three little sons, I felt much concerned as to how the sons might be properly brought up. The first son Dhirendranath Chatterji was about 10 or 11, and I wondered if anything could be done for him. It suddenly struck me one day that Santiniketan might help me. I wrote to Rabindranath that I should be thankful if he would have me on the tutorial staff of his school, and give my nephew a free education. I was at the time on the editorial staff of *The Modern Review*, being its able Editor's personal assistant. As I was a stranger to Rabindranath, I mentioned the writings, mostly in the form of contributed articles, I had done for *The Modern Review*. Rabindranath kindly wrote back to say that he would be pleased, if I could see him at his Jorasanko house in Calcutta. The day appointed for the interview arrived, and I saw the Poet about the middle of December, 1909. He told me that to give free education to the son or nephew or brother of an *adhyapak* (teacher) was almost a rule or tradition of Santiniketan. The matter was finally settled; but I told him that I should not be in a position to leave Calcutta till January. January came, and I left for Santiniketan by an afternoon train, accompanied by my nephew Dhirendranath Chatterji. I keenly felt the wrench of parting with Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of *The Modern Review*, who had always treated me with great kindness.

The twilight skies darkened into night when I arrived at the Santiniketan Ashram. There was no moon, but the stars were wonderful. I saw some houses standing solitarily about me; for the boys had gone to their Music Class. Dhiren and I stood waiting, wondering how best we could help ourselves. It was, indeed, an impressive moment in my life—the peculiar charm of a sky thick with stars and the cadenced music set free from boyish throats. I couldn't catch the precise words of the song, but its music came flying on the wind. Later on, I learned it was:

आसनतले माटिर परे

धूलाय धूलाय धूसर हव

I wonder what poor Dhiren was all the while feeling like; for I am afraid the power of the stars and the nearer power of the music did not help him very much to bear the keen winds of a January night. But, thank God, our trial was

soon at an end. In 8 or 10 minutes I saw an Ashram boy on his way towards us. Walking straight up to me, he made his *namaskar* (good evening), and then led the way to a house where arrangements had temporarily been made for my nightly rest. This little boy was no other than Tapanmohan Chatterji, now a barrister of repute in this city. The Music Class was over in a few more minutes, and Rabindranath, presumably hearing from Tapan that I had arrived, came to see me. In two or three hours' time the whole Ashram became a hushed place of repose. The stars on high shed abroad joy and sweetness.

Next day, amid golden shafts of rising light, the full beauty of Santiniketan broke upon my view. I realised I had come to a place where Nature was not in fetters, and where I was compassed about by a society of juveniles, sometimes very noisy, sometimes copiously songful.

In a short time I became a *Santiniketanist* or *Ashramite*. I had never before lived with boys nor with schoolmasters of whom I now was one. The free atmosphere of the place cast its spell over me, and I began to be happy. Rabindranath appreciated my work, and the boys, I believe, took kindly to me. But it is not to tell you my own story that I am now standing before you. I shall tell you today at the kind invitation of the *Santiniketan Ashramik Sangha*, to which I have the honour to belong, what I think of Rabindranath, our *Gurudev*. His death came to us as a cruel personal bereavement, and we do not think we have yet overcome the grief. Personally, it will always be a matter of deep regret with me that I did not see him when he was dying. I thought he would recover, as he had done three or four years ago.

I joined Santiniketan in January, 1910, quarrelled with Rabindranath in March, 1914, and left the place, though he said to me, "Chuni, if you don't want to be on the school-staff, you may teach Rathi's wife (his own daughter-in-law); but don't go." But I was then a black-haired young man, and lacked the patience which white hairs have now somewhat given me. I did not also let my nephew Dhiren stay on at Santiniketan, though Rabindranath much desired that he should not be disturbed. However, during those four years I had plenty of opportunities to know the great character of Rabindranath. And it is a pity that I personally, on several occasions, put his goodness to the test. I was at the time, as I have already confessed, very tactless and impatient, and I clearly remember how on three different occasions I was rude to Tagore. But he was always forbearing. I remember I was once very rude to him for absolutely no good reason whatever, and the affront went home. Rabindranath blushed deeply, and walked silently away; but, strangely enough, never showed any signs of anger afterwards. The old boys of Santiniketan may well remember that people had free access to him in those days. In later years, owing to bodily infirmities and growing preoccupations, he appointed a Private Secretary; but the period I was with him was one when the idea of having a Secretary never crossed his mind. Normally, he lived alone in the Santiniketan House, and it was not seldom that visitors, who had come to Santiniketan on some personal business, took him unawares in his own house, and talked nonsense.

I remember a certain occasion when a Brahmo lady of the old type, who had come to Santiniketan to see her sons, audaciously intruded upon the Poet's privacy, and gave free vent to her garrulity for close upon one hour. And the pen, which always shed pearls of thought and pearls of expression, resigned its function; the mind, which always pondered deep things, meekly endured the random wisdom of an old woman.

Again. A few days before the 27th of September, 1910, my friend the late Dr. Benodebehari Roy, deputed by a Calcutta Committee to ask Rabindranath to preside at the forthcoming memorial meeting of Raja Rammohun Roy, quite unexpectedly made his appearance at Santiniketan. Rabindranath felt reluctant to accede to Benode's request. But Benode, so well-known for his unselfish character, was not to be got rid of easily. So the struggle continued for about three quarters of an hour, after which followed a truce. Benode saw the Poet again in the afternoon, and the battle was renewed. My friend used argument after argument to overcome Tagore's reluctance, but to no purpose. We all got displeased with Benode for being so senselessly importunate; but he was an East Bengal man and would not confess to a defeat. The poor Poet became again the object of attack, and everybody, myself not excluded, got annoyed with this almost churlishly obdurate agent of a Calcutta Committee. If Rabindranath, unable to stand so much boredom, had been uncivil to Benode, as people in such circumstances are wont to be, nobody, I think, would have found fault with him. But the patience of the man was inexhaustible. He no longer remonstrated, as he had done the previous day; but, with a superb and dignified composure, sat still under the reiterated charges of my undespairing friend. At last lifting up his noble countenance, he said, "Yes, I will preside." Such wonderful patience

I had never before seen. The meeting was held in the old City College Hall, and Rabindranath made a marvellous speech. A few days after our Poet's death, my friend, Mr. Nogendranath Aich of Santiniketan, wrote to me that the trouble he had, in all his life, given *Gurudev* would try even the patience of a mother but that *Gurudev* was never found wanting.

Yet another example, please. There was an *adhyapak* at Santiniketan who pretended to be a great admirer of Swami Vivekananda. He had some very peculiar ways which made him popular with the big boys of the school. Now, there hung a picture of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore in one of the houses of the Ashram. But one day it was seen that a photo of Vivekananda had been put right over the top of Maharshi's picture, the implication obviously being that Vivekananda was a greater person than Maharshi. Much indignation was felt by some members of the staff at this glaring insult to Maharshi, Rabindranath's father and founder of Santiniketan. The question really is not which of the two men, Maharshi and Vivekananda, is greater, though personally I am of opinion that superiority belongs to Maharshi in a very conspicuous manner. However, the point at issue is, that the *adhyapak's* conduct was highly improper; for to insult Maharshi in an institution founded by him was the height of stupidity. But when the incident was reported to Rabindranath, he calmly said, "Can Maharshi be really insulted this way?" Everybody was astonished to hear his answer.

The word *poet* is derived from the Greek verb *poieō*, *I make*. So the poet is one who makes; he is a maker. In Sanskrit also the phrase *kavi* implies a seer, a maker, and God is called *Kavi* (*Ishopanishad*, verse 8); for God is a Maker. We are authoritatively told that man is made in the image of God; and so every man is a maker to some extent. But the poet as maker surpasses all men in an outstanding fashion. Rabindranath, however, was not only a maker of noble literature, but a maker of men, too. The Santiniketan has produced a number of notable persons, and the credit is mainly due to Tagore. Let me give a few instances.

The late Mr. Jagadananda Roy, a native of my own city Krishnagar, Nadia, had met with many disappointments before he sought Rabindranath's shelter. Jagadananda's scientific writings have enriched our language in a notable manner. The late Mr. Ajit Kumar Chakravarti was a man of literary tastes. He wrote a life of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, which is a valued contribution to our biographical literature. Ajit was perhaps the best interpreter of Tagore's poetry in his day. The late Mr. Kali Mohan Ghosh had been in difficult circumstances owing to his youthful political zeal before he threw himself on the kind protection of the Poet. Rabindranath sent him to England, and the success of the Shriniketan is due chiefly to Kali Mohan's untiring activity. The late Mr. Hiralal Sen had been in gaol for some seditious writing, but, after his release, he joined the Santiniketan staff, and Tagore's influence very much modified his political views. The late Mr. Sarat Kumar Roy, a fine Bengali scholar and author of *Sivaji O Maharashtra Jati, Sikh Guru O Sikh Jati, Buddher Jivan O Bani, Bouddha Bharat*, etc., owed immensely to Rabindranath's counsel and encouragement. The late Mr. Satish Chandra Roy was a young man of exceptional literary capacity, but alas! so early cut off by a fell disease. The flowering of the musical gifts of the late Mr. Dinendranath Tagore, so dearly loved by everybody for his joyous temperament, was in no small measure due to the affectionate interest of his great uncle (that is to say, his father's uncle) Rabindranath Tagore. The late Mr. W. W. Pearson, so cheerful and so cordial, made Santiniketan his home, but alas! his career was cut short by a Railway accident while he was on his way back from England to India. The late Mr. C. F. Andrews, whom I always admired for his true Christian virtues and also for his fine English style, was extraordinarily influenced by Tagore. Andrews completely overcame racial pride, and acquired a wider outlook upon international affairs by reason of his close association with Rabindranath. Mahatma Gandhi's influence also, in this respect, must not be overlooked. I thank God I was able to see this good Englishman every week when he was dying in Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta.

Pandit (now a Mahamahopadhyaya) Vidhusekhar Shastri was only a *tol*-bred Benares Pandit when he first came to Rabindranath. Rabindranath found that he was a man of great Sanskrit learning, and so he gave him a free scope. By Rabindranath's advice and inspiration, Vidhusekhar betook himself to the study of Pali and English. He is now an eminent Pali scholar, and his writings in *The Modern Review* show that his knowledge of the English language is not of a mean order. Mr. Kshiti Mohan Sen is an authority on medieval Hindi literature, and the learned books he has written would never have seen the light but for Dr. Tagore's encouragement. Kshiti Mohan is also a Sanskrit scholar, being an M.A. in Sanskrit. Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukerji is a self-made man, and it is a matter of profound gratification that his scholar-

ship has been acknowledged by Calcutta University in more ways than one. Prabhat is a *zaberdost* student of history, and has written several useful books, a life of Rabindranath being one. The talented Indian artist Mr. Nandalal Bose will, I hope, always remember his *Gurudev* with gratitude. Mr. Bose joined the Santiniketan Ashram at a later date, and I do not know him well. I met him once a few years ago for two or three minutes only. But there is one more man whom I have not yet named, and he always rouses my deepest admiration. Endowed with a prodigious energy and possessing an unequalled knowledge of Indian philology, Mr. Hari Charan Bannerji has achieved a success which is destined to make him gratefully remembered as long as the Bengali tongue exists. Hari Charan is neither a *tol*-bred Pandit nor a 'Varsity man, but his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and Sanskrit literature is of the soundest nature. The voluminous Bengali dictionary he has produced after years of absolutely unaided labour, earning at the same time the esteem and affection of his pupils by his admirable method of teaching, fills one with astonishment. It is said (I cannot vouch for it) that, when our Pandit showed his manuscript to Mr. Hirendranath Dutt, he refused to believe that such stupendous work had been done single-handed. We Santiniketanists are fully aware how *Gurudev* gave him every help he needed. It was at Gurudev's earnest request that the late Maharajah Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, so well-known for his munificent habits, felt interested in Hari Charan's work. This great scholar is now seventy-eight, loved and respected by everybody.

I am the least of these talented people; but Rabindranath always took interest in my *Modern Review* articles and was rather sorry that I wrote so seldom. When at a much later date, December, 1922, friends had been alienated from me by what they called my religious apostasy, Dr. Tagore encouraged me very heartily for my translations of some books of the Bible into the Bengali language. Rabindranath was, indeed, a maker of men.

Bear with me, ladies and gentlemen, if I be a little more domestic as I have hitherto been. What astonished me very much was Tagore's absolute power of concentration. Once I wanted to borrow from him a *Hibbert Journal* which had just arrived from England. He said he would give it me in the evening. When I called again in the evening, he said, "Chuni, you may have it now. I have read the whole of it." I was surprised to hear it, for *The Hibbert Journal* is weighty literature and to finish it in the course of a day proves extraordinary mental activity. We *Santiniketanists* always found him cheerful and humorous, though there was a dignity and stateliness in all his movements. He was, of course, conscious that he was a poet, but, as to spiritual pretensions, he had absolutely none. We, his family, know how humble he felt when any one, whom he believed to be a man of superior spiritual experience, visited Santiniketan. This was very much the case when Mr. Prakash Chandra Roy of the Navavidhan Brahmo Somaj came to Santiniketan in 1913, I think, and stayed with us for a day or two. Prakash Chandra was really a wonderful man. Rabindranath was all meekness while Prakash Chandra was at Santiniketan. Hence it was but natural that he always resented being called *Gurudev*. Nobody, as a matter of fact, ever called him *Gurudev* in his presence; but still he could not bear the idea that he should be called *Gurudev* behind his back. Once he was betrayed into a vehement mood about it. Writing to Mr. Ajit Chakravarti he said,

आमि गुरु नहि, नहि, नहि

—I am not a *guru*, never, never, never. English people sometimes wondered, as a dear English friend of mine once told me, why Mr. Andrews called Rabindranath *Gurudev*. I explained to him the comprehensive meaning of the phrase, and he seemed satisfied. We, his family, know that, though great, he was not impeccable. And Rabindranath himself was profoundly conscious of his own limitations. A Hindu friend of mine, many years since, desired to be initiated by Rabindranath into the Brahmo religion. But the man, who had sometime ago preached the remarkable series of sermons known by the name of Santiniketan in his own school *mandir* (chapel), so dreaded the idea of acting as a *diksha-guru* (no way higher than the officiating priest at a Christian baptism) for a young man of twenty-four or twenty-five, that he wrote him a letter of utmost humility and begged to be excused. But my friend became very importunate, and Tagore gave in at last. Jnanendra Nath Ghose is my friend's name and he now lives at Tollygunge, Calcutta.

(To be concluded)

A lecture delivered in Calcutta on the 29th November, 1941, under the auspices of the *Santiniketan Ashramik Sangha*.

CENSUS OF 1941

Population Figures

By R. K. TRIVEDI, B.A., LL.B.,
Asst. Census Superintendent, Bhavnagar State

THE Indian Census is a *de facto* census. It aims at a synchronous enumeration of all persons wherever found at a particular time on a particular day, irrespective of their being residents or visitors. It is thus a count of the actual or the total population of an area and includes both its household as well as floating population, taking no separate account of the fluctuations caused by the currents of migration. The figures of the *de jure* or resident population can, however, be obtained from the estimates made at the time of preparing the House-Lists.

Enumeration in the past was divided into two stages, *viz.*, (1) the preliminary and (2) the final. The entries recorded during the preliminary enumeration which had been made a few weeks ahead of the final were checked at the latter count between the hours of 7 P.M., and mid-night, making necessary corrections for births, deaths, arrivals and departures in a house during the interval. This procedure was on the present occasion modified by abandoning the whole process of preliminary enumeration and fixing the sunrise of the 1st March 1941, as the central hour and the date of the Census. It was to be a continuous process extending over a period of three days, *viz.*, the 28th February, the 1st March and the 2nd March, 1941. The general schedule was given up and the slip system introduced in its stead, whereby the entries relating to every individual were recorded on a single slip of paper measuring 6¾"×4¼" bound in pads of 100 slips. With a view further to reduce the work of enumerator, use of symbols and abbreviations in filling the slips was also to be resorted to.

Figures of population and literacy for provinces, districts and States and cities as returned by the last Census have been recently published by the Census Commissioner for India. The population figures in most cases represent the final results of enumeration. But statistics relating to literacy are provisional and taken from the enumerator's books, as full tabulation has been deferred in British India and some of the States for the period of war. The figures that have been printed in round numbers and published for public information might briefly be reviewed below.

The total population of the vast Indian continent comprising both the British and Indian India, that is to say provinces, States and Agencies, at sunrise on the 1st. March 1941 numbered 388,800 thousand, of which 200,928 thousand were males and 187,872 thousand females, giving a net increase of 50,681 thousand or 15 per cent. The average annual increase during the past decennium is thus found to be 50,68,100. While the population of the provinces has risen from 256,755 thousand to 295,827 thousand, that of the States and Agencies from 81,367 thousand to 92,937 thousand. Their respective percentages of incrase are noticed to be 15·2 and 14·3. In the total population of the country, British India claims 76 per cent, States and Agencies 24 per cent. Bengal seems to be the most populous of the provinces and appropriates 60,134 thousand or nearly one-fifth of the total population of British India. Next comes the United Provinces with 55,021 thousand followed by Madras with 49,342 thousand. From the point of numbers, Bombay is the smallest of all the major provinces and has a population of 20,858 thousand which is exceeded by Bihar and the Punjab whose respective population has been returned to be 36,340 and 28,419 thousand. Among the States, Hyderabad heads the list with a population of 16,184 thousand followed by the group of Rajputana States with 13,670 thousand. Among the larger States, those that have a population of over 10 lacs and are separately mentioned are Baroda, Cochin, Gwalior, Kashmir, Mysore and Travancore.

The following table will be helpful in understanding the continuous growth of the Indian population since 1881.

Census Year	Population 000 omitted	Increase Net	Increase Per cent.
1881	250,125		
1891	279,548	22,471	9·0
1901	283,827	4,278	1·5
1911	302,995	19,169	6·8

Census Year	Population 000 omitted	Increase Net	Per cent.
1921	305,674	2,679	·9
1931	338,119	32,445	10·6
1941	388,800	50,681	15·0

These statistics discolse a progressive nature of the Indian population. From 250,125 thousand in 1881, it has gone up to 388,800 thousand in 1941, giving a net increase of 138,675 thousand or 36 per cent during the last 60 years. The growth of numbers is indeed very rapid, and is disconcerting looking to the purely rural and agricultural condition of the country. The absence of a corresponding growth of industries, both urban and rural, that can help to relieve the increasing pressure of population on land cannot but result in driving the people below the margin of subsistence. A study of conditions in Western Europe created by Industrial Revolution reveals that growth of numbers in itself should give no cause for alarm, if it is accompanied by a corresponding increase in the produce of land, and development of industries. In these days of rapid transport and easy communications peoples of the world are brought closer and closer together, and barriers of distance are fast disappearing. A country with insufficient land can yet maintain a growing population far above the level of subsistence, if she has attained the height of industrial glory which can help her exchange finished products for grain and raw materials. With the latter type of countries, the problem is not one of overpopulation but that of finding out means to increase the man-power of the nation to keep pace with the growth of industries and the great rise in population of neighbouring and rival countries. To some extent it is also a problem of restoring a balance between agriculture and industry in days such as these when every country has realized the necessity of being self-sufficient and self-supporting. In India, the strain of a continuously growing population is not acutely felt, as people already living on the margin of subsistence, have been tamed by tradition, philosophy and culture to lead a life of simplicity which would rest content with bare necessities of life, and discard comforts and luxuries as a hindrance to spiritual welfare. This Indian outlook of life has helped its people a great deal to withstand all hardships which increase in population without corresponding development of agriculture and industries would entail. The rapid growth of population particularly during the last two decades should open our eyes to the fact that miseries that do not appear on the surface owing to the contented nature and simple habits of life cultivated by the people, none the less exist and are in urgent need of redress. The one and perhaps the only way to bring about an adjustment between production and population is to create conditions which would raise the average national income of the people. This can be only done by formulating an all-embracing 10-15 year plan for eradicating gross illiteracy, rural development involving intensive cultivation and revival of home industries, coupled with a comprehensive programme of industrialization on healthy lines. When we make this suggestion, we are not unmindful of the poverty of the Indian agriculturist —and the comparative paucity of capital in India. But it should not be forgotten, and it is the duty of every Indian patriot to remember that national regeneration cannot be worked in a day. One has to strive for it. And there lies the duty of all who have the welfare of the country at heart.

Another way to relieve pressure on land is to lower the proverbially high birth rate of the country. The strict exercise of self-control as a means to prevent the growth of numbers is no new idea to the Indian people. Their religion whose primary aim was to create a race fit in every respect, physically, mentally, and morally, enjoined upon them to practice *brahmacharya* or abstinence on a very considerable scale and thereby get mastery over the senses. But the frailty of human nature is too patent to be commented upon. And viewed from this aspect of human nature nothing can be expected from the people in this direction. Gross misery and abject poverty find their only scale in over-indulgence. The adoption of neo-Malthusian methods or artificial birth control has been freely advocated in some quarters to prevent the growth of numbers, as this would result in a greater number of deaths than births. The use of artificial means to restrict birth is a costly hobby which few can afford. At the most, it is for the classes who are totally unaffected by the rise in population, but not for the masses who can ill afford them. Resort to these means should for a long time to come, therefore, be ruled out of question. Any lasting benefit that the people are likely to derive should, therefore, come from a well-devised plan of rural and agricultural uplift and industrial revolution on right lines without the attendent evils of class warfare and discontent inherent in it. If no timely action is taken in this behalf, a clear warning should be uttered that the mother Earth has been

too heavily burdened by the sins of mankind to suffer it unmolested for long. Some sort of epidemic like the one that visited the Indian continent at the termination of the World War of 1914 may once again re-appear and prune off the excessive human weight under which the Indian soil is now groaning.

The number of cities in India as a whole has increased from 39 in 1931 to 55 in 1941. The census regards those towns as cities which have not less than 100,000 inhabitants. The total population of all the 55 cities taken together amounts to 164,995 thousand and gives a percentage of 4·4 in the general population. Separate statistics for the urban and rural population are yet not available. But the aforesaid percentage bring out very vividly the highly rural character of the Indian population. While at one extreme is a city like Calcutta with 2,108·9 thousand, at the other is a budding City like Bhavnagar with 102·9 thousand persons. Only 8 of these cities, *viz.*, Madras, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Lahore, Delhi, and Hyderabad have a population above 400,000. Calcutta whose population during the last ten years has risen from 1,140·9 thousand in 1931 to 2,108·9 in 1941 has very nearly doubled itself and shown a net increase of 968 thousand or 84·9 per cent. The percentages of increase in the population of the industrial cities of Cawnpore and Ahmedabad which have returned 487·3 and 590·2 thousand persons are still higher and found to be 99·9 and 90·4 respectively. Surat which suffered in 1931 owing to the Non-co-operation movements has been once again restored to its position as a city with 171·4 thousand persons and an increase of 73·4 per cent. During the past decade cities like Lahore, Ludhiana, Jamshedpur and the Kolar Gold Fields owe their large percentage increases which vary from 77·6 for Jamshedpur to 56·3 for Lahore to rapid development of their industries.

The statistics of literacy are as noticed at the outset not final. All the same, taken as they are directly from the enumerator's pad-book, are not likely to differ much from what they would finally be after tabulation. Any discrepancies that are likely to occur would therefore relate to counting, and these cannot be appreciable. They can, therefore, be used with confidence for the puropses of guaging the the extent and growth of literacy during the past decade.

The literates in the country are found to number 47,322·7 thousand, of which 34,942·0 thousand are males and 8,749·3 thousand are females. The total literates have gone up from 23,484·2 thousand in 1931 to 47,322·7 thousand in 1941, showing a net increase of 23,838 thousand or 101·5 per cent. These figures compare favourably with those returned ten years ago, as also with the percentage incrase in population which is only 15. The large numerical increase seems to be somewhat suspicious, and is likely to have been brought about by the inclusion among literates of those who can only read and are not literate in the strict sense of the term. But the nature of the extent of literacy apart from its numerical growth should be judged from proportionate figures. In the general population 122 persons, 174 males and 47 females per mille are literate. Deducting the child population below the age of 5 years at the rate of 15 per cent the revised population of total literates is increased to 144, and those for males and females to 205 and 54 per mille. These statistics speak for themselves and need no comment. While the masses are merged in gross illiteracy, among women literacy is a privilege of the few. No wonder, that the country is backward socially, politically and economically.





A view of Hawaii with its great naval base



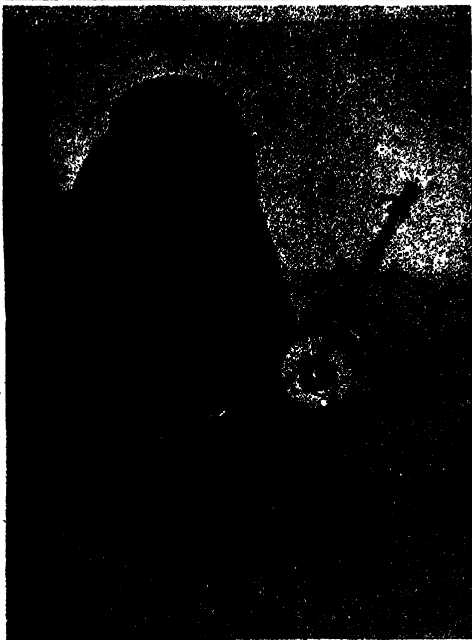
The naval and radio station at Pago, Pago, Samoa

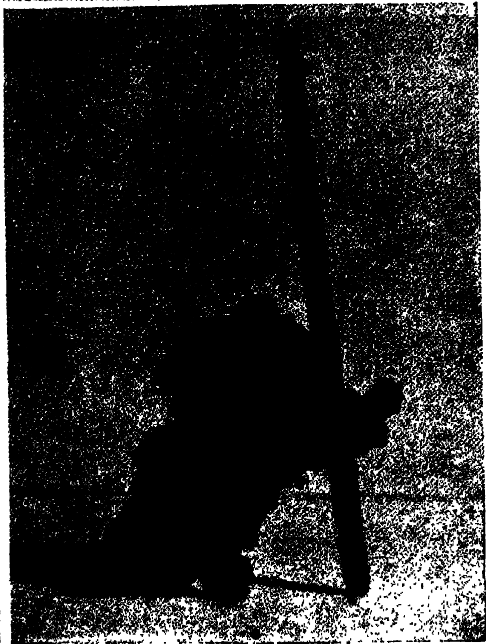
[*See page 186.*]

THE UNUSUAL IN EVERYDAY OBJECTS AS SEEN BY ABANINDRANATH TAGORE









(*Top*: *left*) The Artist at work. (*Top*: *right*) An image of Rabindranath Tagore in his long robe (*Below*: *left*) The monkey with the fiddle (No. 11). (*Below*: *right*) The lion (No. 1)

THE UNUSUAL IN EVERYDAY OBJECTS AS SEEN BY ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

By MOHANLAL GANGULI

Looking at a beautiful piece of art and admiring it one feels that the artist who produced it is a creator. But observing an artist for a long time, rather closely seeing him work at his model, one feels less inclined to call him a creator. He will appear to be rather in the nature of a discoverer. He will seem to be finding out for himself things—beautiful things, harmonious in body and movements and colours—already in existence in a world created for all of us.

This particular quality of the Artist became very obvious to me when I recently observed Abanindranath Tagore—the well-known painter and pioneer of Indian Art—giving expression to



The hunter (No. 7)

his artistic talent in a new and novel direction. He is not painting now. He is out in search for bits of things. Things which are odd and little, like dried roots, twigs, rusty nails, hooks and bolts, nut-shells, broken pieces of furniture, discarded toys and many other trifles that are rejected by normal human beings.

But Abanindranath Tagore requires them. He has developed a keen searching eye which look for things—things of beauty hidden in



The archer (No. 10)

rubbish, objects with perfect blending of light and shade thrown away as waste material and in fact everything that does not enter into the accepted category of "artistic" objects. He would, for example, go into his garden or back-yard and pick up a root or a piece of broken flower-pot, and of the artistic value of these he may become conscious at once. Or he may not. But if he gets some suggestion of their inner beauty, he would carry these things to his favourite place in the verandah overlooking the garden. Here he would start looking into them with rapt interest.

He would examine them closely. He would turn them round and round, sometimes bringing

them near the sunlight, sometimes away from it. He might do it for hours until he had really



The hut under the tree (No. 6)

discovered something. He would sometimes wait a whole day or night for the proper light and then renew his researches.

The very early morning light, even before sunrise, is what he considers best for his purpose and so he has named it "The Revealer." This light, he says, is most suitable for discovering the beauteous shapes and adding more to the



The horse and the rider (No. 2)

already discovered beauty of things. That is why he would very often go to bed keeping some of his favourite dolls on a table next to him, to get up early, sit up near a half-opened window and watch them patiently.

Thus the artist would go on, adding to his collection of odd bits, gazing *into* them, revolving them about all imaginable axes, discovering forms and shapes, movements and colours, until



The thatched hut (No. 4).

he had seen through them thoroughly. One is struck by the sincerity and vigour with which he regards these rejected fractions of objects as superior artistic models.

His next task is to make what he has discovered more obvious. For, surely, if he did not, the discoveries would be lost, perhaps even to himself. There are various ways in which he does it. But his one guiding principle is to effect minimum disturbance on the original structure if at all. He may remove a tiny protruding bit from his root. But this he would do to give the root a meaning, and the removal would be justified only if it referred to a foreign element which was appended, as it were, by accident to his otherwise perfect model. Those little breakings, cuttings, scrapings or sawings that he does on his objects, however, are definitely not sculptural activities. He does not *construct*, he does not *carve*. He only uncovers what is hidden just below the surface. If there is too much to remove, the attempt is given up.

Like his removals, his additions on his objects are also trivial. He might put in a nail here or a peg there. He would never, however, build up or carve out a limb for the purpose of adding it on to the body of his object.

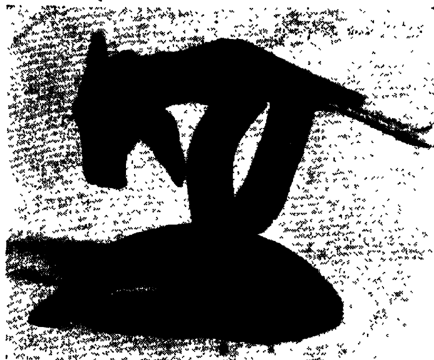
He would then place the chosen object on his table and, may be, hold it in an inclined way. This method of inclination is his great discovery. Without the angle the object may just be a piece of dry wood; with the angle it



Cinderella (No. 8)

becomes a live model full of movements. When the object is fixed on a pedestal and the foregoing inclination maintained he has done his act of composition as an artist.

In other cases, composition may be more complex. He would make a monkey out of bamboo roots. When the monkey is placed squatting on the pedestal the picture is perhaps not complete. Something more is required to give it sufficient life. The monkey needs a fiddle.



The globe-trotter (No. 3)

So would begin a vigorous searching by the artist. He would look first into his stores of collected elements. If he fails to find what he wants he would go out in search into his garden. He might look for days before he finds one. In the meantime he would not *make* a fiddle. He must *find* one, otherwise his model will remain ever incomplete.

When the models are completed they represent something very unique and something not at once obvious. One has to place the model in front and start looking at it as the artist himself does. Suddenly the suggestion comes—one cannot escape it—and the model appears to be meaningful and uncommonly bold—much bolder than any true model. Then one realises what an enormous amount of careful and patient selection is behind these products, what a powerful mind conceived and composed them. Then one begins to understand that the artist sees what we do not, that the artist *can* give a meaning and value to the uncared for things.

Description of the Models

Number one is the figure of a lion. Its standing posture is maintained by means of a stick. Without this particular angle, the lion would be quite lifeless. The wide-opened mouth



The ghost boat (No. 5)

of the animal should be noticed—which is not very obvious from the photo. The height of the model is 4″; it is made out of the root of a bamboo tree.

Number two is a horse with a rider. The interesting part is the absence of the hind legs which does not make the horse look incomplete. The height of the model is 2″. It is made of a broken bit of iron railing tied together with two square nails and an eye hook.

Number three is called "The Globe Trotter" by the artist. It is supposed to be an ass very tired after a long journey. Three pieces of twigs and a bit of feather are used for making the entire body of the ass with a tail, which is fixed on a cocoanut shell representing the globe. The height is 3″.

Number four is a thatched hut. The top is a cocoanut shell and the bottom a piece of wood from a furniture. Its height is 2½″.

Number five is supposed to be a "Ghost Boat" carrying ghosts as her crew. The boat is made of the broken lid of a box. The figures are bits of branches of trees.

Number six is another hut with rather an old thatched roof. The entire hut including the roof is a piece of bark from a palm tree. The rectangular piece at the bottom is a lath. The height of the model is 7½″.

Number seven is supposed to be a hunter stooping under the load of the killed birds. The hunter is a portion from a branch of a tree. His load of birds is made of Himalayan acorns. The height is 8½″.

Number eight is Cinderella going on a sledge to the Ball. The bark of the wood from which it is made gives a beautiful effect of Cinderella's kirtle and at the same time a suggestion of the skin of the deer pulling her. The height of the model is 3″.

Number nine is supposed to be an image of Rabindranath Tagore in his long robe. He is standing against a garden wall. The height of the figure is 6″.

Number ten is an archer. He is supposed to be "Dronacharya" from the Mahabharata. His head with the beard is the bark of a palm tree; his lower garments are the outer skin of a species of nuts, his bow a piece of electric wire. The height of the model is 8½″.

Number eleven is a monkey and a fiddle. The monkey is made of a single root of bamboo and the fiddle are some insulators. The height of the model is 5″.

HONGKONG—THE QUEEN OF THE PACIFIC*

A City of Million Stars

By CHAMAN LAL,

Author, "Hindu America"

"SEE Naples, before you die," may have been true in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century but not in the twentieth. As one who has travelled round the world several times I can easily refute the claim of Naples. New York, Sanfrancisco and Hongkong are the three most beautiful ports in the world but nothing can beat the splendour of Hongkong at night. The famous harbour with its diversified scenery and varied shipping; the extended curve of the quays; the regular line of buildings along the waterfront; the residences, many of them large and handsome, rising tier upon tier to a height of over 500 feet on the face of the peak; and villas visible on the very summits of the hills. What a grand sight! At night when the myriad lights twinkle, the city, spreading along the shore for about five miles, presents a fascinating scene. There is hardly a passenger on boat who does not like to leave his bed and have a glimpse of the city of a million lights. Beautiful flower shops, the smell of opium smoke, the ever-ascending roads, the tallest and most robust policemen from the Central Punjab, and a galaxy of dresses differentiating people of all nations—are the distinguishing features of this beautiful island.

*The article with the exception of the last paragraph was written before the evacuation of Hongkong.

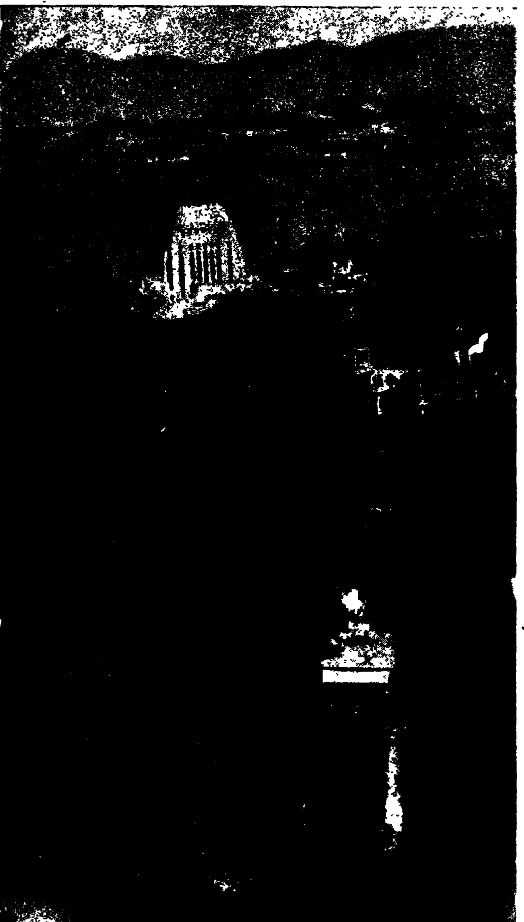
Hongkong is truly an international town managed by the Indian Police, of which every Indian has a right to be proud. The history of Hongkong is full of absorbing interest and romance.

ROMANCE OF HONGKONG

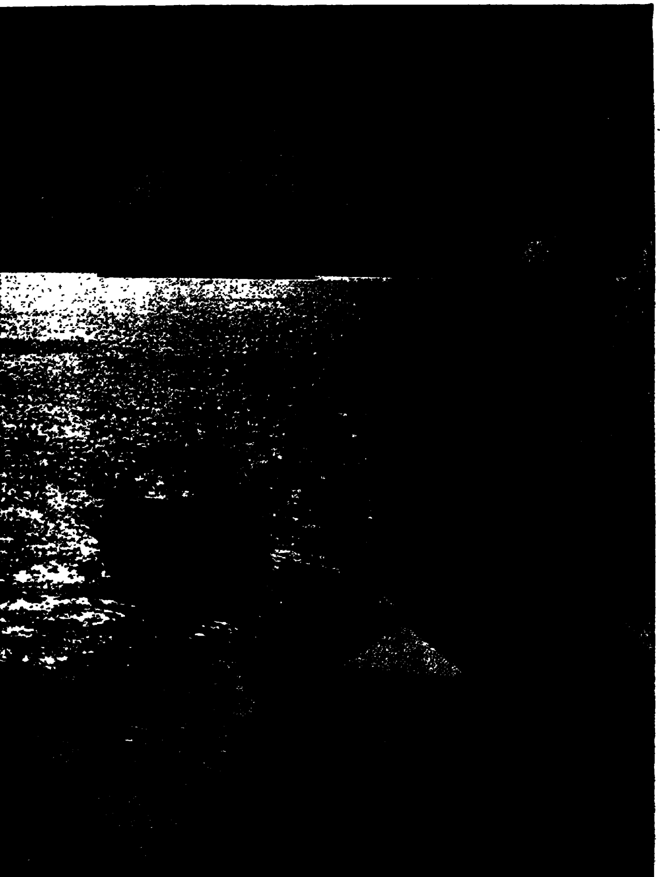
From an unhealthy island it has grown to be the largest port of the East. The island of Hongkong, the harbour of which became a refuge for British shipping during the opium dispute of 1839, especially after pressure had been applied to the Governor of Macao to expel all Britons from the Portuguese Colony, was ceded to Great Britain in January 1841. The cession was confirmed in the Anglo-Chinese Treaty signed at Nanking on August 29, 1843, Article III of which reads as follows:

> "It being obviously necessary and desirable that British Subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., the Island of Hongkong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors, and to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc, shall see fit to direct."

The Charter of the Colony bears the date April 5, 1843. Robert Fortune, who first visited



The Peak, Hongkong



A view of the Hongkong harbour



A street corner, Hongkong

it in July of that year, describes the "new town of Victoria" as

"situated on the North side of the island along the shores of this splended Bay, with the mountain chain rising precipitously and majestically behind it. When viewed from the sea in 1843, it had a curious and irregular appearance; but as the plan of the town becomes more developed, and better houses are built, it will really be a very pretty little place. When I left China, at the end of 1845, it had made most rapid progress; new houses and even new streets had risen, as if by magic. Some noble government buildings were nearly completed, to be used as barracks for the soldiers; excellent and substantial houses were erected, or in the course of erection, for the merchants; and a large Chinese town had been built to the westward, for the principal part of the Chinese population. A beautiful road, called the Queen's Road, has been formed along the shore for several miles; and this was lined with excellent houses, and many very good shops. Many of the Chinese shops are little inferior to those in Canton, and certainly equal to what used to be in Macao. In fact, a very large proportion of the Macao shopkeepers have removed their establishments to Hongkong; the former place being now useless for the purpose of trade since the English left it."

When ceded to Britain, the Island, which has an area of 32 square miles, and a circumference of 27 miles, was sparsely populated, and had a barren and desolate appearance. Although, as may be seen above, its early progress was amazingly rapid, it was regarded as so unhealthy, and so unsuited as an entrepot for British trade, that at one time its abandonment was seriously considered. Fortune, in the work from which the above description was quoted, expressed the fear that it would be a failure as "a place of trade," of which Canton would continue to be the centre, but added :

"With all its faults its importance may yet be acknowledged in the event of another war. Our countrymen cannot have so entirely forgotten the kind of protection which used to be afforded them by the Portuguese at Macao, as to make them wish to be put in the same circumstances again; and it is of no little importance to know that their lives and property are safe under the British Flag."

Unfortunately, however, the possession of the island was not sufficient to guarantee the safety of the British community and the town of Victoria. Wingrove Cooke, the *Times'* Correspondent, who came out to Hongkong with the British Expeditionary Forces in May, 1857, refers to Chinese batteries on the waterfront exactly opposite his residence. The Lyeemun, or Eastern entrance to the harbour is only about half a mile across, while the Kowloon Promontory opposite Victoria is only about a mile distant, and the Western entrance is dominated by Stonecutter's Island. The Anglo-Chinese Treaty signed at Peking on October 24, 1860, provided for the cession of the latter and "that portion of the township of Kowloon....of which a lease was granted in perpetuity to Harry Smith Parkes, Esquire...by Lau Ts'ung-kwang, Governor-General of the Two Kwang." This extension of territory, however, did little towards solving the problem of defence, and it was not until 1898, when the seizure of Kiaochow by Germany and of Port Arthur by Russia, threatened the break-up of China, that the British Government secured the lease of sufficient territory on the mainland to secure Hongkong from a sudden land-attack. The Convention signed at Peking on June 9, 1898, read as follows :

Whereas it has for many years past been recognised that an extension of Hongkong territory is necessary for the proper protection and defence of the Colony :

Territory Leased.—It has now been agreed between the Governments of Great Britain and China that the limits of British territory shall be enlarged under lease to the extent indicated generally on the annexed map.

The exact boundaries shall be hereafter fixed when proper surveys have been made by officials appointed



A hotel on the Peak, Hongkong

by the two Governments. The term of the Lease shall be ninety-nine years.

Jurisdiction in Leased Territory.—It is at the same time agreed that within the City of Kowloon the Chinese officials now stationed there shall continue to exercise jurisdiction, except so far as may be inconsistent with the military requirements for the defence of Hongkong. Within the remainder of the newly-leased territory Great Britain shall have sole jurisdiction. Chinese officials and people shall be allowed, as heretofore, to use the road from Kowloon to Hsinan.

Rights of Chinese Ships.—It is further agreed that the existing landing-place near Kowloon City shall be reserved for the convenience of Chinese men-of-war, merchant and passenger vessels, which may come and go and lie there at their pleasure; and for the convenience of movement of the officials and people within the city.

Railway.—When, hereafter, China constructs a railway to the boundary of the Kowloon Territory, under British control, arrangements shall be discussed.

Expropriation of Natives.—It is further understood that there will be no expropriation or expulsion of the inhabitants of the district included within the extension, and that if land is required for public offices, fortifications, or the like official purposes, it shall be bought at a fair price.

Extradition.—If cases of extradition of criminals occur they shall be dealt with in accordance with the existing Treaties between Great Britain and China and the Hongkong Regulations.

Chinese Warships.—The area leased by Great Britain, as shown on the annexed map, included the waters of Mirs Bay and Deep Bay, but it is agreed that Chinese vessels of war, whether neutral or otherwise, shall retain the right to use these waters.

This Convention shall come into force on the first day of July, 1898, being the 13th day of the 5th moon of the 24th year of Kwang Hsu. It shall be ratified by the Sovereigns of the two countries, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible.

In witness whereof, etc.

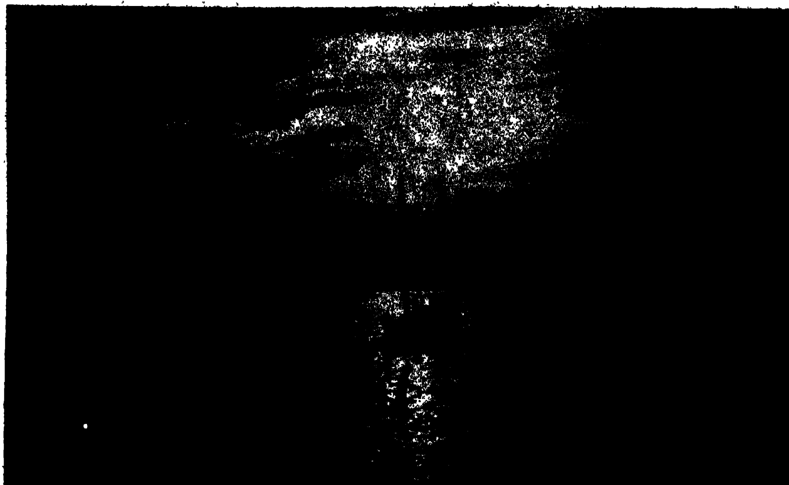
The result of this and the previous extension was to increase the area of the Colony to about 390 square miles. A census taken in March 1931 showed the population to be 849,751 distributed as follows:

Island of Hongkong	.. 410,921
Kowloon Peninsula	.. 264,675
New Territories	.. 98,905
Floating Population	.. 75,250

The British Flag was hoisted at Taipo on April 16, 1899, when the "New Territory" was formally taken over. On the previous day the inhabitants rose *en masse* to resist the cession of their homes, and the revolt was only suppressed after three days, and with some loss of life, by the British police and troops. On May 16, as a punishment for resistance, Chinese officials were expelled from the City of Kowloon, the administration of which was taken over by the British. It may be mentioned that the inclusion of the waters up to high water mark—of Deep and Mirs Bays, gave Britain exclusive naval rights considerably beyond the land frontiers of the Extension, and later proved a serious impediment to the work of Chinese Customs Cruisers which were not permitted to patrol these Bays.

The fears of Robert Fortune and others that Hongkong had no future as a "place of trade" proved to be groundless. The Colony has developed into one of the world's great shipping ports. As Mr. (afterwards Earl) Balfour emphasized at the Washington Conference:

"The safeguarding of the position of Hongkong was not merely a British interest but one in which the whole world was concerned. He was informed that Hongkong was easily first among the ports of the world, exceeding in this respect Hamburg before the War, Antwerp, and New York. The lease of the Kowloon Extension had been obtained for no other reason except to give security



Sunrise on the Hongkong sea

to the Port of Hongkong, and it would be a great misfortune if anything should occur which was calculated to shake the confidence of the nations using this great open port in its security."

73,257 vessels, of which 33,782 were engaged in foreign trade, of a total tonnage of 33,830,760, entered and cleared Hongkong in 1937, and the combined value of the Colony's imports and exports exceeded $1,084,400,000 (£66,900,000). The trade figures do not include the immense volume of cargo landed for trans-shipment to Canton.

The development of Hongkong would have been even greater than it has been, had it not encountered considerable opposition and obstruction from the Cantonese. It suffered, moreover from the frequent political disturbances, some of them of an avowedly anti-British character, that occurred after the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty.

The Canton-Kowloon Railway was opened to traffic in October, 1911, the capital for its construction having been furnished through the British and Chinese Corporation. Though it should have been a remunerative enterprise, local disturbances and interruptions of traffic, and the objection of the Cantonese authorities to linking it up to the Southern section of the Canton-Hankow Railway, made it for many years a losing proposition. Interest and amortization obligations on the section of the line within Chinese territory have been in default since June, 1935.

Since the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities last year, the position of the Colony has become one of increasing importance.

The Colony and New Territories have experienced considerable difficulty in the matter of ensuring regular water supplies. In dry periods rationing of water has frequently had to be resorted to until the recent completion of new dams and reservoirs, especially on the mainland, and the supplementing of the Island's supply by pipe lines under the harbour. The thirteen main and subsidiary reservoirs now have a combined storage capacity of 6,058,920,000 gallons, but an adequate supply is still dependent upon the local rainfall, and a shortage was recently reported.

Curiously enough it is the water shortage that compelled the British Garrison to surrender Hongkong and for the time being, with the loss of the centre of British trade and naval strategy, Hongkong is no longer the Queen of the Pacific.

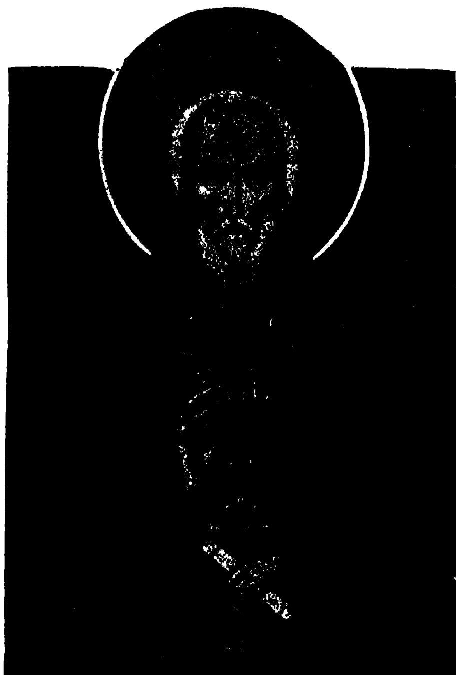




Fresco of Christ. Moscow. (XII Century)



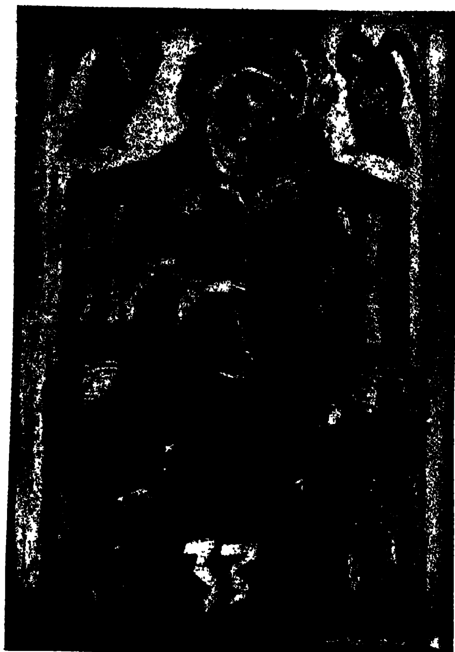
Angel. (Fresco of XII Century)



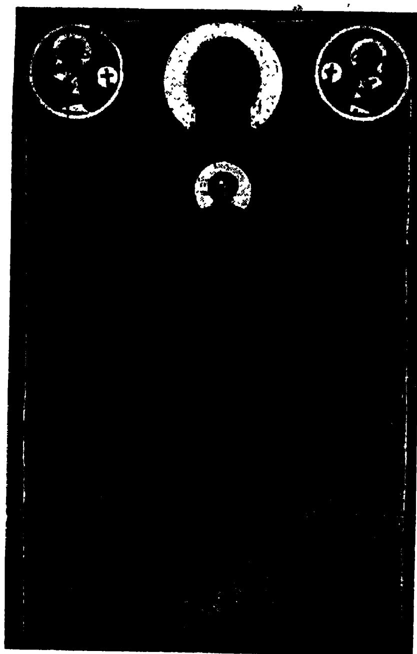
St. Sergius. (XVII Century)



St. John. (XVII Century)



St. Mary. (XIV Century)



St. Mary. Taroslavl. (XII Century)



St. Boris and St. Gleb. (XIII Century)



Archangel Michael. (XIII Century)



Ornament. (XIV Century)

THE PALACE OF ICONOGRAPHY

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

It is in Moscow, at the Czar Alexis' Palace of Iconography, and a skilful and beautiful work is being created.

The painting in the Palace is not being created at randon , in any haphazard way, but according to statutes, according to strict commands, known to the great Monarch, the Czar himself, and to the sovereign Partriarchs. In the Palace are worked out the plans of cities, leaves of manuscripts; and there also the needs of the treasury are being executed; blockheads, chimneys, stoves are being decorated, accounts are being kept; but the chief work, the true iconographical work, is being conducted according to the various ancient orders. All forms of icon-custom were determined long ago, since the times of the Czar Ivan Vasilevitch, since the Itoglav Council and even further back also from the days of the statutes of Athon.

The Icon, is created according to established rule. The designer sets the first and chief foundation, and outlines the drawing on a linden or an oak board. On this, the image-painter paints the image, and his apprentices execute everything else inclusive of sacred vestments and other attires. The master of flower-work finishes the icon; around the saints he paints the sky, the mountains, caves, trees; into the fissures he lays the golden stars on the sky or rays. The gold painters outline the edges and the surafce of the icon with golden paint. The younger masters, *levkas*—workers and grinders—prepare the *levkas*, in other words, the plaster and glue for the covering of the icon canvas. They wet the glue, grind the colours and do all this most secretly for these secret instructions of the elder people are sacredly guarded in a family and the elder will only reveal to a son his secret of making *levkas* or preparing the gold. Sometimes he will give him written instructions about it, but the paper will be written in some cunning code. The apprentice-helpers prepare the wooden boards for the icons, glue them over, iron them with lice-rose leaf; there is plenty of all sorts of work in the Palace of Iconography for the younger master-grinder, enough also for the secretary and for the clerk who is in charge of the o lice in the Palace.

The work in the Palace moves along briskly. And the work moves briskly because the great Czar of all the Russias, Alexis Mikhailovitch, has granted the icon-masters a charter. He himself used to come to the Palace and often favoured the diligent masters with his czarist brew and rum, with beautiful garments and with all other favours. But not only because of the Czar's kindness is the artistic work progressing with such diligence, but because this work is



St. Mary of Don. (XIV Century)

ting his brows; another mournfully and drawlingly sings his canticles, befitting the meaning of the image; still another babbles at work, flinging across to his comrade a word of kindness or a challenge. But the painting does not suffer from such talk, because the hand knows its work; if however, it is necessary to make a subtle line or diligently draw a design, then not only does the din cease, but the head even helps the elbow and shoulder to carry on the line, and the tongue itself assiduously works on the lips in the same direction.

And the icon-painters carry on not only religious conversations, but wordly ones as well; and they have their fun too, but the jests are good ones, without profanity, without blasphemy against the name of the Lord or of honest art.

Various masters are gathered in the Palace; those who receive wages and those who receive board and those from the town who are of all three grades: in the first grade they are divided according to their art—icon-painters of the first grade who receive a *grivna* each, the masters of the second grade receive two *altyns* and five *denga*, the third grade icon-painters receive two *altyns* and two *denga*. Besides money, the icon-painters receive wine from the nobility and brew and filtered mead, and viands and pies from the food and bread house.

Some of the famous image-painters: Simon Ushakoff, Bogdan Saltanoff and others did not go to the Palace but went to the administration department of the Palace of Arms. There they were to witness the art of a young icon-painter, just arrived form Vologda. And these image-painters will say whether he has sufficient experience to paint an icon-image solidly and excellently. But if he is still inexperienced, then the clerk will announce to the unsuccessful master, that by the command of the great Monarch, he is dismissed from Moscow; henceforth he cannot be sent to the icon-works, but he is to live in Vologda as heretofore.

sacred and pleasing to God; it has received honour from the Lord, Christ, Himself, " also he has deigned to inscribe His Image upon a veil for the Czar Avgar without drawing "; this work is revered also by the saintly apostles; and hence the people perform this task of painting always in love and not because of command or coercion.

In the morning, at the rise of the fair sun, from Chinatown on Icon Street, where many of the icon-painters live, the masters walk in friendly groups to the work, crossing themselves when passing by the gilt domes of the Kremlin's temples, and begin their labour. They put on their aprons stained with colour and glue, they tie their foreheads with a leather or hemp gear, so that oily locks of hair should not creep into their eyes; and they prepare the colours on nails or on a plank. One works silently, knit-

II

While they work, they converse about the new circular edict. A bald-headed old image-painter with a hump and a tuberous nose, weightily raising his finger, looks around at the masters in a pompous way and repeats that part of the edict which he apparently likes very much.

"And be it pronounced that in our Czarist orthodox-Christian Empire, the image-painters of holy icons are diligent and honest; as true ecclesiastic vessels of the Church's magnificence, the artists should be respected; and all others should accept the precedence of the artists and the brush which excels with its multicoloured work that of the reed or pen of a writer. Not every man will be favoured by the great Monarch with such a kind word!"

"And so it has been in all times. Already the Stoglav gives the command to respect the artist more than plain people..."

"And what does 'more' mean? Before an ordinary man one takes off one's hat; then does one have to take off two hats before an icon-painter?..."

"And who is a plain man? I will say, that a boyar himself is a plain man, next to a painter, because God did not reveal to him the craft of art..."

"If a thing be not the work of thy brain, do not talk of it with pride: everyone knows what reverence is due to icon-painters and honest masters. They are revered also by spiritual fathers and by the chiefs of armies and by boyars and by all people."

An old man meddles in. He proudly asserts that the patriarch, of Antioch, Makary himself, begged the Monarch to send him icons.... "—such is the quality of Russian icon-painting be it said!"

But the old man does not remember that in no other place could the patriarch otherwise be accommodated with icons. However, this can not be said in reproach to the art-craft of the Moscovite image-painters.

The masters talk and wonder how is it that the emigrant from the land of the Shah, the image-painter Bogdan Saltanoff, is placed on equal rank with the lists of Moscovite nobles; such a thing—that an icon-painter be made nobleman—has never as yet occurred. Concerning Saltanoff, opinions are divided; some think that it was granted to him for his fine art, others because he accepted the Russian-Orthodox faith. After speaking of the Shah's exile Saltanoff, they begin to talk of other foreigners; they remember how irreverently some of the foreigners acted in regard to the blessing of the patriarch and how the patriarch became angry and ordered them to be differently garbed from the Russian people. Some are for the foreigners and some are against.

"Why is it that often the great Monarch gives greater privileges to the masters beyond the



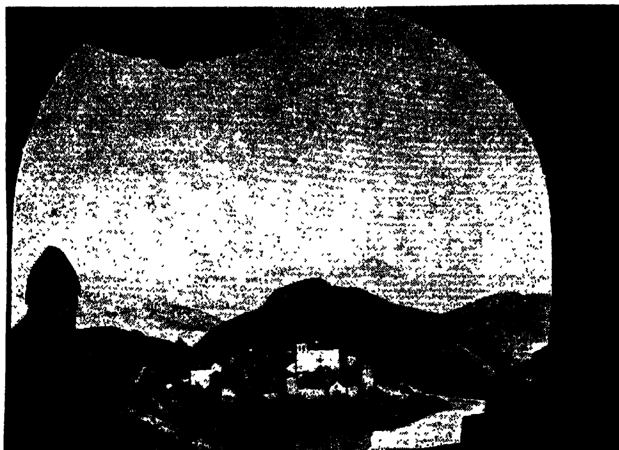
St. George. (XV Century)

sea than to our own? For, as regards the artcraft, our own is just as bold..."

"And, look here, the Loputzky master was praised and overpraised, and he taught in such a manner that his own pupils wrote a petition stating that the master did not teach them art-craft. And this was not an invention, but the truth. Afterwards all the pupils were taken away from him and given to Danida Vuchtors."

The foreign masters are especially attacked by a tall icon-painter with a leather band around his head, on his straight flaxen hair. According to his words it is not necessary to favour foreigners, when there is not enough money to pay wages to our native artists. He cites Ivashka Solovei, an icon-painter of the Palace of Arms, reduced by sorrow and old age, who now tramps with his wife from house to house, day and night, naked and barefooted, and about whom he wrote a petition to the Monarch, begging permission for him to enter a monastery.

They argue at length and recall how the



Terra Slavonica
Royal Palace. Belgrade

morocco leather—thus elegantly are attired the image-painters. Their beards are combed and their hair greased, so that it is impossible to identify them from the boyars.

The son of a peasant from Vologda, Sergushko Rojkoff, who painted an icon of his imagination, is on trial; on a wooden board is the image of the All-Merciful Saviour, the Holy Mother and John the Precursor. And, according to the evidence of the Moscow image-painters, Simon Ushakoff and others, Sergushko appears to be a good master. The icon-painters surround the new comrade and ask who has vouched for him, because a new member must be vouched for by experienced icon-painters. They must vouch for him, in case Sergushko absents himself from the work of the Czar's icon-painting, or lest he stay away or begin to drink, in which case the vouchers have to bear the fine inflicted by order of the Czar. They are finding out from where Sergushko comes, what is the present condition of art in Vologda, how the masters live in Vologda. And they listen to Sergushko's tales.

Sergushko relates that Matvei Buryeff, the icon-painter, has stolen away from the Swamensky Monastery in Vologda and lives in Totma; that Agei Avtomakoff and Dmitri Klokoff have become old; that Sergei Anisimoff is now obscure. And that some other icon-painters do neither the Czar's work nor murals, nor any other painting, because they are old and cannot see with the accuracy needed in the execution of any craft work, and they wander amongst the people, begging alms in Christ's name because they are old, maimed, poor and in debt. The icon-painters listen to the sad tales from Vologda, look at Sergushko's old caftan; out of place is such a caftan in the bright Palace, and a patched dress seems absurd next to their golden woven attire. They become confused and downcast and again they ask Sergushko with what art the icons are painted in the villages and woods of Vologda. Are not the icons painted carelessly, merely to barter them among the ignorant peasants? Do they preserve the old versions? ..."The Czar issued a severe edict about this when the news reached him of the unskilled painters from Kholui!"

With the courtier speaks Danilo Vouchters, the foreign master from Caezar's land, who

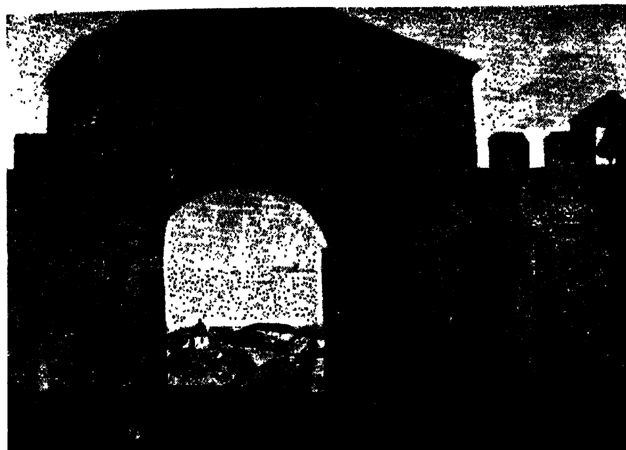
Monarch and the patriarch investigate even the smallest need of the icon-painters, if it reaches them.

"Even thus," wrote the patriarch, "Artem beat up the peasant Panka defending himself from thieves; even if he would have stabbed them defending himself from them, still his guilt is little."

"What is to be said? It is a sin for the Monarch to take more care of foreigners than of our own people. And yet some of our own people watch so zealously the Czar's interest: for instance Ushakoff, who spoke so frankly, telling the boyars that the granovitaya Palace of the Kremlin should be decorated anew, with a solid design much better than before; especially since the frost was coming and the fresco design would not be strong, and would not last for ever. All thought that they would redecorate in the Autumn, but because Simon spoke so bluntly, they postponed it."

III

The doors of the Palace hang on heavy wrought-iron hinges; the long plates of the hinges lie along the entire width of the door, and are hollowed out with a pattern. The hinges begin to squeak—the door opens and admits into the Palace the old image-painters and with them the boyar and the clerk. These eminent people have come from a trial; especially for this occasion have the image-painters dressed themselves in the rich garb bestowed upon them: single-breasted garments with silver buttons, caftans of damask with interwoven gold bands, cloaks, divided cloth trousers and boots of



We Open the Gates by N. Roerich
In Sri Chitralayan. Trivandrum

has just entered the Palace. He approaches the boyar with low bows, cunningly bending his thinly clad legs. He speaks with the aid of a translator, and the substance of his speech is that, only because of the resplendent inexpressible mercy of the Czar, and because of the very generous and excellent salary, did he decide upon the difficult journey to Moscovia. Vouchters makes an agreement with the boyar as to how much salary he will receive. They decide that Vouchters will receive twenty roubles in money, twenty *techtvort* (about eight bushels) of rye, ten *tcchtvort* of wheat, one *tchetvort* of buckwheat barley, a quart of peas, ten quarts of malt, ten *polots* of meat, ten buckets of wine. Vouchters grumbles, and asks that five sturgeon and five salmon be added, and that an agreement shall be written, that Vouchters shall teach the Russian masters to paint in the wisest craft.

The boyar leaves Vouchters, and now discussess with the clerk and the favorite masters as to where it is best to obtain icon-painters for the time when the Ouspensky Cathedral is to be decorated; because for this work the number of Moscow masters from the Palace and city will not be sufficient.

In dignified way the boyar orders the clerk.

"Prepare, Artamon, an edict for the people of Pscov, that they should search for icon-painters who do decorative and other work; men from the suburbs, men who belong to boyars and princes and merchants and other people, in order that the mural decoration of the church shall not suffer."

To find and procure such masters, one must proceed cautiously and with the observance of great impartiality; otherwise there will be complaints, that some of the icon-painters are being faced with losses and ruination or that others of them are not unfairly employed for mural decorative work. Good masters have work everywhere; everyone values a good master; only very reluctantly are they permitted to leave for insatiable Moscow.

In order to keep an icon-painter, the voyevots and even the Church fathers, abbots, and archbishops go as far as to cheat; they are ready to send false information to the Czar's Palace, notwithstanding the danger that they may be discovered acting in clandestine self-interest; that soldiers, with strict punitive orders, may come as a consequence. But the holy fathers and the servants of the Czar will nevertheless pretend that the good masters are unknown to them, or are absent, and they will conceal them in monastery cells, so great is the need for real icon-painters.

IV

"Have pity, resplendent boyar, do not let us be utterly ruined." A ragged peasant is fighting his way to the boyar and, reaching him, bows to the floor.

"I appeal to thee, boyar, for my little son, a pupil of the icon-school. Have pity on my son! The master will ruin him because of personal interest, and there is now a threat over him, because we could not even run away from him. The fine is awfully big. Here is the copy of the agreement."

The clerk accepts the agreement, silently looks it over and through his teeth murmurs: "'after reaching said age, not to run away, neither to steal!'" Then *sotto voce* he reads to the boyar: "'...And in case his son Larionoff, not awaiting the prescribed time, will run away from me by stealth, then I shall take from Larion twenty roubles as agreed.'"

"Yet, the fine is not a small one; fifteen roubles is a pretty big fine, but twenty is still more unjust."

"And what is the matter?" asks the clerk, displeased that the trial is before everyone—before the boyar—so that he, the clerk, must deal with the petition according to the law, and thus have no profit.

"I ask for justice from the icon-painting master Terenti Agafonoff," the peasant begins

quickly, "because he took my little boy into the school and it is already the third year, and he has not taught him the craft of painting, but only how to gild wood and canvas. Besides,



St. Nicholas. (XIV Century)

the teaching of this master is no good; he does not teach the student to profit, but only wishes to profit himself; the body measurements given by him are not correct; neither has the master taught him to draw, nor skilfully to design. And whatever the boy paints well, according to his understanding, then the master disapproves of it, or compares it with the work of another pupil, his nephew. And there is neither benefit nor honour for my little boy. Have mercy upon me, boyar, and grant me permission to take home my little boy, Larivonka, without the fine."

The peasant bows down, and from behind him comes forward a thin man in a dark caftan who puts his hand on his breast, clears his throat and hesitatingly begins:

"And it is said in the teaching of the Stoglav Council, Chapter 43: 'If the Lord shall not grant one such skill, and he shall begin to paint badly or begin to live not in accordance with the correct covenants and yet the master will point him out as better and more worthy and shall exhibit the paintings of such a one and not that of the others, then the holy man, as a punishment for such teaching will place this master under indictment, so that the rest shall fear and not dare to act similarly.' It has thus been said in Stoglav, and therefore the master Agafonoff is guilty in that he favours his nephew and therefore he has a wrong conception of his guardianship of the Czar's work. God did not reveal the craft to his nephew and if Agafonoff, through his absurd cunning, will place his nephew in the Palace, then it will be a detriment to the Czar's work."

"And what kind of a man art thou?" the clerk interrupts him.

"He is my brother-in-law Filipko; he pities my little boy. He is a good little boy, but he has hard luck with the master, forgive me Creator! But that Agafonoff is twisting his soul, for the sake of his nephew—that is the truth, because his nephew lives idly and immorally, and my little boy suffers because of him."

"Thy petition is important and complicated." The boyar wrinkles his brows not because he is sorry for the Czar's work, but because he will not be able to leave the Palace for home so soon.

"It is not right to try this case before the people. Go to the clerk's house; call Terenti there; where does he work?"

"Here," said the boyar.

"Terenti does not paint in the Palace now, but in the catacombs of the Red Wings."

"Send for him; let him not delay, let him stop his work and hurry to the clerk's office." The boyar goes away, and with him go the clerk and petitioners.

The icon-painters become quiet; they know something has happened to their comrade, but they also know that, this hard luck is deserved, although Terenti is not threatened by it alone, but some of the other masters as well are destined for a similar storm, because of their friendship and favour towards their relatives.

"Yes," decides Simon Ushakoff, and everyone knows that Simon does not speak casually. "That is a case of unjust self-interest. And real love for the work is not in evidence. Terenti sells his skill, the one accorded him by God, but he only thinks of himself, and it will serve him right if they indict him and let him sit without work. Do not have envy; direct your pupil honestly, do not resort to subterfuge in your soul; do not conceal one who is talented. It is no wonder that the youngsters did not love Terenti!"

The icon-painters are silent; many bend their heads; they look at their work, without raising their eyes. They think: "It is easy for Ushakoff to speak; not everybody is like him." And within their souls they already hate

Ushaköff because he is so renowned for his art, because everyone listens to him, because he pronounces the truth. But, thank God, not all of them think thus, and more than half of them sincerely nod their heads to Simon for his frank words. With such masters as Simon, art is being uplifted. Not for some time will the hum of conversation again be heard, nor will anyone smile. In midday they dine, then have supper and then the end of their work is near.

In the corner, an old icon-painter, with his beard falling upon his breast in great locks, with a dry hooked nose, his eyes deep in their sockets, teaches a youngster, emphasising the accent on the letter "O."

"—And they gave him sacred water and sacred relics, so that mixing the sacred water and sacred relics with colours, he should paint an holy and hallowed icon. And he painted this holy icon, and only on Saturdays and Sundays did he partake of food, and with great zeal and vigilance in great silence did he create it . . ."

"I wonder what Olenka is doing?"—is the mundane thought passing in the mind of the young one. And the image-painter guesses his thoughts and with still greater austerity pierces him through with his steely eyes and repeats with imposing solemnity :

"God help the present masters! Many of them paint saints the same as themselves; with big stomachs, with fat faces and hands and feet, like blocks of wood. And they themselves do not live purely, they do not remember that it befits an icon-painter to be modest, benignant, pious and not a babbler and a fun-maker; not to be quarrelsome or envious, nor to be a robber or a murderer, but above all, it befits them to guard the purity of the soul and body with greatest care. And if you can remain like that to the end, then marry in lawful wedding, and come to the church fathers and confess to them, and live according to their command, fasting and praying, in temperance and with humility away from all sorts of mischief; and with the greatest care, paint the Image of the Lord. Let people be shaken by bodily passions but spiritually and zealously working for the glory of honest art, strive with the brush and the good word. Not to everyone does God grant the ability to paint His Image and likeness, and to whomsoever He does not so grant—let him abstain from such work. Nor should he boast in God's name, of his craft. And if anyone begins to say that he lives and supports himself by this or that—do not listen to such talk. Not every human being can be an icon-painter; there is plenty of skill in handicraft bestowed by the Lord, which can support and keep alive a human being outside of icon-painting"—so teaches the master.

The sunset cannot penetrate the tiny windows of mica. The Palace becomes darker. The icon-painters disperse. The tiny halos and designs on the icons no longer glow. The dark outlines of the images tremble and the big, white eyes of the Saints glimmer sharply. Twilight creeps out from the corners, folds in a grey cover the supply stock of icon boards and canvases, and softens the shadows of the benches. Diligently and rhythmically resound out the precepts concerning this fine art.

A beautiful serene and intricate work is created in the Palace of Iconography.



MESSAGE OF BHAGALPUR

By Major P. BARDHAN

The Christmas week episode at Bhagalpur is now over, prolonged as it was by what looks like senseless *zid* on the part of the powers that be in Bihar upto the 5th of the current month, when the Hindu Mahasabha leaders were set free from their incarceration. The whole episode is one of the latest in a series of incompetent and most unstatesmanlike handlings of the situation in the Indian political field, which have of late become increasingly frequent, demonstrating the bankruptcy of the British bureaucracy in the qualities, never so necessary as now, of imagination, sympathetic understanding as well as tact, let alone the wider principles of justice and fair play. The episode has been sordid and glorious at the same time —sordid, for an idea-proof foreign bureaucracy which has achieved a success in turning into bitterness the mind of an organization and a community which realised the great danger to Britain and to India from the Axis Powers and extended its hand of fellowship and co-operation; glorious, from the point of view of the Hindu Mahasabha, which attempted to bring back an erring administration into good sense by protesting against its unwarranted attack on all democratic principles by raising the bogey of communal disturbance, even when it did not actually exist.

What has been the net result of the Bhagalpur episode? Pursuing the policy of *divide et impera*, the bureaucrats have wantonly belied by their practice the unctous profession of democratic principles, proclaimed from White Hall and from the Atlantic by the shapers of the destinies of Britain and her dependencies. This has blackened the face of the British and has given another blow to their already tottering reputation for fair play. Among non-Hindu communities the Indian Christians have condemned in no uncertain terms the infelicitous move of the Bihar Satrap and his henchmen; and the Mahommedan communalists of the Muslim League have also disapproved either openly or by silence this sinister move. The Hindu Mahasabha has by this action been enabled to acquire the halo of suffering for a righteous cause. The forcible detention of its members and the beating and other physical and mental sufferings administered to them by the over-zealous minions of the law have not been in vain. Indians, whether Hindus or non-Hindus have created a brilliant record in their fight for political freedom: but the Hindus organised as Hindus, to safeguard their legitimate rights, have so far not had an opportunity of showing their mettle by courting imprisonment and *lathi* charges rather than submitting to an unjust curtailment of their rights, even from a Government—"as by law established." The Government of India and, taking their cue from it, many of the Provincial Governments are coquetting with Mr. Jinnah and his Pakistan stunts, but they are blind to the fact that they are losing the estimation of all right-thinking persons, whether Hindus, Moslems, Christians or others, who have respect for democratic principles. Mr. Jinnah, who has quite aptly been described by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq as "one of the greatest gifts to the British in India" (God knows from where), was tilting under the indulgent acquiescence, if not overt encouragement, of the British bureaucrats against the absolute and inviolable unity of India at Nagpur while his satellites were hurling invectives against Mr. Savarkar, silenced in jail for his attempt to assert the elementary right of free association and free speech. He too could not muster enough courage to approve the doings of his patrons at Bhagalpur.

I am reminded of two episodes in British history. James the Second before his downfall punished a man, who stood up against his tyranny, with the remark that as the latter was determined to be a martyr he was going to help him to be one by giving him condign punishment for what that King thought was his misdeed. Quite in contrast was the attitude of James' successor William the Third, who a far-seeing statesman that he was, observed in a similar case coming up before him that since the person concerned was determined to become a martyr the King was just equally determined to disappoint him.

I wish that our die-hard bureaucrats read a little of their own country's history and profited by it and learned that the will to resist evils is much more powerful than the exhibition of physical force, nay supremely powerful.

16th January, 1942

INDIANIZATION OF SUPERIOR RAILWAY SERVICES

BY AMBA PRASAD, M.A.

WHEN the Railways were first introduced in India, it was Lord Dalhousie's policy to encourage the employment of European energy with English capital. The highly paid superior posts were, therefore, given to Europeans whereas the children of the soil were employed on barely living wages. But this European establishment proved to be very costly, with the result that railways during the first decade of their career showed heavy losses. In 1870 Juland Danvers, Director of Railways in India, reporting the high cost of European energy said, "While in England the maximum pay of a driver is £150 a year, in India it has reached £480."[1] To effect economy he suggested that Indians should be trained to perform the duties now allotted to Europeans. Some Indian drivers and shunters were employed and the results were noted six years later by the same authority. He was rather surprised at the efficient work of these Indians. He writes, "The native drivers and shunters appear to give more satisfaction than guards"[2] who were all Europeans at that time. There was at the same time a saving of £150,000 in wages alone in the year 1880-81, which shows the appalling divergence in the salaries of Indians and Europeans.

Following upon the recommendations of this report by the Director of Railways in India, the Indian Government declared in 1879 that "All posts in the Revenue Establishment of State Railways are open to natives of India." But the promise was not carried out in practice during the following years and therefore the Indian public grew restive over the demand for Indianization. Gokhale was the earliest to make attacks in his speeches on the exclusive policy maintained by the Indian railways. In 1910 out of 820 officers on state managed railways drawing Rs. 200 to Rs. 3000 per mensem, only 47 were Indians, confined mainly to the accounts departments. Worse still were the conditions on the company managed lines where out of over 1000 appointments ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 3500, only 30 were held by Indians and bulk of them drew salaries between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500.[3] Indian public opinion strongly resented this inequity in the system. Even where Indians were recognized as equal in ability to Europeans, they were not recruited and wherever they were recruited, there was discrimination as regards status, emoluments and conditions of service even for the same work.[3] Unfortunately, the reply of Sir T. R. Wynne, president of the Railway Board, to Gokhale's criticisms was disappointing for he could never be convinced that Indians possessed capacity quite equal to Europeans—needing only to be trained. He explained the policy of the Railway Board in these words:

"The safety of the travelling public and the vast interests of commerce do not justify the railways of India of readily agreeing, for political reasons, to a large reduction in numbers of a class of officers which has proved its fitness for the very technical public work entrusted to it, in favour of a class which, except in a few individual instances, has yet to prove its capacity in the same field."[4]

But the leaders of Indian public opinion could not be silenced and criticism poured forth with greater intensity. At last the Government yielded and appointed the Islington Public Service Commission in 1915. The Commission notes:[5]

"Statistics supplied to us as to appointments on Rs. 200/- a month and over show that out of a total of 447 posts in the department on the 1st April, 1915, 402 were held by Europeans or Anglo-Indians and 45 by Indians. These include officers of the engineering branch also."

The Commission suggested that 50 per cent of the appointment should go to Indians and emphasised the need of training facilities for Indians at home and abroad.

It is very interesting to study in the Report arguments of Europeans for demanding a greater share in the services and the reply on the Indian side, for most of these arguments and counter-arguments hold true to this day.

"On the European side," says the Report, "the objection is not so much to the larger employment of Indians as to the form in which the demand for the employment is often put forward. It is also claimed that the number of Europeans admitted to the public

1. Juland Danver's Report 1869-70.
2. Juland Danver's Report 1876-77.

3. Legislative Council Proceedings of 9th March, 1910 and 8th March, 1911.
4. Legislative Council Proceedings 1910-11, pp. 377-78.
5. Islington Public Service Commission 1915, Vol. 1. Annexture xix, para 7, page 339.

services is small compared with the area and population of the country; and that the maintenance of British rule has its corollary in the employment of European element in the more important services. Attention is also drawn by Europeans to the practical necessity of obtaining from Europe recruits for many of the scientific and technical services owing to the lack of education and facilities for producing candidates with the required qualifications in India."

The reply on the Indian side is that Indians are not wanting in the qualities required for administrators and that such deficiency as may have been proved against individuals is largely due to their being persistently relegated to subordinate positions in which these qualities have little chance of being developed. Indian officers even while enjoying equal status with a European colleague, suffer from differential treatment which produces a galling sense of inferiority, which reacts on the quality of the work. The Indians contend that their familiarity with the peculiarities of Indian character and customs and ways of thought, as well as with the vernacular language, constitute in the discharge of administrative duties an inherent advantage which hardly any European ever acquires in the same degree. A further point which they urge is that however valuable may be the services of a European official so long as he retires and goes back to Europe, the experience acquired by an Indian official endures in many ways to the benefit of his countrymen even after he has retired from service.

It seems that by the time of the appointment of this Commission, Indian suspicions were confirmed that the reliance of Government and of the railway companies on Europeans was born more out of military and political reasons than out of considerations of economy and efficiency. This is borne out by evidence. In his evidence before the Commission Sir T. Ryan, Secretary to the Railway Board, said that besides a business concern the railway was

"also a necessary factory in maintaining the security of the country, both from a military point of view and from the point of view of internal security, and that had to be taken into consideration in dealing with the recruitment of staff."[6]

Very shortly after the Islington Public Service Commission Report, Lord Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, promised greater association of Indians in the Public Services in his famous declaration of April, 1917. Recognising that Indianization must be a "long and steady process," the authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1919 recommended that recruitment of a largely increased proportion of Indians should be initiated without delay, if the services "are to be substantially Indian in personnel by the time that India is ripe for responsible Government."

Four years later the Acworth Committee fully sympathised with what they thought was a natural grievance of Indians. The report says that on the principal railways, out of 1749 posts classed as superior, 182 only were filled by Indians, 24 of whom only reached the grade of district officers. The 7000 of Europeans were

"like a thin film of oil on the top of a glass of water, resting upon but hardly mixing with the 700,000 below. None of the highest posts were occupied by Indians, very few even of the higher."[7]

The Government of India are advised to establish a "minimum percentage of Indians to be reached within a fixed period."[8] The provision of adequate facilities for technical and commercial training was also emphasised. These recommendations had their effect. The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in 1922-23 adopted a resolution which the Government of India accepted and agreed to increase the number of Indians "in so far as it was consistent with efficiency and economy."[9]

An important landmark in the history of railway services is the Lee Commission Report which recommended like this :

"We are strongly of opinion that the extension of existing facilities should be pressed forward as expeditiously as possible in order that recruitment in India may be advanced as soon as practicable upto 75 per cent. of the total number of vacancies in the Railway Department as a whole, the remaining 25 per cent. being recruited in England."[10]

The Railways Board and also several companies agreed to these recommendations and thus bound themselves to follow henceforward a policy of recruitment in the ratio of 75:25 of Indians and Europeans respectively though deflections were not infrequent which called forth strong protests by the Legislative Assembly in the form of cuts in the demands for grants for the Railways Board. Given below is a statement showing the number of gazetted Indians and European officers on the state managed and company managed railways for the year 1925, and the years from 1934 to 1939.[11] The percent-

6. Islington Public Service Commission 1915, Vol. II. Evidence para 80.

7. Acworth Committee Report, para 182.
8. Acworth Committee Report, para 184.
9. Railway Administration Report 1922-23, page 23.
10. Lee Commission on Indian Services, para 42(d).
11. Compiled from the Railway Administration Reports, 1934-35, 1935-36, 1936-37, 1937-38 and 1938-39.

age of Indians and Europeans in these services for the above years is also given.

Year	State managed			Company managed			Total percentage
	Indians	Europeans	Percentage Europeans / Indians	Indians	Europeans	Percentage Europeans / Indians	Percentage Europeans / Indians
1925	305	732	70·59	143	663	82·26	75·69
			29·41			17·74	24·31
1934	441	651	58·86	261	525	66·79	62·22
			41·14			33·21	37·78
1935	463	624	57·41	287	502	63·62	60·02
			42·59			36·38	39·98
1936	471	591	55·65	298	490	62·18	58·43
			44·35			37·82	41·57
1937	489	487	49·90	318	461	59·18	54·02
			50·10			40·82	45·91
1938	508	459	47·47	356	446	55·61	51·16
			52·53			44·39	48·84
1939	540	412	45·01	391	407	51·00	47·70
			54·99			49·00	52·30

This table shows the pace of Indianization. In 1925 there were 75·69 per cent. of Europeans and after 14 years their number has been reduced only to 47·70 per cent. which means that yearly reduction has been about 2 per cent. At this rate it would take another 12 years to reach the proportion of 25 per cent. of Europeans in the superior railway services and complete Indianization may take a quarter of a century to materialise. The general progress has indeed been very slow whereas the membership of the Railway Board has remained an unattainable ideal for the Indians. In reply to a question by Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar in the Legislative Assembly in 1938, the Hon'ble Sir Thomas Stewart replied that since the inception of the Railway Board only 4 Indians and 31 Europeans have held office.[12] It is, therefore, with all reason on their side that Indians have been agitating for a greater share in the administration of the railways.

Nor does the future of Indianization seem to be bright. The Government of India Act has rather put the clock back. By this Act the Governor-General is empowered to nominate at least three members of the Federal Railway Authority, acting in his own discretion. The Financial Commissioner will be created at his sweet will. The control of the Legislative Assembly has been altogether cut down. It is in fact the increasing interest taken by the Legislature in the railway administration, the so calld " Political Interference " which frightened the British Government so much as to create the Statutary Railway Authority. The removal of this check will enable the Government of India to give effect to the policy laid down in the Despatch of 1930.[13] Two reservations in that Despatch are worth noting: to guarantee the services of higher officers appointed by the Secretary of State in the Railways and to ensure future recruitment of Europeans on a large scale. These evidently tend to kill all policy of Indianization. The tone of the Railway Enquiry Committee, 1937 has also been anti-Indian. It has even gone beyond its terms of reference in suggesting importation of Europeans not only in the Advertisement and Engineering departments but also in the Commercial department[14] as if Indians are not fitted to carry on business. Unfortunately, to the coloured spectacles of the Committee it seemed that " the process of Indianization of the railway services as a whole is proceeding rapidly."[15] Moreover, replying to a supplementary question by Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar in the Legislative Assembly in 1939 regarding the continuation of the policy of 25 per cent. of European recruitment, the Hon'ble Sir Thomas Stewart refused to give any consideration to the question.[16]

But why should the Government deny to the children of the soil the right to manage a concern in which they have sunk 800 crores of rupees? The arguments of the Government are partial, vague and unconvincing and can be easily refuted. The fundamental reasons though not expressly stated by the Government are based on far-reaching political and imperial aims. India is to be kept in political bondage, as is evidenced by the creation of a Statutory Railway Authority. The recruitment of European does not simply mean provision of lucrative jobs to certain people but envisages a certain outlook which colours the administration of railways. What is the idea behind having

12. Legislative Assembly Debates 1938, Vol. VIII, Question No. 1942.

13. The Government of India Despatch 1930, Clause 192(b).

14. Report of the Railway Enquiry Committee 1937, para 115, p. 70.

15. Report of the Railway Enquiry Committee 1937, para 113, p. 67.

16. Legislative Assembly Debates 1939, Vol. III, page 2396.

an Auxilliary Force of Europeans and Anglo Indians except to tighten the hold of a foreign power. Not only politically but economically also India would be in the grip of England. The Englishmen at the helm of affairs would naturally, as they have been doing, follow a policy in regard to rates and freights, store purchase and other cognate things which would benefit English Industries and commerce at the cost of India. It follows, therefore, that a foreign agency controlling the administration cannot do away with the subconscious class bias and is bound to determine policy acording to its own outlook. This would be inconsistent with professed declarations of self-government for Indians.

The explanation which the Government puts forth for such a slow pace of Indianization is that efficient Indians are not available. This ground of efficiency is a myth so often put forward in order to justify the recruitment of Europeans. There is nothing inherently wrong with the Indians and wherever they have been placed, they have not proved in any way inefficient. Mr. B. Das supporting the cut motion of Mr. Rama Iyer as early as 1931 said :

> "I challenge any Agent who will say that he cannot find an Indian to become transportation officer or an engineer, whether mechanical or civil in the different railway administrations."[17]

Nor do the Indians lack business and administrative capacities as is evident from the work of such men in railway administration as Sir Raghavendra Rao and Sir Muhammad Zafar Ullah. Moreover as Mr. Jagannath Aggarwal once remarked in the Legislative Assembly, "Self Government implies the idea that you have a right to make mistakes."[18] The railways services should, therefore, be Indianized if not for any other reason at least for the simple reason that Europeans in the Railway Board have not proved themselves to be infallible.

Thus Indians are equally fitted with Europeans to take charge of the railway administration. Where expert and technical knowledge is required, it is the duty of the Government to provide schools and colleges for such training. That technical education in India is insufficient is realised by everyone. The existing schools at Chandausi and Jamalpur have killed their purpose by the narrow policy of selecting candidates.[19] Moreover this education is insufficient. The best course, I am inclined to think, would be to start a school where Indian students after passing I.Sc. or B.Sc. should be recruited and trained. Some who show outstanding abilities and merits should be sent up for higher and practical training to foreign countries such as the United States, England and Japan. Let the first batch then take the place of Europeans in such colleges and railway engineering departments and after a steady succession of well-trained Indians no need would be felt for advertising in England for such posts.

On the other hand a very powerful argument can be urged in favour of Indianization on the ground of economy. It is anomalous to find in the Gvernment of India Act, 1935 the institution of the Federal Railway Authority so that it may run on business principles unhampered by the political interference of the Indian Legislature and at the same time provision for a top-heavy service recruited from outside. When Indians can be found equally fitted with Europeans on lesser emoluments and pay, why not recruit them ? The process of Indianization which the Government has been following is so slow that no considerable saving can be made. A sum of three crores of rupees goes in salary to gazetted officers and if Indians were appointed on a lower salary, which is quite possible, the expenditure would come down to half. Indian standards and conditions do not warrant salaries so high as Rs. 2000. Even if Europeans come, let them come on our terms. It is very strange to find a Railway Member (Sir Mohd. Zafarullah) saying that a saving of 30 lakhs is nothing which he thought could be effected by the reduction applied to European staff.[20] In a business concern every penny must be saved in order to run it on efficient and economic lines for penny makes the pound. It is, therefore, highly desirable that saving should be effected by reducing expenditure and Indianization is one of the important ways of doing it.

These are reasons strong enough in favour of a policy of Indianization in the railway administration. The process as is at present followed is very slow and as such cannot satisfy the public opinion. The Government would do well to stop all recruitment for Europeans and fill any vacancy that arises by a suitable qualified Indian. In this way within a decade, we shall have a service entirely in the hands of the Indians and working efficiently and economically.

17. Legislative Assembly Debates 1931, Vol. II, page 1280.
18. Legislative Assembly Debates 1931, Vol. II, page 1267.
19. Legislative Assembly Debates 1931, Vol. II, page 1280.
20. Legislative Assembly Debates 1937, Vol. II, page 1075.

INDIAN CLASSICAL DANCING AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By LALITA KUMARAPPA

"Dancing," declares Mrs. Shyam Kumari Nehru, "is the expression of Life's urge. It stands at the source of all the arts that express themselves in the human person. It is the primitive and ultimate means of expression and communication; pure and spontaneous is its form. The primitive man had no musical instrument nor had he knowledge of organization of musical sounds. He had only his own body which he moved rhythmically to express his joy, his sorrow, his fear. With the evolution of the emotional life of man, the dance developed into a finer and deeper art of expression and communication."

Through rhythmic bodily movements the dance conveys the joy and power of being alive. It constantly unfolds new possibilities in the revelation of beauty and truth. The dance, simple and pure, is boundless. Tying it down within narrow geographical confines and stagnant ideas robs it of its freedom and charm.

In their quest after beauty perhaps our ancestors, more than any other folk, sought to capture the rhythm of the cosmic movement in smybolic poses. Thus the Indians of the past centuries appreciated the value of dancing as the artistic expression of the higher emotions. Gradually all this was changed and dancing degenerated, like several other things, until it came to be regarded as champagne or caviar at a rich feast. The worst period was ten or fifteen years ago when we looked upon it as no more than the voluptuous display of rhythmic movements by Nautch girls at some elaborate entertainment.

Today however, the Indian dance has been revived, and we are looking upon it with more tolerance. For this change in attitude our thanks are due to Rabindranath Tagore, and also to Uday Shankar, Nanda Lal Bose and Ram Gopal, who ably, helped by Pratima Devi and Gouri Devi, have done much towards banishing the ugly thoughts connected with our beautiful age-old dances. Perhaps it is the renaissance of these dances which accounts for the classical dances of today being mostly technique and very little art, for it is mainly reproductive and not creative. But I must modify this rather sweeping statement, for it is not entirely so, though generally it is the case. A few exponents of the Indian dance have successfully broken away from tradition which is wearing thin at the edges and are creating their own interpretations of ancient dances; they combine the charm of the old dances with the flexibility and lightness which are in keeping with the twentieth century. Among these modern artists are Menaka, Uday Shankar, and Enakshi Rama Rau.

I should like to explain what I mean by saying that Indian classical dancing of today is almost entirely technique with little or no art. Each dance is so highly developed that it has numerous little gestures and movements which require years to master, in order to produce a perfect symbolic dance. Hence, in the anxiety to learn the *mudras* correctly the value of the dance itself is lost, and it becomes a matter of routine. It is no fun trying to make the *gungurus* (bells) on the feet jingle in time to the music, besides keeping the various foot, arm, and face movements in their proper sequence; I can say this from bitter memories of my first few months of lessons. Training from childhood is essential for perfectly co-ordinated muscle movements; otherwise you are quite apt to find that your feet just won't move while you are struggling laboriously with your arms and hands to form the proper poses. Although this applies to all the dances, it is especially true of the Kathakali dance, as I shall explain a little later.

The School of Dancing at Shantiniketan was created in response to a real and vital urge. Its aim is to revive and foster Indian classical dancing, and to imbue it with a freshness and meaning it lacked formerly. Had the school been started merely to revive the glory of India through this medium it would have been a dismal failure but the high motives behind it testify to the success which it has achieved today. A few lines from one of Tagore's songs suggests the same thoughts :

"In thy dance, Divine Dancer,
freedom finds its image
and dreams, their forms.
Its cadence weaves the thread of things
and unwinds them for ages;
charms the atom's rebellion into beauty;
gives rhythm to the symphony of stars;
thrills life with pain
and churns up existence into surging joys
and sorrows."

Originally primitive man danced in order to invoke or to appease the various manifestations of Nature, according to his wants, as is seen in the Harvest Dance and many others of the Santhals, Koles, and Bhils of Central India. The

religious Brahmin, in his worship thrice daily, sought an universal symbol upon which he could fix his mind on the three qualities of nature :— he found one in the Sun at its rising, at its zenith and at its setting, which represented to him the Trimurti or the three aspects of the One. Thus to him Brahmā was the Rajasic aspect or the Creator who was associated with the rising sun; Vishnu represented the Sāttvic aspect or the Maintainer, and was connected with the sun at its zenith; and Shiva epitomized the Tāmasic aspect or the Destroyer with the sunset. Upon this are based the various types of Indian classical dances, the most important of which are the Katha and the Manipuri of North India, the Bharat Natya of the South, and the Kathakali and Mohiniattam of Malabar.

Influenced by the Muslim culture, the North Indian dances have a very elaborate "time" or "Tāl" idea, therefore, the execution of the dance requires the most intricate footwork, since it has to produce the exact sounds of the Tāl which accompanies it. The Manipuri originated at the Royal Courts of Manipur, as the Princesses were taught them. The beautiful Rasleela dance of the Manipuri group is rightly held in great reverence, not only because of its religious significance but also as an art in itself. It depicts the varied, graceful and vigorous life which Lord Krishna led among the Shepherds and Gopis. Groups of women dance separately while the part of Radha is taken by a young boy. As a rule, the dances of the women are slow, simple and graceful, but those of the men and boys are full of strength and variety.

On the contrary, the Bharat Natya of the South is purely a Hindu Art. The Mudras, or the language of gestures, represent gods, animals, and other objects; they play a very prominent part in these dances. The footwork is not as intricate as in the Manipuri dances, and the movements of the body are more angular and restrained; they give a somewhat dignified appearance. Danced mainly by women, the above dances require several years of extensive training which starts at an early age.

The Kathakali is the dance of the West Coast, and it is usually done by troupes of male dancers who wander from place to place performing. Women are not permitted to do them since they are very tiring and require a great deal of physical stamina and power of endurance. "Katha" means story, and "Kali" means play, hence we have Kathakali or story-play. It is a sort of pantomine in which the dancers perform while two singers stand behind and sing the story. It is usually played in the open and lasts the whole night. The technique is very interesting, and consists in the play of the eyes, in the control of the facial muscles, the *mudras*, and the wide-apart position of the legs on which the Kathakali movements are based. A word about the make-up for these dances. Rice-flour used as a paste is applied to the face to from grotesque masks of human, animal, and bird forms. On this foundation of white startling colours are applied till the total effect is novel, rather frightening, and weird. However, they are admirably suited to the type of dance, and the Kathakali without this peculiar make-up would be uninteresting and tame indeed.

As a rule the story unfolds verse by verse, though there is no formal division of Acts or Scenes.

"We see the hero spread his loved one's bed, plump up the pillows, straighten the covers, run to the garden, pluck roses into the end of his knotted scarf, return to scatter the petals over the bed, pluck out a thorn and throw it angrily away, all the while casting shy glances at his beloved, who stands by watching. Small wonder the progress of the drama is slow when this much action is necessary to say: Your life is a bed of roses."

Some of the gestures of the Kathakali are extremely beautiful. When the lover calls his loved one "lotus-eyed," he spreads a lotus leaf upon the water, then twists his hands one over the other and brings them up with bunched fingers to suggest the bud. Later, the quivering fingers slowly spread and we get the impression of the flower slowly opening petal by petal. Thus it is easy for the on-looker to image the lotus blossoming on the shimmering water under a brilliant sun, in his mind. At most Kathakali shows there are interpreters to assist those unversed in the meaning of the gestures by explaining their significance. It is quite probable that most of these gestures originated in the common signs used in the daily life of the people, while the remaining few were arbitrarily fixed upon to mean the word it was given. This gesture language is many centuries old.

Being leisurely by nature, we were quite disposed to spend twelve or fifteen hours in watching such a dance, in former years. But today the hustle of the West seems to have affected us somewhat, and hence we no longer care to spend so much time watching one performance of a Kathakali dance. To accomodate our new speeded-up existence it is now compressed as much as possible and usually lasts from three to six hours. The extreme formality of the dance makes it look ridiculously naturalistic at times. The themes for the Kathakali are almost always based on one or the other of the great epics or on stories from the Puranas, containing scenes from Indian Mythology. It is

interesting to note that though the Kathakali is not very ancient in its present form, it has been derived from older Temple dances that followed the rules laid down in ancient Sanskrit books like Bharata's *Natyasastra,* and as such can claim, being about a millenium and a half old.

I should like to describe briefly one of the Kathakali dances to give my readers an idea of what I mean. I am sure that of all the exquisite and vivid impressions carried away by the pilgrims worshipping at the sacred shrine along the Malabar Coast, the most awe-inspiring and noble must have seen the magnificent spectacle of the sun setting towards the blue ocean, lighting up tier after tier of the sheer cliffs on the rocky coast and generously painting them in gorgeous hues with a prodigal brush, while the wooded ravines formed a fitting background to this superb picture of nature at her grandest. Among these inspiring surroundings began the sacred dance in response to the ceaseless time-beat of the thundering waves—the dance of the Cosmic Rhythm, which all the Rishis of old knew.

I quote Mr. E. B. Havell in saying that

> "In fair weather it was only a gentle swaying movement, like the fluttering of falling leaves in the forest on a still Autumn evening, for only then he manifested his benign aspect. But when the setting sun flashed fierce red rays through banks of purple cloud and Shiva's mighty drum began its thunderous beat along the shore, while the long snake-like rollers showed their glittering teeth, then the Great God revealed himself in his tremendous world-shaking dance, the Tandavan, which summed up the three-fold processes of Nature—creation, preservation and destruction—and woe betide the unhappy mariner who was whirled within the ambit of the awful dance!"

From such mental stimulus evolved the Tandavan, which later was called the dance of Nataraja in which Shiva overcame certain wicked Asuras who held heretical doctrines by his sheer logical argument. This being unsuccesful, they tried to kill him by black magic, first by creating a fierce tiger to spring upon him from the sacrificial fire. Shiva killed it with ease and having wrapped its skin about his hips, began to dance. Then came a poisonous snake; he took it and put it around his neck where it stayed docilely, and continued to dance. Next an evil spirit in the form of a hideous dwarf was sent to pester Shiva, but he calmly crushed it under his foot, and resumed his triumphant dance as if nothing had happened. This dance was the Dance of the Cosmic Rhythm, which all the Devas and disgruntled Asuras were forced to witness, and acknowledge Shiva as their master.

In conclusion I should like to say that within the past ten years or so attempts have been made to introduce these dances into our social life and free it from the unwholesome atmosphere surrounding them. Uday Shankar is one of our foremost exponents of the art today, and as such, he is to be admired. He not only dances our old dances, but creates his own, and thus introduces it as an art again, and not merely as a highly developed technique of imitating old dances.

Besides the aesthetic and cultural value, these dances help to acquire poise, perfect muscular co-ordination, and good health. Thus a person becomes very graceful in all movements; for the above and other reasons I do hope that Indian classical dancing will become more popular than it is at present among our well-to-do and educated girls, since the ill-repute formerly attached to it has more or less died away.

BASIC ISSUE

By SANTAN A. D'SOUZA

A WRITER in the *Journal of Religious Instruction,* U. S. A., cited in the *Catholic Digest* for January, 1941, states that during the nineteenth century, a period of great changes and great men, only the German student Karl Marx, and Pope Leo XIII had the insight to assess correctly the forces then generating, and which would eventually ruin or regenerate the world, *viz.*, capital and labour. As regards the then existing conditions, social disorder, said Marx, was the cause of moral and intellectual disorder. Pope Leo said that social disorder was the result of moral and intellectual disorder. Marx's *Capital* and Pope Leo's famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum* were the outcome.

The deleterious effects of Marx's teaching are perfectly obvious; and whether as a result of the Pope's advice or not, labourers did form unions resulting in substantial gains to them. Some employers also combined, though not

exactly to further the Pope's objective. Their achievements are, however, subject-matter for admiring text-books. We may merely note in passing that the effect of their combinations has been most disastrous to subject countries, particularly to India.

While labour need never be, or have been, the "anti-thesis" of capital, *Rerum Novarum* erred fundamentally in its teaching with regard to property in land. Henry George's rejoinder, *Condition of Labour* (Henry George Foundation, 34, Knightrider St., London, E. C. 4. Sh. 1), is in point, and ought to be read, side by side with the encyclical, by everyone interested in the future peace and well-being of the world. Yet Pius XI launched the Church's grand campaign against the so-called subversive moral doctrines and social disorders under the name of "Catholic Action" with a comprehensive programme, basing the stately edifice on *Rerum Novarum*.

It is certainly not the 'best of all worlds' with everything as it might be; for, then the Creator's purpose would have been achieved and this world would have been no more. There is, therefore, ample room for improvement. It is as certainly not a wholly bad world, for, in that case it would have blown to smithereens or resolved itself into the nebulous chaos it once was. So all is not lost as yet.

It is obvious that Western civilization, with vested economic interests, has brought about the present world-wide confusion which must end in total degeneration and chaos or in a world in which the means of production are in some effective manner communally controlled.

The first reform ought to be to secure equal right to land.

> "Property in land is as indefensible as property in man. It is so absolutely impolitic, so outrageously unjust, so flagrantly subversive of the true right of property that it can only be instituted by force and maintained by confounding in the popular mind the distinction between land and property in things that are the result of labour." (Henry George).

A discussion on Agrarian Socialist, or the Single Tax, theory is not within our scope here. But for the sake of clarity it may be pointed out that Henry Clay in his *Economics for the General Reader* objects to the theory on the score that the state has given no warning, and that as things exist, investments on land are on the same footing as investments on any other securities. An intrinsic wrong, however, can never become a right by *any* means, and property in land radically differs from other assets. The nervousness appears to be on the side of vested intertsts, and religious bodies who may acquire landed property but rarely or never alienate it. In India State-ownership is accepted, but it is not a practical application of the theory, and works entirely to the advantage of the ruling class.

Anyway, we may leave alone the West with all its "ologies" and thousand "isms" boiling and bubbling in the mighty cauldron. What potent potion they may evolve may be known only when the fires of hate die down and the embers of greed are cooled,—if ever they do cool. The basic issue for India is her freedom.

India must be the mistress in her own house. Unless and until India secures complete autonomy, and her finances are administered by patriotic Indians, every little endeavour for the amelioration of the masses, or even any section of the masses, must result in direct advantage to the power that be.

H. G. Wells in his *World of William Clissold* depicts a young London B. Sc. dreaming of a world empire in commerce and breaks his neck in a wayside accident in France. But there are men in flesh and blood, not figments of a volatile brain, whose achievement have been beyond the wildest dreams of avarice, and have created alliances and dynastic successions to administer their conquest. Without necessarily subscribing to Hitlerian bias, one may unhesitatingly say that the eternal "Jew" brought about the denouement on Calvary, and under the shadow of the same Cross having extended his sway to the uttermost ends of the earth, maintains his dominion by every available means, perversely, including even the very name of the Christ crucified. The mighty Allah and the all-pervading Brahma too, with their unseemly quarrels, apparently serve his purpose.

During the Christmas Season, 1939 the Pope's famous five points for universal peace were topped by a project of self-determination to all the peoples of the world. This, however, was followed a little later by a pronouncement from the Vatican in the all too familiar, die-hard phraseology, that India presented unique problems and was to be an exception.

Religious zeal and bigotry have been responsible for immense good and incalculable harm in the past. Even today, religion has very great possibilities with its enormous influence with a great majority of men and women the world over. But in this age of enlightenment its leaders ought to be in the vanguard of any movement to secure the just rights of subject peoples. For, the essential condition for a mental and moral regeneration which is so loudly declared to be the end and aim, is political freedom with all that it implies. Incessantly playing for safety, with self-interest and self-preservation as the dominant motives, always doing

humble duty to the powers that be, are not conducive to the betterment of the people whose buying power is the only concern of the satraps berthed thousands of miles away. Foreign nationals in India under the present restrictions, might keep aloof; but to sidetrack real issues into bye-lanes and dead alleys would be to retard and not to advance the real cause of the teeming millions of our land.

Catholic Action in this country takes the form of pious resolutions, some devotional exercises and very many other measures, all designed for the uplift of the soul with little or no thought for its physical partner in the working out of one's destiny, even though its resurrection is an article of faith. Charities there are,—but it is a sorry state of things which leaves the destitute, the aged and the decrepit to the heroic self-sacrifices of individuals and private agencies.

Superfluous wealth engenders profligacy and waste: dire want brings degeneration and demoralization. The existence of enormous wealth and rank poverty side by side are the causes of most of the ills of society we see today. Mahatma Gandhi opines that there will be a more equitable distribution of wealth when the war is over, but how the millennium is to arrive is not known. The second of the five supplementtary points to the Pope's peace terms issued under the signatures of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Hinsley and the Moderator of the Free Churches in England also declares that there should be an equitable distribution of wealth. Again, the means and the manner of achieving this end are not specified. —But to revert to India.

The primary duty of every son of India irrespective of caste and creed ought to be to work for the attainment of India's freedom. And this freedom may be attained if everyone were to realize why an alien Government is interested in keeping its stranglehold on the country. The means to improve the moral condition of the people and for achieving political freedom are identical. It is within the scope of every Indian, man and woman, to endeavour to be self-sufficient, discarding as far as is ever possible, the insignia of a hybrid civilization. To the mass of semi-starving population of India moderation in diet may not be preached. But those who can afford to live better, would do inestimable service to the country and to themselves if they were to give up all luxuries and luxurious ways of living, and wherever possible even some things considered to be necessities. One and all might achieve a measure of independence and delight if a standard of life in keeping with India's abject poverty and political subjection were to be adopted. Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi best typifies, consistently with decency at the present day, the maximum possible for a true son of India who thinks and feels in terms of his Motherland.

THE CHARKHA AND THE SPINNING JENNY

The significance of the scientific truth that *Cotton is lighter than Air.*

By S. N. SARMA

I had the pleasure of going through the Editorial comment in the November issue of your esteemed *Modern Review* regarding Mr. Amery's reply to imaginery American questions, in connection with India and your extracts from Brook Adams *Civilisation and Decay*, pages 263-64 about the industrial decay in India and the consequent industrial prosperity in England, as also *The Future of Handloom Industries* contributed by Doctor Sudhir Sen appearing in the same issue.

Doctor Sudhir Sen has precisely tackled the question of yarn supply to the handloom weavers, who are constantly left in the lurch by the local mill-owners and the foreign yarn dealers.

While the A. I. S. A. do not improve the technique of the spinning wheel so as to enable number of unemployed men to get themselves engaged in spinning as a means of getting a living wage for their labour, they do not recognise and take under their patronage weavers who use mill yarns.

The present method of spinning cannot cope with the demand of yarn in the country. One has to doubt whether the present spinning wheel was the same as it was in use when India was able to export surplus goods to foreign lands after clothing her population before the advent of the East India Company. In this connection it will be well to remember from the recorded industrial history of England, that only after the invention of the Spinning Jenny by one Mr. James Hargreaves in 1764, there was created a revolution in the Cotton Industry of the world and also it has been specially mentioned that the Spinning Jenny was only a hand machine. The old machine contained only one spindle, whereas the new machines were fitted with several spindles. As cotton is lighter than air it was possible even for old women and children to rotate several spindles in the same machine. The A. I. S. A., have deplorably failed or kept themselves apathetic in the matter of improving the Charkha as a useful machine referred to above. Their method seems to be primitive. More details can be had if one goes through the development of foreign industry in England. Formerly, it is said, that eight spinners with eight spinning wheels had to be engaged to supply yarn to one weaver to provide him work for a day. After this unique invention, one spinning wheel was able to cope with the demand of 2 or more weavers for a day's work. Why these facts have not struck the notice of the A. I. S. A.

"Most trivial things are apt to be neglected in the activities of certain nations with regard to their national human affairs" (Ruskin).

THE FATE OF EMPIRES

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

"Day after day created beings go to the mansion of Death, yet the rest desire permanence! What is more surprising than this?"*

So runs an ancient Indian saying.

What pre-historic empires have left no trace even in the race-memory of man, we do not know. The ancient empires—Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian and others—whose existence archæological excavations have brought to light, are no more. Only traces are left of the Persian empire and the empires of Alexander of Macedon and his successors. The empire of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire have ceased to exist. The empire of the Caliphs and the Ottoman Empire are no more. The empires of Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan and Nadir Shah have ceased to exist.

In India the empires of the Mauryas, of the Guptas and of other dynasties, and of the Mughals, too, have passed into history. The empire of Vijayanagara is referred to as a "Forgotten Empire."

In Europe, coming to comparatively modern times, where is the empire of Spain? Where is the empire founded by Napoleon? During the last great world war the Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up and became a thing of the past, the empire of the Czar of all the Russias became a Soviet Republic and the dream of empire of Kaiser William vanished into thin air.

Even before the outbreak of that war, the Chinese Empire had become a republic.

In the face of all these historical facts, Hitler dreamed of empire and started the second great world-war in order to turn that dream into a reality. Before that event, Mussolini had already had such a dream in order to revive the ancient Roman Empire as it were, and had annexed Abyssinia. But Abyssinia has become independant again, and Italy's empire in North Africa is in liquidation. Japanese statesmen and militarists are not ignorant of world history. Yet they, too, began the work of empire-building long ago, and grabbed Korea and Manchuria. They started the war against China before the commencement of the present second world-war. Japan has seen that during this war not a few empire-owning countries have come to grief. We have already referred to Italy. The other such countries whose plight is pitiable are France, Holland and Belgium. Yet, not taking any warning from their adversity, Japan has, in the midst of this war and when at war with China, attacked both the United States of America and the British Empire.

So, just as the ancient Indian saying expresses surprise that, though men know that multitudes of their fellow-creatures die every day, they think they themselves will never die, in the same way one may consider it surprising that though the Fascists of the West and the East are aware of the fate of empires of bygone days and are eye-witnesses of the sad plight of some present-day empires, yet they think that they can not only build empires of their own but can make them proof against vacissitudes, too.

Or perhaps they think that, though Nemesis may dog their footsteps as it has done those of other empires, yet it will be years before it can overtake them, and in the meantime they can enjoy power and prosperity at the expense of the subjugated peoples, and eat and drink and make merry to their hearts' content, as other imperial peoples had done in their day and some are doing even now.

That, however, is very poor philosophy and betokens a view of life which brute beasts might cherish, if they were capable of cherishing any at all.

Empires might have had their uses in some periods of the world's history in some parts of the earth—we need not discuss that question here. But the days of empires are gone. The megalosaurus, the mammoth and other huge creatures have had their day, and have disappeared for ever. They were big and bulky but not great. Present-day empires, too, may be vast, but they cannot be called great. Nor can they be called really strong. Let us consider the causes of the weakness of some of the empires of our day.

Indo-China is or was a part of the empire of France. The French bureaucracy had deliberately prevented the growth of a native ruling

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* "अहन्यहनि भूतानि गच्छन्ति यममन्दिरम् ।
शेषाः स्थिरत्वमिच्छन्ति किमाश्चर्यमतःपरम् ॥"

—From the dialogue between Yudhisthira and the Yaksha in the *Mahabharata*.

class in Indo-China. Similarly the growth of patriotism, political initiative and social consciousness had been prevented. So says Albert Viton, author of *Great Britain: An Empire in Transition*, who was for some years in the Near East, particularly in Palestine, and has made the methods of imperialism his chief study, in an article in *Asia* (November, 1941). He adds:

> "Literacy is extremely limited; the indigenous inhabitants have been carefully excluded from all political power; no experience in self-government has been provided; social services are rudimentary in the extreme. These are the bitter facts; and to regret them at this stage serves no useful purpose. Indo-China is not ready for self-government; there is not even the nucleus of a political organization able to take over the reins which have fallen out of the hands of the French. Yet to continue the pre-war administration, even if that were possible—and it is not—would be a crime against all the ideals we profess."

No wonder, of the countries of Asia which formed part of European empires Indo-China was the first to be practically annexed by Japan.

As regards the Dutch East Indies, Albert Viton writes:

> "The problem is only slightly less pressing when we turn to the Dutch Colonies. Illiteracy is extremely high, poverty is deep; the economic structure, from the point of view of the natives, is anything but sound, and they have been given very little opportunity to learn how to administer a government. The collapse of Holland in 1940 has had a resounding echo in the Indies; Dutch prestige has seriously declined and native unrest is reported growing."

The fact that Japan has been already able to obtain a foothold in some of the Dutch East Indies islands is partly explained by what Albert Viton has written regarding Dutch policy there.

The position of the Dutch East Indies in the Dutch empire is similar to India's position in the British Empire. Both are noted for their mineral and agricultural resources.

From the Dutch East Indies the world gets 90 per cent. of its supply of quinine, 80 per cent. of capoc, 80 per cent. of pepper, 40 per cent. of rubber, 20 per cent. of tin, 25 per cent. of copra, 25 per cent. of fibre, 16 per cent. of tea, 15 per cent. of palm oil, 5 per cent. of coffee, 5 per cent. of sugar and 3 per cent. of mineral oil products. The rich resources of these Dutch possessions had long excited the cupidity of Japan, recently leading that country to invade them, as the natural wealth of India has tempted Germany to try to take possession of it, as it did many other countries in times past.

Political conditions in both the Dutch Indies and the British-owned India are somewhat similar. In both, the rulers obstinately cling to power and refuse to part with it. Just as the British rulers of India think that it is they, not the Indians, who are to decide what India's constitution should be, so do the Dutch rulers of Indonesia think that it is they, not the people of the Dutch Indies, who should determine how these islands are to be governed. Indian Nationalists have long been accustomed to be considered and called impatient idealists. Similarly those Indonesian leaders who are dissatisfied with Dutch rule and want self-determination are regarded as impatient idealists by their Dutch rulers. The following opinion expressed by a former Dutch Minister in relation to political reform in the Dutch East Indies might have been expressed as well by a Secretary of State for India with regard to constitutional advance in India:

> "We Netherlanders are known for our prudence, I do not think we shall allow ourselves to be tempted to take any ill-advised steps. I do not deny that this prudence is causing a certain peevishness among some elements of the native population. Our feeling in this matter, however, is that they want to reap the harvest before it is ripe."

There is a Volksraad or People's Council, which is an advisory body. By the Netherlands India Constitution of 1925, Netherlands India was granted a measure of self-government in internal affairs under supervision of the Home Government, the legislative powers being shared by the Volksraad and the Governor-General. India's legislative bodies are also substantially and practically advisory bodies, as they have no final power, though they may have a little more power than the Volksraad of the Dutch East Indies, which has no share in the Executive, nor in Defence.

Just as the war has roused some Englishmen to the necessity of India's co-operation in the war effort, so Dutch opinion in the Dutch East Indies has awakened to the need of placating indigenous public opinion, as the following telegram appears to show:

> BATAVIA, JAN. 10.
>
> Opening the second ordinary session of the Netherlands East Indies People's Council the Speaker M. Jonkman said: "the people of the N. E. I. are rallying loyally and unconditionally about their government. They expect however, that after victory has been obtained, a victory to which they also will have contributed, the process to which the Governor-General alluded in his New Year's address will be completed, that is, the liberation of the N. E. I. from the remains of an antiquated colonial position so that they may expand into a position of individuality. This expansion is what they all desire, an expansion adapted to modern needs and demands in the spirit of Mr. Churchill's ideas and based on his ideals," M. Jonkman concluded.—*Reuter*.

Similar vague promises have been made by the British rulers of India, too. The world will see how these promises are redeemed "after victory has been obtained."

With regard to India and China, Albert Viton writes:

"These two countries, with their immense populations, have stood in the vanguard of Asia's democratic advances. Both are dynamos radiating new life and energy to the more backward regions around them. Yet it would be folly to overlook their present weaknesses—not only folly but an invitation to international trouble. Realism is the first law of political life; the price of misjudgment is failure, confusion and war."

On account of the weaknesses of China, Japan was encouraged to attack her more than four years ago. The struggle between the two countries still goes on. But *China being independent*, and there being no communal problem, no "Muslim question" and no "native princes' complications" there, she has been advancing from strength to strength and turning the tables upon the invader.

The weaknesses of India have emboldened Japan to cast greedy eyes on her and advance towards her with hostile intent. Her subject condition does not make it possible for her to take the initiative and freely and independently make what endeavours she is capable of to prevent subjection to a new aggressor. Her disabilities in this respect have been aggravated by the existence of the communal problem, "the Muslim question" and the "Princes complications," of which her rulers have taken full advantage.

Albert Viton adds:

"Although outwardly very unlike, the problems of India and China are essentially identical. To be sure, India has to overcome impediments which China has fortunately been spared. China does not have a communal problem, a Muslim question; and there are no native princes to complicate matters. Both countries, however, confront illiteracy, low social organization, poverty, agricultural and industrial backwardness and, above all, lack of social cohesion. India has not been given an opportunity to organize by her own efforts an administrative service; China has had some opportunities in this direction, but has not succeeded completely."

But China *has* succeeded to a considerable extent, though not completely, and has been achieving increasing success with the passage of days and weeks and months and years.

Albert Viton does not want to be unjust to the peoples of China and India. Says he:

Far be it from me to imply that past experience justifies skepticism with regard to the inherent abilities of these peoples to organize effective administrative machines. History does not leave much room for skepticism in this direction, *and imperialists have had to resort to falsification of history in order to justify their favorite thesis of the "inherent" inability of Indians to manage great political organizations. The fact is that considering their handicaps these peoples have accomplished wonders.*" ((Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

Of the empires ruled by European nations at the beginning of the present world war, there is not one which remains unscathed. Their ruling countries are or were Italy, France, Holland, Belgium and Britain. They have all been attacked. The nerve centres of all empires are located in the ruling countries. When the ruling countries are attacked the outlying parts cannot receive adequate attention;—they have to be left to shift for themselves, more or less. Then the plight of the empires, that is, of both the ruling and the subject countries, remind one of what the old dame in the story is said to have told Mahmud of Ghazni: "Sire, keep no more territory than thou canst well govern." Similarly one can tell the imperialist nations, "Keep no more territory than you can adequately defend and protect." Italy has lost Abyssinia and all but lost her North African empire, and exists as a nominally independent country by favour of Germany. France is partly occupied by the Nazis, and the government of unoccupied France, the Vichy Government, exists by sufferance. Syria and Lebanon have had to be recognized as independent countries. Indo-China has been lost and been practically annexed by Japan. Holland and Belgium are under the heels of Germany. Considering that Holland could not defend herself, it could not be expected that her possessions in Asia, the Dutch East Indies, would be able to defend themselves against the onslaughts of any powerful enemy. So, though the defenders of these islands are entitled to great credit for the plucky defence put up by them, Japan has prevailed against them in some parts and occupied them. The Queen of Holland, with her family and Court, is a refugee in Britain. Belgium has been subjugated and occupied by Germany. Nothing definite is known about present conditions in the Belgian Congo, of past Belgian atrocities notoriety. Britain has been defending her homeland with great gallantry and success, and raiding Germany, and inflicting defeat on the Italian forces in North Africa. But she has not been able to achieve equal success in her Asiatic possessions. She has had to retire from parts of Malaya and Burma under Japanese pressure, and Singapore, which she has tried all along to make invulnerable, apparently staking her all upon that invulnerability, is in imminent danger. (January 23, 1942.)

In times of peace all the European countries ruling their Asiatic possessions had effective organizations for drawing untold wealth from them. But, as events show, they have had no sufficiently effective organizations to defend these possessions against the attack of a powerful invader, nor have they allowed the peoples of

these subjugated territories to organize themselves for defensive purposes. When, in ancient times, attacked by less civilized and more vigorous neighbours, Rome had to use all her resources for self-defence, leaving subject Britain to her fate, the Britons, attacked by the "Angles, Saxons and Jutes," exclaimed, "The sea drives us to the barbarians and the barbarians drive us to the sea." The people of some parts of Malaya and Burma appear to be in similar plight.

If the ruling countries of Europe had allowed their Asiatic possessions to be self-ruling and to make arrangements for their own defence, the ruling nations could have exoberated themselves from all blame. But they did not follow such a just and wise policy. They can neither themselves adequately protect their Asiatic subjects, nor have they allowed the latter to make their own defence arrangements. The "scorched earth" policy pursued in some parts of these dependencies is an additional grievance of the inhabitants of those parts. They have not only not been defended sucessfully against the invaders but the natural resources and the human achievements of the places they live in are being destroyed to prevent their falling into the hands of the Japanese.

The wisdom of allowing people to be self-ruling is being demonstrated by what has been taking place in the areas attacked by Japan. Among the defenders the Australians are displaying great courage, skill and efficiency; and they are a self-ruling people, who are establishing direct contact with the United States of America. In the Philippines also in spite of the superiority of the Japanese in numbers and equipment, the defenders have been displaying great persistence, courage, skill and efficiency. That is certainly due to the fact that the Filipinos also are self-ruling;—their motherland is not in bondage to the United States of America.

In some of the passages quoted above from Albert Viton's article he has pointed out the weaknesses of China and India. But China being independent, she has been fast getting rid of her weaknesses and growing stronger day by day, as pointed out before;—so much so, that not only has she been turning the tables upon Japan, but she is strong enough even to send troops to Burma to assist Britain. In this crisis in the fortunes of democracies (including herself) China is wise and generous enough to aid Britain, though in her past history Britain was far from being friendly to her. Nay, even in recent history, when Japan started her war upon China both Britain and France practically turned a deaf ear to the representations made to the League of Nations by the Chinese delegate Dr. Wellington Koo.

It is an irony of fate and of history that Britain has now to take the help of the country which in times past she had wronged and which even in more recent times she would not befriend. Even in the present crisis it is China's and Australia's complaint that the Allies—America and Britain—are not sufficiently mindful of the war in the Pacific regions and do not realize the seriousness of the situation there.

If India had been even an autonomous part of the British Empire, not to speak of her being independent, she would certainly have been willing and able to help Britain, as China is. And if she had been independent she would have been in a far better position to do so.

Oblivious of the lessons of history, past and contemporary, Germany and Japan have set their hearts upon acquiring and building up vast empires. Even if they succeeded in doing so, Nemesis would be sure to overtake them, as it has overtaken other imperial ruling countries.

The only means of making all the peoples of empires enlightened, prosperous, powerful and contented and of constituting them into close-knit groups with the members friendly to one another, is to allow them all to be self-ruling, to recognise their independence, and to federate or confederate them. If any of them are kept ignorant, untrained unorganized or disorganized, and weak in order that they may be submissive and capable of being exploited, it cannot be expected that when need arises it will be possible to educate, train and organize them in no time in order that they may be able to render help as powerful colleagues, or even as powerful servants or assistants.

Both the world-wars are a reminder that empires ought not to have been and ought not to be established. For they cannot last, and the empires existing at any time are a temptation and an incentive to empireless powers to establish empires; but they cannot be built up and kept, even for a short time, without bloodshed, injustice, and wrong-doing.

It is usual to blame only those who subdue other peoples to built up empires. But they also are to blame who submit to subjugation and domination and remain in bondage without life-long endeavours to break their chains.

On one side there is aggressive force and on the other, weakness. Such force is justly condemned as a vice. But weakness is not a virtue.

UPANISHADS AND VEDIC SACRIFICES

By BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE

ACCORDING to modern scholars, the earlier portions of the Vedas (*viz.*, hte Mantras or the Samhitās) were composed by persons who because of their immature wisdom fancied that there were various deities in the universe who could be propitiated by praise or offerings, while the Upanishads were composed by wiser persons who realised the ignorance underlying the belief in many deities and had grown wise enough to conceive the idea of One Supreme Being. This doctrine was first propounded by some Western scholars. Thus Mr. McDonald says :

> "Though the Upanishads generally form a part of the Brahmanas, they really represent a new religion which is in virtual opposition to the ritual or practical side." (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 215).

Dr. Winternitz says :

> "While the Brahmanas were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upanishads. From these circles which were not originally connected with the priestly caste proceeded the forest hermits and wondering ascetics . . . ." (*History of the Sanskrit Literature*, p. 231).

This view of the European scholars has been generally accepted by modern Indian scholars also. Thus Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan writing on the growth of philosophical tendencies in the Rig Veda says that after the period of conquest and battle which prevailed during the Aryan occupation of India

> "men sat down to doubt the gods they ignorantly worshipped and reflected on the mysteries of life." (*Indian Philosophy*, p. 71).

Again he writes :

> "From primitive polytheism to systematic philosophy it is a long, long way" (*Ibid*, p. 72). "The religion of the undeveloped man the world over has been a kind of anthropomorphism." (*Ibid*, p. 73).

According to the ancient Indian scholars the Upanishads form a part of the Vedas[1] which have been revealed by God and therefore absolutely 'correct lying beyond the possibility of error.' There are passages in the Vedas in support of the doctrine that the Vedas are revealed. Thus the Swetaswataropanishad says :

> "God created Brahma and imparted to him the knowledge of the Vedas."[2]

Sayanacharyya in his introduction to the commentary on the Rig Veda has quoted Rig Veda 8-75-6[3] to prove that the Vedas are everlasting and cannot therefore be composed by any person or persons. The occurrence of these passages does not of course prove that the Vedas were actually revealed by God and are everlasting. But it, as maintained by Western scholars and modern Indian scholars the Upanishads profess disbelief in the existence of Vedic gods and in the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices, in other words if there is mutual contradiction between the Upanishads and the Vedic hymns, then it proves conclusively that the entire Vedas containing contradictory portions can never be true, far less can they be treated as revelation of the Supreme Being. The point is of great interest to the Hindus because it has been held by all religious teachers (āchāryyas) that the Hindu religion is based on the Vedas which cannot contain any errors. If the Vedas are unreliable there is no sure foundation for Hindu religion to stand upon.

There is not a single passage in any Upanishad which casts any doubt on the existence of the Vedic gods. On the other hand in practically every Upanishad there are references to the Vedic gods. Thus the *Eesopanishad* ends with an invocation to the God *Agni* to lead the departing soul along pleasant paths.[4] The *Kaynopanishad* contains the account of how the Supreme Being appeared before the minor gods, Indra, Vayu, Agni, etc., to show that they cannot function against the will of the Supreme Being. It must not be supposed that this as a story which is intended to show that the Vedic Gods do not really exist. For it is stated in the fourth part of this Upanishad that Indra, Vayu and Agni surpass the other gods and Indra

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1. The Vedas consist of two parts—the *mantras* and the *brahmanas* मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम् (Apastambas Yajnaparibhasasootra). Most of the Upanishads are included in the *brahmana* portion, a few are included in the *mantra* portion. In other words all the Upanishads are included in the Vedas.

2 यो वै ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं
यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मै ।

3. वाचा विरूपनित्यया

4. अग्नेनय सुपंथा राये अस्मान् etc.

surpasses them all. Such a statement cannot be reconciled with the doctrine that according to the authors of the Upanishads the conception of these minor gods is based on ignorance. The whole of the Kathopanishad is practically a conversation between the god Yama and the Brahmin boy Nachiketa. It is stated here that the god Yama takes charge of the souls who do not believe in life after death. It is also stated that Yama possesses the Supreme knowledge about the nature of Brahman and of the human soul,—a knowledge which is coveted by other Gods (1-1-21). Surely such statements are not consistent with the belief that the gods do not exist. The Kathopanisad also says (6/3) that out of fear for the Supreme Being, the minor gods like Indra, Vayu do their respective work. Reference to the *devas* and *pitris* are found in the 2nd *prasna* of the Prasnopanishad (2-8) The *Mundakopanishad* refers (2/1/7) to the creation of the minor gods out of the Supreme Being. Mention of various minor gods (Indra, Mitra, Varuna) is found in the first *anuvāka* of the Taittireeyapanishad. It is probably unnecessary to multiply instances.

Just as the Upanishads contain many references to the minor deities so also the earlier portions of the Vedas (*viz.*, the *mantra* portion) contain many references to the Supreme Being. We find in Rig Veda Samhita 2-3-32 that there is One Being who is called by the wise in many names, *e.g.*, Indra, Yama, Vayu.[5] This passage does not mean that Indra, Yama, etc., do not exist. It means that the minor gods are pervaded and controlled by the Supreme Being (as all objects of the universe are). In the *Hiranyagarbha sookta* (Rig Veda Samhita 10-121) it is stated that all the minor gods obey the command of the Supreme Being.[6] In the *Purushasookta* (Rig Veda Sahmita 10-90) it is stated that the minor deities were created out of the various limbs of the Supreme Being.[7] In the Rig Veda Samhita 10-82-3 it is stated that the Supreme Being is the universal father of all, the creator of all beings, etc.[8] In the *Nāsadeeyasookta* (Rig Veda Samhita 10-129) it is stated that at the time of *pralaya*, the Supreme Being alone existed. He was then one with his *Māyāshakti*.[9]

It will thus be seen that in the *mantra* portions of the Vedas as well as in the Upanishads there is mention of the Supreme Being as well as the minor deities and also of the fact that the minor deities were created by the Supreme Being out of Himself. There is thus no basis for the theories propounded by the modern scholars that the conception of the minor beings was the creation of an undeveloped intellect and that this conception was discarded by the wiser persons who wrote the Upanishads.

We do not see why the conception of the minor deities should be considered to be intrinsically unsatisfactory or illogical. It can certainly be conceived that there is an order of beings superior to humanity in intellect and power, but subordinate to the Supreme Being. This theory is quite consistent with monotheism.

We propose now to examine the question whether in the Upanishads there is any mention of the inefficacy of Vedic sacrifices. In support of the contention that the Upanishads do not believe in the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices some passages are quoted from the Upanishads[10] which state that *moksha* or final emancipation cannot be achieved by Vedic sacrifices but only through knowledge. But such passages do not prove that the Upanishads do not believe in the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices for it should be remembered that the *mantra* portion of the Vedas nowhere says that emancipation can be attained through sacrifices. It is merely said that by performing sacrifices one can attain heaven.[11] The Upanishads nowhere say that one cannot attain heaven by performing sacrifices. On the other hand we find it stated in various places in the Upanishads that by performing sacrifices one can attain heaven. In other words in the matter of the efficacy of sacrifices instead of there being any contradiction between the mantras and Upanishads there is perfect unanimity. We shall quote below a few references to passages in the Upanishads in which it is stated that one can attain heaven by performing Vedic sacrifices. In the Kathopanishad

5. एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति ।
इन्द्रं यमं मातरिश्वान माहुः ॥
6. उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवा : ।
7. चन्द्रमा मनसो जानश्चक्षोः सूर्योऽजायत ।
मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुर जायत ॥
8. यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता
9. आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं
10. प्लवा ह्य तेअदृढा यज्ञरूपाः ।
नास्त्यकृतः कृतेन । (*Ibid* 1-1-12).
तमेव विदित्वा इतिमृत्युमेति ।
नान्यः पन्थाः विद्यतेऽयनाय ॥
—Swetaswataropanishad.
11. स्वर्गकामो यजेत

Nachiketa in his second boon asked Yama to teach him how to worship fire so that one can attain heaven. In the Prasnopanishad (1-9)[12] we find that those who perform Vedic sacrifices go to heaven. The Mundakopanishad (1-2-5) says that those who performs Vedic sacrifices in the proper way go to heaven. The Mundakopanishad (1-2-1) categorically affirms the truth of Vedic sacrifices and says that the method of performing the Vedic sacrifices was revealed to the sages. Here again it is probably unnecessary to multiply instances.

It may perhaps be urged that the Upanishads might confirm the testimony of the *mantras* that by performing Vedic sacrifices one can attain heaven, but they do not enjoin on the performance of sacrifices because they declare that one cannot remain in heaven for ever.

But in fact the Upanishads enjoin on the performance of sacrifices without the desire for attaining heaven. For if a person performs these sacrifices without the desire of attaining heaven, it is a good discipline for the mind which becomes purified and fit for the reception of divine knowledge. There is thus complete consistency between Upanishads and the mantras not only about the efficacy of sacrifices, but also about the necessity of performing them.

We shall now refer to a few passages in the Upanishads when it is stated that Vedic sacrifices should be performed. The second verse of the Eesopanishad says that one should desire to live a hundred years and perform *karma* all his life. (It should be remembered that unlike other Upanishads the *Eeshopanishad* occurs in the *mantra* portion of the Vedas, and that the *karma* referred to in this verse must refer to the *karma* prescribed in the Vedas which includes Vedic sacrifices. Moreover the Eeshopanishad occurs in the Yajurveda Samhita which deals predominantly about Vedic sacrifices). In the last verse but one of the Kaynopanishad it is stated that austerities, charity and *karma* are the foundation of the Upanishad, the Vedas are its body, truth is its abode. Here also *karma* must include Vedic sacrifices. In the Kathopanishad Yama first teaches Nachiketa how to performs a Vedic sacrifice and then gives him lessons on Brahma. The Mundakopanishad (1-2-1) says that Vedic *karma* should be performed. In the Taittireeyopanishad the preceptor while giving his parting message to the pupil says *deva pitri karyābhyām na pramaditavyam* (then shalt not neglect the duties to the *devas* and the *manes*) *Yajna* is the duty to the gods and *tarpana* to the manes. The Brihadaranyakopanishad says *Tameva Brāhmanāh vividishanti yajnena danena tapasā andsakena* (*i.e.*, the Brahmins desire to know the Supreme Being by performing sacrifices, charities and austerities without attachment. By performing these acts in a spirit of detachment the mind is purified. When the mind is purified Brahman can be realised).

It will thus be seen that there is no justification for the theory that the authors of the Upanishads had lost faith in the existence of Vedic gods or the efficacy of sacrifices. On the other hand the Upanishads in many places refer to the Vedic gods and confirm the efficacy of sacrifices. In other words there is complete harmony between the Karmakanda and the Jnanakanda of the Vedas. Far from rejecting the authority of the Samhitas, the Upanishads in many places quote passages from the Samhitas in support of statements made in the Upanishads with the introductory remark *Tadetat richā abhyuktam* (Thus it is stated in the *Rik i.e.*, the *Samhita* portion of the Vedas). Our ancient scholars like Jaimini and Vyasa, Sankara and Ramanuja have regarded the Upanishads as a part of the Vedas and have stated that the entire Vedas are absolutely true. This position of theirs would be absolutely untenable if there is manifest inconsistency between the Upanishads and the earlier portions of the Vedas, as stated by modern scholars. As we have shown above it is the position of the modern scholars which is untenable and not that of the ancient scholars.

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12. तद्येद वै तदिष्टापूर्त्तं दत्तमित्युपासने
ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिजयन्ते।





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS: THEIR PLACE IN INDIA : *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 2.*

Maritaine, the great French thinker, writes in his "Things That Are Not Cæsar's" that Mahatma Gandhi's theory and practice of Ahimsa should put the European Christians to shame. Indeed his doctrine of non-violence and the startling effect with which it is followed by himself and his innumerable disciples show that it is in him that the world now finds the most devoted and steadfast exponent of Christian love. At a time when the whole of Christendom is seething with hate and violence Mahatma Gandhi, by his preaching and by his life, is presenting before the wondering eyes of humanity its capacity for suffering without thought of revenge. And when such a man speaks on the "Christian Missions and Their Place in India," he is sure to get a respectful hearing.

Although the book under review is named "Christian Missions," it does not deal exclusively with missionary enterprise in India. This precious anthology of Gandhi's speeches and writings on religious questions contains, besides his views on the work of the Christian missionaries, his significant utterances on the great problems of religious life in India. And it is hoped that this collection will immensely contribute to a better understanding between the different faiths of the world.

On reading the book it may appear to some that Mahatma Gandhi does not support that freedom of propaganda which the Christian missions are now enjoying. But a close study of his observations and a proper appreciation of the spirit in which they have been made will show that he never thinks of checking Christian evangelism. When a Christian missionary asked Mahatma Gandhi whether the Christians would be allowed to go on with their proselytizing activities without any hindrance he replied : "No legal hindrance can be put in the way of any Christian or of anybody preaching for the acceptance of his doctrine . . . . you should enjoy all the freedom you are entitled to under the law today." (Pp. 291).

What Mahatma Gandhi objects to is not preaching but the method which some preachers occasionally adopt for the purpose of conversion. He has realised that many conversions are accomplished through enticement and that in many cases the lure of material gain acts as an incentive to conversion. It is the prospect of a livelihood and a better social status which, in some cases, tempt the poor and the down-trodden to embrace Christianity. Mahatma Gandhi thinks that such conversions are of no value. He is of opinion that it is a real change in the spiritual life and not mere formal enrolment as a Christian which the missionaries should hope for. And this is the position of every true follower of Christ. And it is significant that his criticism is not directed against the Christians only. He has also expressed his disapproval of the method of propaganda employed by the Arya Samaj. He says, "The Arya Samaj has, I think, copied the Christians in planning the propaganda. The modern method does not appeal to me. It has done more harm than good. Though regarded as a matter of the heart purely and one between the Maker and oneself, it has degenerated into an appeal to the selfish instinct. The Arya Samaj preacher is never so happy as when he is reviling other religions." (P. 42).

It is the belief of Mahatma Gandhi that one can be a Christian in spirit without undergoing the rite of baptism. "If I have read the Bible correctly," he says, "I know many men, who have never heard the name of Jesus Christ, or have even rejected the official interpretation of Christianity even, probably, if Jesus came in our midst in the flesh be owned by him more than many of us." (P. 54).

To Mahatma Gandhi love of one's own religion is not inconsistent with a regard for other religions. Truth in every religion is the same and is absolutely independent of the distinctions necessitated by the minor differences in the intellectual and imaginative life of the different nations. He has felt that religion is something personal and only that faith will specially appeal to us which meets all the demands of our mental and spiritual life. He says: "If I could call myself say, a Christian or a Mussalman, with my own interpretation of the Bible or the Quran, I should not hesitate to call myself either. For the Hindu, Christian and Mussalman would be synonymous terms. I do believe that in the other world there are neither Hindus, nor Christians nor Mussalmans. There all are judged not according to their labels or professions but according to their actions irrespective of professions. During our earthly existence there will always be these labels." (P. 49).

Regard for the other faiths should not necessarily make one indifferent to one's own religion just as a love for all the nations of the world need not make one indifferent to one's own country. And it is the firm conviction of Mahatma Gandhi that the Christian missions in India cannot render any real service to our country so long as they consider formal conversion their sole objective. The entire position of Mahatma

Gandhi regarding the question becomes abundantly clear when he declares C. F. Andrews to be the true type of the Christian missionary.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

SAKUNTALA: *By Kalidasa. Translated by Lawrence Binyon. Prepared for the English Stage by K. N. Das Gupta. Publishers: Messrs. Macmillan & Co.*

Sakuntala, it would be no exaggeration to say, was the one literary masterpiece from India which had obtained a European reputation before Rabindranath Tagore's *Gitanjali.* Perhaps it was Goethe's personal recommendation—just as it was the recognition by the Nobel Prize Committee in the case of the latter book—that gave wide circulation to Kalidasa's great drama. Goethe's words, in a Europe which yet believed in a great European culture, were the highest stamp of praise. And praise he lavished on a Sanscrit drama that dawned upon him as the manifestation of a supreme great though remote Oriental culture. He could err, as in his overestimation of Byron, but this time, as Tagore himself points out in his famous essay, Goethe revealed his gift of profound discernment. He was stating bare truth in placing *Sakuntala* among the supreme products of the human mind.

But European recognition of Eastern literature has been sporadic and undependable. It is a case of one "Omar Khayyam" here (though a misleading, if delightfully misleading, translation) and there "A Tale of Genji." China has been better served and that for many reasons. Unfortunately, the causes have often been political, as in the case of India, and not alone connected with the rarity of a good translator—like Arthur Waley, or like Lafcadio Hearn in Japan in an earlier era—who must always be rare. China, though partially devoured, had remained as a bone of contention till fairly late, and European critics, scholars, adventurers and imperialists drifted into China seeking to please, and plunder as the case might be. Japan had sealed herself, while India sealed by a predatory power from fair contact with the great world, suffered most. It is interesting to note that real interpretation of Indian thought and culture, barring most infrequent exceptions, is to be attributed not to the possessing power but to a European continent with which our relationship has been free and human. Such relationship, however, has been casual and unsatisfactory as we have already pointed out.

We are glad, therefore, that the translation of *Sakuntala* done by Lawrence Binyon and first published in 1920 should have been reissued after many years. This translation which is the work of a well-known writer and a fine interpreter of Indian art, is competent, if not inspiring, and is perhaps of sufficient literary merit to sustain interest in the great original. This is praise, for it must be admitted that Mr. Binyon does not know Sanscrit. His ignorance is an appalling fact which should and will stand as final condemnation of irresponsible English authors who, when it is a question of Indian literatures, do not even trouble to learn the language of the book they are translating. Binyon, fortunately, had some Indian friends, mainly Mr. Kedar Nath Das Gupta, to help him; otherwise, all his ingenuity would have been disastrous. We would induce modern-minded literary Englishmen, more conscientious and gifted than Mr. Binyon, to read this translation, so that they could make amends for their reckless predecessors. Is it too much to hope that Indian literature will yet find a Louis Macneice who in his translation of Greek dramas has brought imaginative power and a fine scholarship to his task. Good translations, after all, can only be achieved by one who is writing in his mother-tongue while knowing the language of the original through careful and deeply sympathetic study. That is to say, for English translations of Indian literature, we would want not Indians but creative English authors. Let us, in India, have no illusions on this point.

The Introduction, translated by Mr. (now, Sir) Jadunath Sarkar, from Rabindranath's Bengali essay, greatly enhances the value of this work.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

HAIDER ALI: *By Dr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University. Published by the Author. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 5.*

How intensive research in many unsuspected regions of Indian history reveals valuable results, is well illustrated by this account of Haider Ali's career about which, one would suppose, all that is essential has already been written by many eminent historians. But Dr Sinha has worked out his subject entirely anew from various unknown sources in English, Marathi, Canarese, Portuguese and other languages; and has drawn sound inferences and conclusions of great historical value, which do credit to his powers of critical and balanced judgment. The first Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69) has puzzled many a scholar in grasping its real causes, its inner workings and the dubious ways of its course. Dr. Sinha has treated this important chapter in a lucid and attractive manner by piecing together many salient bits of information and correspondence, which had remained unnoticed.

Haider's phenomenal success is here cogently explained as being due to his judicious combination of the two important systems of warfare, the traditional guerilla tactics usually practised by the Indians and the recently introduced model based on western discipline. Haidar's opponents depended solely either upon the one or the other and failed to subdue him.

Another noticeable feature of Dr. Sinha's patient labours is the correct appraisement of Haider-Maratha relationship. He rightly declares that the untimely death of the Peshwa Madhaorao I, Haidar's formidable antagonist, saved him from ruin, which otherwise would have been inevitable. If that great Peshwa had lived a few years longer, the history of India would have come to be written differently.

It would have perhaps been better if the author had completed in this same volume Haidar's life up to his death, instead of leaving the small portion of the last three years (1779-1782) to a second volume. Dr. Sinha's performance can be highly commended as a piece of sound and useful research. A slight slip occurs on p. 189. The Peshwa Madhaorao II was born on 18th April, 1774, not on 1st April.

G. S. SARDESAI

ASOKA (BENGALI): *By Dr. S. N. Sen. Published by the Calcutta University.*

SELECT ASOKAN EPIGRAPHS: *By Prof. Sachchidananda Bhattacharya. Published by Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co.*

These two popular publications, the first in Bengali and the second in English, are welcome additions to the literature on the great Mauryan Emperor. The first aims to present before the readers a brief but accurate account of the important facts known about Asoka, in a language and style that would be easily understood by all. The second book is a collection of the important inscriptions (in translation) which form the real source of our information about Asoka. It would enable the

reader to get an idea of the contents of these precious documents without going through more ponderous and scholarly volumes on Asoka. The notes added at the end of the English translation of each record would be of great use. The first book will be welcomed by all lovers of Bengali literature and the second is a valuable addition to Asokan literature for those who have not the time or inclination to go through learned dissertations on the subject.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

CHITRAPATI: *An Album of Eight Colour Reproductions of Water-Colour Drawings of Shri Bhavani Prasad Mital, with a Foreword by Baroda Ukil. Published by Oriental Art Gallery and School, Meerut. Price Re. 1-8.*

We owe an apology for this belated notice of this Album of Pictures by a graduated student of the Lucknow School of Art, who has set himself as a practising and teaching artist in the City of Meerut. We wish him all success in his attempt to keep the lamp of Art burning in his city. The batches of students which the several Art schools are training and sending out year after year, in alarming numbers, are added to the Roll of the Un-employed and complicating the problem of un-employment. The indifference of our Society to the claims of Art and Artists is notorious, and even our prosperous citizens do not care to patronize artists, and to help them to develop into useful members of society. The industries and the advertizing trade absorb a few designers, and the film-craft employs some others with the necessary specialized training. But a majority of our trained students of Art, particularly of the so-called "Oriental" brand, with no aptitude for realistic portraits, or for creative designs for Applied Art, are vegetating on weak, sentimental, mythical and "subjective" themes for which they have no real feeling or capacity, and have not received the severe discipline, education, and guidance from the traditional masterpieces of Indian mythical subjects, such as the Old Pat Paintings, the Tantric Buddhist Illustrated MSS., and the Nepalese and Tibeto-Nepalese Banners of Mahayanist and Vajra-yana Icons, offer in abundance. At the reception given to Dr. A. N. Tagore on his birthday anniversary at the Government School of Art, Calcutta, he loudly complained that many of his so-called disciples have not been able to uphold the fundamental qualities of the great traditions of Indian Painting. Indeed, the present-day exponents of the "Neo-Indian" School, have had no opportunity to come in contact with and study the great Masterpieces of Indian Painting in originals, and do not consider such study as an indispensable part of their training. In Europe and America, study of the Old Masters in the Galleries and Museums is the indispensable equipment of an Art student. Most of our Art students do not get even a chance of studying the best works (in originals) from the brush of Dr. Tagore and Nandalal Bose. And a systematic study of Indian Sculpture, which helped Nandalal Bose to develop the language of Indian Plastic Art has been almost denied to our modern students. The result is that a string of half-educated students, with ill-digested notions of what Indian Art stands for, has been (for quite a long time), carricaturing Indian plastic types, mannerisms, and gestures, in futile copies of works of their immediate teachers, without any understanding, and much less, without any capacity for interpreting what these types, stances and gestures signify in the language of Indian Plastics. They are repeating *ad nauseam*, and, indiscriminately, the conventions, manners and mannerisms of some successful pictures,—in weak, anaemic imitations and in impossible and fantastic "creations" and in diluted versions, old traditional types, which have been worn out and from which all the vital flavour of "Indianism" has evaporated. We do not charge that all our castigations apply to the works reproduced in this album. But we certainly think that if Mr. Mital had any intimate knowledge and any critical understanding of all the best achievements of Dr. Tagore and Mr. Nandalal Bose in mythical subjects, and the high standards attained by these two Modern Masters, he would have hesitated to publish his weak and immature works, and would have waited till his meditations on the Indian Sagas had produced works worthy of Indian Mythical themes and worthy of the great traditions of Indian Art. Of the pictures reproduced in this album, "In the Garden of Janaka" is perhaps the best.

KAUNDINYA

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY (1941 ANNUAL): *Published by Gandhi & Co., 14/2, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3 (including postage). Foreign Edition 9sh.*

Any study of the progressive development of the Cotton Textile in India is bound to prove interesting as the industry represents the results of Indian endeavours and Indian enterprise towards the establishment of a national industry with Indian labour and Indian capital. No other industry has had to make its way through greater odds and indeed there is much that is sordid in its history. But in spite of all these difficulties and discouraging conditions the industry has moved ahead and, in the words of Dr. Matthai who has written an excellent foreword to the Annual, 'it stands today as the supreme example of national achievement in the industrial sphere and as a symbol of India's progress as an industrial country.' 'The War has further emphasised the importance of the industry in our national economy and the manner in which it has responded to the demand on its services has indicated the possibilities for its expansion under helpful conditions. But if the prospects of the industry are encouraging, its problems are also many and various and the Annual has referred to them, as far as possible, and even ventured to offer suggestions for solution which merit serious consideration. The reference to the handloom industry, for instance, and the suggestion for its greater engagement in the production of war supplies by the relaxation or alteration of specifications, are particularly useful. Statistics and figures seem to have been collected with care and interpreted with caution and they have definitely added to the usefulness of the publication. Those who are associated with the cotton textile industry or are, in any way, interested in it, will find it worth while to possess a copy of the Annual.

It would have looked well if advertisements were not inserted in between the chapters in the way in which it has been done: it not only breaks the continuity of interest but even makes the reading of the book disagreeable. The get-up of a publication is hoped to be consistent with the seriousness of the subject it deals with.

MUKUL GUPTA

ASSAMESE LITERATURE: *By Birinchi Kumar Barua. No. 1 of the Indian Literatures Series of the P. E. N. Books. Published by the International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.*

The centre for India of the International P. E. N. has earned the gratitude of all lovers of Indian culture by "making a systematic attempt to popularize the story of the Indian Literatures." The present

volume "Assamese Literature" is the first result of this noble attempt.

The Editor of the *P. E. N.* requested the author to prepare a "brochure" on Assamese Literature. So the project itself imposed some limitation on the part of the author. He was to tell the story of nearly six hundred years in a booklet of some sixty pages (excluding the anthology). There are other difficulties too. The history of Assamese literature is not systematically written as yet. Sufficient materials have not come forth to settle the dates of many authors. Scholars still labour under the difficulty of working with unpublished "puthis." Notwithstanding, Shree Barua has done the work with remarkable success. The old Assamese literature was large in bulk and variety. The author has been able to compress it without leaving anything important untold. We feel, however, that a few more pages could have been devoted to Sankardeo, Madhavdeo, Ram Saraswati and Ananta Kandali, the four great stalwarts of the earlier part of the Vaishnavite period. There are a few mistakes of facts here and there, Harihara Bipra is described to have borrowed his theme from the Mahabharata. As a matter of fact Harihara had nothing to do with the Mahabharata version of the story. He based his poem on the version of the Jaimini Bharat. Such discrepencies can very well be ignored.

So far as the modern part is concerned, Shree Barua, it seems is handicapped by want of space. He is therefore hurrying over the names of authors and their works. Poets like Chandra Kumar Agarwalla certainly deserved more than a passing reference. It was Agarwalla who was the pioneer in the field of lyric poetry on the western line.

The anthology is well-selected and quite representative. Renderings are faithful.

The book has removed a great need. Now anybody who wants to know the mind of the people of the eastermost part of India during the last six centuries will find some information in this book.

A bibliography of the famous and representative works of different periods with their publishers would have been much valuable. We hope, in succeeding volumes, the Editor will not omit such an unavoidable part of a book of this nature.

TIRTHANATH SARMA

HINDU SCRIPTURES : *Edited by Nicol Macnicol. With a foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 10-13, Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2. Pp. 293. Price 2s. net.*

This is one of the volumes in Everyman's Library and contains, in the language of the publishers themselves, "representative writings from the main Hindu Scriptures. First, there are translations of thirty Hymns of the *Rigveda*, songs that are not only of profound religious importance but have a glow and rapture that are the very stuff of poetry. Then come English versions of five of the most significant *Upanishads*. The book is completed by Dr. Barnett's well-known translation of the famous Indian song, the *Bhagavadgita.*"

Thus, in this compilation, we have a graded representation of Hindu religious thought. The selection has been well-made. And it is a handy volume which even the busiest man may use. It will help the English-reading public, unacquainted with Sanskrit, to have at a glance a general idea of Hinduism, which will not be unworthy even of a scholar.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM: *With a foreword by Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood. Published by H. W. Cave & Co., Printers, Colombo (Ceylon). Pp. 332.*

STUDIES AND TRANSLATIONS BY SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM. *With a foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.I.E. Published by the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., Colombo (Ceylon). Pp. 305.*

Not much perhaps is known of Sir Ponnambalam on this side of the Indian Empire of Great Britain. But a perusal of these memoirs and speeches and writings will undoubtedly leave in the reader's mind the impression that he was an untiring worker in the cause of Ceylon's social and political uplift. Sir Ponnambalam was a member of the Ceylon Civil Service. Even while in service he tried to create a public opinion in favour of constitutional reforms. And when he was out of service, he devoted his time and energy to the same cause. And the evidence of his activities preserved in these published speeches and writings marks him out as the Sir Surendranath of Ceylon. What Sir Surendranath did for nationalism in Bengal and in India, Sir Ponnambalam did in Ceylon. Besides Sir Surendranath, there was another eminent Bengalee to whom Sir Ponnambalam may be compared: That was Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt. Like Mr. Dutt, Sir Ponnambalam was not only a member of the Civil Service but has left behind a huge quantity of able writings on various subjects.

Sir Ponnambalam's activities were not confined to politics only. Social service and education also engaged his attention. His speeches on emigration and labour legislation show that he was much ahead of his time.

Apart from these various public activities, Sir Ponnambalam was a profound scholar also. He has given us an English and Tamil translation of the Mandukya Upanishad, a learned introduction to the Dhammapada, English translation of several religious and philosophical books in Tamil, and also a few archæological essays.

The volumes before us show that Sir Ponnambalam was a man of stupendous activity and encyclopædic mind. At a time when the relations between the two countries, India and Ceylon, are somewhat strained, a study of the life and activity of the eminent men of one country by the other may bring about a happier and a healthier relation between the two. At least for this reason, if not for others also, Sir Ponnambalam ought to be read in India.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BANKIM CHANDRA: PROPHET OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE, HIS LIFE AND ART: *By Motilal Das. Published by D. M. Library. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The centenary of Bankim Chandra was the occasion for many literary efforts on the life and writings of the great Bengali litterateur. The present attempt may be traced to the same incentive. It has a special audience in mind—the foreigner who wants to have an idea of the life and art of the greatest novelist of Bengal, and the marshalling of facts has been done with that purpose in view. Specially for this reason the reviewer shares with the author his regret that there are so many slips and mistakes. Half of the book is narrative and the other half critical. The occasionally disparaging remarks against Rabindranath in course of a comparison (pp. 97, 98, etc.) seem to be irrelevant and undeveloped.

In spite of these, the book will be found handy to such foreigners as seek to cultivate an acquaintance with the literature of Bengal.

K(G)ANTHI OR THE SPIRIT AND SERVICE STORIES: *By K. G. Reddiar (Krishna R. Guruswamy Reddiar). Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1 or 1s. 3d.*

The word Kanthi means illumination. These short stories are eye-openers to the beauty of life that lies all about us but uncared for by us. Glimpses of romance are visible in the vignettes which add to our relish by the sparkle of a local atmosphere. K(G)anthi is the name also of the short story in the middle of the book, displaying both restraint and strength of passion, while a touch of humour is to be felt here and there throughout the sketches: altogether a pleasant reading.

FOOD REMEDIES—BATHS: *By Dr. S. J. Singh, M.A., B.Sc., N.D. (London). Published by the All-India Nature Cure Association, 67, Gynne Road, Lucknow. 1940. Price annas twelve each.*

Nature Cure Bulletins, which lay down in detail treatment of diseases by the use of food and water. The bulletins are illustrated and they will be found useful by men who will know how to experiment *within limits*. The language is easy and precise.

MAHATMA GANDHI: THE GREAT ROGUE OF INDIA: *By G. D. Consul. Published by National Publishers, Delhi. 1939. Price Rs. 2.*

A one-volume popular introduction to Mahatmaji's teaching and activities, containing humorous touches.

P. R. Sen

THE PROBLEM OF ABORIGINES IN INDIA: *By A. V. Thakkar, L.C.E. Published by Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona 4. 1941. Pp. 37. Price Re. 1.*

In this small brochure, Sjt. A. V. Thakkar has drawn pointed attention to the problem of the aboriginal inhabitants of India. These people constitute altogether 6½% of the total population, and yet they suffer from complete neglect of their more enlightened brethren. They are steeped in ignorance and poverty and suffer from ill-health as well as constant economic exploitation by their more advanced neighbours. If, however, we have to create a strong and united nation in India, the aborigines must be converted into one strong limb of our national body. Sjt. Thakkar has suggested various ways and means whereby this could be done. His suggestions are of a practical nature and are informed by a genuine sense of brotherhood and of justice.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ASTROLOGY: *By Prof. B. Suryanarayana Rao, B.A., M.R.A.S., etc. Published by the Astrological Office, P. O. Basavanguli, Bangalore. Eighth Edition. Pp. 98. Price Re. 1.*

The author has explained the principles of Astrology in the light of modern science. A good book for those who doubt the reliability of the Astrological deductions.

THE INDIAN EPHEMERIES FOR 1941: *By Nirmal Chandra Lahiri, M.A. Published by Satish Chandra Seal; M.A., B.L. of the Indian Research Institute, 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta. Price annas ten.*

This is the type of book that is badly needed by the students of Astrology for their calculations, as the planetary positions given in the Panjikas do not agree. It is replete with many useful tables and the author has removed a long-felt want.

Suhrid Krishna Basu

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SHRI BHAGAVAD GITA OF 745 SLOKAS: *Edited by Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri. Published by the Rasasala Aushadhasram, Gondal, Kathiawar. Pp. 93+98. Price not mentioned.*

It is generally known that all scholars and commentators from Sankaracharya right up to the present times, have accepted the Gita of 700 verses as authentic. But recent researches have revealed that its current text is incomplete and the correct number of the verses of the Gita is 745 and not 700. This is evident from the testimony of Sage Vyas himself who in Bhisma Parva of the Mahabharat (7-43) states that the total number of the stanzas of the Gita is 745 of which 620 are spoken by Sri Krishna, 57 by Arjun, 67 by Sanjaya and 1 by Dhritarastra. Enthused greatly with this impression, the learned editor of the Gita under review carried on vehement search for a manuscript of such Gita and fortunately chanced to find, from a bundle of Sanskrit manuscripts obtained from Benares, a manuscript of the Gita on Bhojapatra containing 745 verses. That valuable MSS belonging to Vikram Samvat 1665 (1608 A.D.) has been after thorough and critical editing brought out in the form of the present book.

The Kashmiri Gita printed in Srinagar with Abhinava Gupta's commentory also has 745 verses. It has moreover been existing in manuscript form since centuries. The Gita published by the Suddha Dharma Mandal of Madras also contains 745 verses but this edition has removed 37 stanzas from the current text and added 82 new ones culled arbitrarily from various Parvas of the Mahabharat. It has been divided into 24 Chapters instead of the usual eighteen The Gita edition by the Anandasram of Poona with the commentory Sarvatsbhadra by Rajanaka Ramkavi follows the Kashmiri recension and is authoritative. The German edition and the one by Bhandarkar Oriental Institute of Poona are based solely on the Kashmiri Recension. There is one Calcutta edition printed about 70 years ago which shows some variant readings in some places not found in the current text. The editor of the book under review published a Gita several years back from a MSS of Vikram Samvat 1236 (1179 A.D.) procured from Surat. It contains 21 additional verses and more than 250 variants and corresponds with the Kashmiri recension in most parts. This Gita which has already run into two editions has created unprecedented stir among the Gita-scholars of India, Europe and America. The learned editor therefore has rightly come to the conclusion that the present Gita with 745 verses is in its original size. This size was extant only in Kashmir even in the time of Sankaracharya but not then known in Deccan. Hence it escaped the notice of Sankaracharya who seems to be responsible for the accepted deficient size of the Gita. It is learned from the famous records of the Muslim historian Al Beruni who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. that Gita in his time was of 745 stanzas. According to Persian translations made by Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi, the Gita was of 745 slokas. MSS of Abul Fazl's Persian translation is now preserved in the India Office Library, London. Faizi's translation has been repeatedly printed in Lahore, Allahabad and other places. MSS of the Persian translation made by Shah Ali Dastgir now preserved in the library of the Maharaja of Benares confirms the above view. Even the Arabic translation made in the reign of Mohamedan Emperors bear ample evidence to the existence of the Gita with 745 stanzas. Commentaries on the Gita of this textual size did exist before Sankaracharya but they have been destroyed by the medieval misfortunes through which Sanskrit scriptures had to pass at the hands of the iconoclastic invaders.

All the historical evidence mentioned above make doubly sure that the conviction of the learned editor

about the true size of the Gita is beyond doubt and dispute. Now it is incumbent upon the scholars of the Gita to popularise its true size in place of the present amputated form. The present Gita apart from its full text of 745 slokas contains an informative introduction of 87 pages in English on the size, date and other pertinent problems concerning the Gita.

SWAMI JAGADISDARANANDA

SANSKRIT-PRAKRIT

TATTVARTH SUTRA—JAINAGAMSAMANVYA: *Compiled by Muni Atmaramji. Published by Srimati Ratna Devi Jain, Ludhiana. Pp. 264. Price not mentioned.*

This is a scholarly study in ideological parallelisms between the original *Sutras* in Sanskrit and *Agamas* in Prakrit of Jain Philosophy. As such, this synthesis is of unusual interest and enlightenment to students of Jainism. The editing is highly competent. There are three useful appendices at the end. One wishes, however, that the learned editor had also given the parallelisms in Sanskrit, in addition to those given in Prakrit because then those who are not familiar with the latter language, too, would have found the compilation stimulating. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

N. GOSWAMI

BENGALI

NIJERE HARAYE KHUNJI: *By Gita Ghosh. Published by Harendra Krishna Sarkar, 9, Madhab Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-10.*

The author has nicely woven into a story the conflict between our conventional society and the love for a free and simple open-air life. The heroine of the novel, a fine sensitive soul, brought up in a westernised Bengali family, gets sick of her surroundings and leaves home to join a band of gypsies. Her life among the gypsies does not appear quite natural, but the psychological tension that impels her to leave home has been powerfully depicted. She comes back after sometime to her old acquaintances and is warmly received. But the question still perturbs her: "Whither lies the right path of life? This hurry-scurry of modern civilisation, this constant anxiety to keep up the show,—what are all these worth? Should we ever run after bubbles and never dive deep into our souls?" The colourful imagination, the charming style, and the power of introspection manifested herein deserve every praise. The pictures of the Europeanised section of our society are thoroughly convincing. The book leaves a lasting impression on the mind and makes us reflect on the course of our life.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

HINDI-UPNYAS: *By Shiv Narayan Shrivastava. Published by Saraswati Mandir, Kashi. Pp. 308. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a history of the origin and growth of the novel in Hindi literature. Tracing briefly the beginnings of this branch of writing to the Vedic times and its developments through the Puranic and the Mahabharata periods, the author goes on to a detailed treatment of the modern epoch in Hindi literature so far as novel-writing is concerned. Before he plunges into this subject, however, he devotes about seventy pages to the principles and technique of the art of story-telling, the secret of which, he states, is, to use a phrase of Poe, the creation of "the effect of totality" by portraying the character of man, as evolved and expressed through his personal reaction to some specific aspect of nature or to a particular set of events.

The pioneer novelist in the modern epoch in Hindi literature was Syed Inshallah Khan, who made his *debut* with his "Raniketki ki Kahani" during the sixties of the last century. He was followed by several others, like Shrinivasdas and Balkrishna Bhatt. Then came the stage when novels in other languages were translated into Hindi, the forerunner being Babu Gadadhar Sinha. These writers were influenced considerably by Bengali literature. The next stage was initiated by Babu Devkinandan Khatri. Once again the pendulum swung back to original essays in the line.

Then the author comments, at length, on the works of Premchand, Jaishankar Prasad, Jainendranath Kumar and other novelists about twenty in number. As modern literature mostly is of the proletarian pattern, so to speak, the novel of today also follows more or less the same pattern and is marked by "conflict and bitterness." In the Hindi novel, however, this bitterness is not so acute as there is still a wide gulf between our society and our art or modes of expression. The trend, all the world over, is to let the common man and the commonplace come into their own, so the modern novel is more a novel of character than of plot. Compared with the Russian novel, the Hindi novel has much leeway to make up.

The author closes on an intriguing point: to which branch of literature, Poetry or Novel, does the future belong? He opines that it is the Novel that leads the way. This is an opinion on which there is bound to be a great difference of opinion because in the ultimate every aspect of literature, if it is to be, not only for the day must have "an element of aristocracy," for which poetry is more suited than novel.

Hindi Upnyas has fulfilled a long-felt want in the historical as well as critical spheres of Hindi literature.

G. M.

DWITEEYA MAHAYUDHA KE PURVA KA SANSAR: *By Ram Ratan Gupta. Published by Ram Gopal Gupta, Bihari-Niwas, Cawnpore. Pp. 430. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The book under review is a travel-account of the European continent preceding immediately the outbreak of the present world-war. The author, himself the traveller, first visited the continent in 1933 and subsequently in 1938. He has given an interesting account of the places he visited. But his impressions are mostly of a descriptive nature and lack that personal touch, which distinguishes a travel-account from a purely geographical narration. In the year, the author last visited the continent, Europe was in a melting pot and speedily heading towards the zero-hour. He could have added much to the interest and importance of the book if he could have taken pains to throw some light on the socio-political cross-currents of the countries he visited, that were largely responsible for the present catastrophe. He could conveniently leave out some of the superfluous details, known even to the humblest student of geography, which have made the volume unnecessarily bulky.

The title of the book, meaning "*The World* before the Second World War," is rather misleading, for the author has not touched any other place outside the continent. "*Europe* before the Second World War" would, perhaps, have been a more proper and fitting title.

M. S. SENGAR

CHAYABAD AUR RAHASYABAD: *By Ganga Prasad Pandeya. Published by Ramnarayan Lal, Allahabad. Pp. 143. Price Re. 1.*

This little book attempts at presenting an account of certain main features of the twin schools (separated be they in point of time) of Hindi poetry—Chayabad and Rahasyabad, as is suggested by its very title. The young writer, Mr. Pandeya has undoubtedly given proof of an enterprising spirit in casting his net far and wide, both from the point of view of the extent and also the profoundness of the subject; especially when even the tallest amongst our critics have shirked their responsibility while dealing in particular with the modern school of Hindi poetry, commonly known as *Chayabad.* Considering this prime fact, the present attempt, in spite of its many shortcomings, such as sketchyness and vagueness of ideas, deserves encouragement at our hands as a harbinger of really comprehensive and penetrating studies on the subject.

B. P. CHANDOLA

MARATHI

MARATHICHE SAHITYA-SHASTRA (FROM JNYANESHWARA TO RAMDAS) : *By Dr. Madhav Gopal Deshmukh, M.A., Ph.D., Nagpur. Publishers : Uttamshloka Mandal. Umarkhed, Berar. Pp. 296. Crown size. Price Rs. 3.*

This book constitutes the thesis which the author submitted to the Nagpur University for his doctorate. It was approved of by the University and the author received his Ph.D. degree in consequence thereof. The subject according to the writer himself is an investigation of the principles of Poetics in Maharashtra from Jnyaneshwar to Ramdas. The book in its consecutive chapters deals with the fundamental conceptions of the science of Poetics and then discusses the literary production of the chief Marathi poets of that period as illustrating them. He then goes on to the various theories of Sanskrit Rhetoric which give predominance to one or other of the elements of *Rasa, Riti, Alamkara* or *Chamatkriti* in the evaluation of poetic excellence and he ends with the conclusion that *Rasa* being the main cause of poetic merit, the Marathi poets of this period must be given the credit for postulating that *Bhakti* or devotion was a Rasa—the tenth Rasa. The author's treatment of the subject is scientific and exhaustive. His mention of the novel idea of *Rekha* or the literary mode of the expression of a particular Rasa as an original contribution of Marathi literature to the science of poetics, deserves more than a passing reference. On the whole, the author can be congratulated on the production of this book.

D. N. APTE

SAHITYA PRAKASHA: *By D. N. Apte. Published by P. A. Chitre, Shree Sayajeel Sahitya-mala, Baroda, Pp. 221. Price Re. 1-2.*

This is a collection of speeches, articles and reviews of the veteran and well-known writer of Marathi, Mr. D. N. Apte of Baroda. Four articles on literary topics deal with poetry, criticism, tragedy and literature in general. The place of honour is accorded to the author's essay on *Maharashtra Dharma* as propounded by Saint Ramdas.

Reviews of *Ancient Maharashtra* (by the late Dr. S. V. Ketkar) and *The History of Sanskrit Literature,* Vol. I, Vedic period (by the late C. V. Vaidya) as also articles on literary topics reveal his depth and width of scholarship. His criticism has the merit and maturity of comparative and solid study of Sanskrit and English literatures.

C. V. A.

TAMIL

DEBT REDEMPTION IN FOREIGN LANDS: *By A. Muthiah, M.A., Assistant Professor of Economics, Pachaiyappas College, Madras. Published by Desia Vidya Sangam, Madras. 1938. Pp. 103. Price annas twelve.*

This is an equally useful though a supplemental volume to the author's other two works, reviewed in August, 1941.

The author has, as is acknowledged in the preface, made full use of the article of Mr. G. Castanz that appeared in the *International Review of Agriculture.*

The book discusses in general the nature of agricultural credit, explains how the indebtedness happened to grow heavy all of a sudden and describes in detail the several steps taken and acts passed by several Governments for the amelioration of the pitiable condition of agriculturists.

This is a book, in short, that ought to be in the hands of every thinking nationalist and farmer.

THE PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY: NAVAYUGA PUBLICATION No. 1: *By A. N. Sivaraman. Published by Navayuga Prasuralayam, Madras, G. T. 1937. Pp. vii+215. Price annas eight.*

This is a critical commentary on the provincial autonomy and though very concise is sure to prove a never failing guide in cases of doubts and difficulties as well. The author seems to have closely studied the connected literature, followed the evidence and discussions on the Government of India Act, and made a good use of such knowledge in this work.

MADHAVAN

TELUGU

KUMARASAMBHAVA: *By S. Lakshmipathi Sastri, Madras University, Telugu Series No. 6. Published by the University of Madras. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2.*

The book is a critical study and appreciation of Nannichodadeva's *Kumarasambhava.* The writer has thoroughly investigated into the work in order to determine precisely about the exact time of Nannichodadeva. Based on substantial internal sources of authority available hitherto, the author concludes that Nannichoda belonged to the 13th century A.D. and came after Nannaya.

The book in spite of being a research work is full of lively interest. It affords much comparative study and as such is sure to be highly esteemed by every Telugu scholar.

MAHATMAJI: *By M. Jagganna Sastri, B.A. Published by the Village Book Depot, Tanuku. Pp. 396. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book under review contains many biographical essays on Mahatmaji. The author has translated in a lucid style, the essays written by eminent men in appreciation of this mystic personality. The views of the world o his life and creed; his spiritual and divine teachings are given in a compact form in this book. Each individual essay reveals some glorious aspect, some trait in Mahatmaji's character that makes him all the more sublime and worthy of reverence.

The writer through these pages unfolds yet another chapter in praise and admiration of Gandhiji. We look forward for such books from time to time about this great man.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

SRI AURAVINDA VYASAVALI: *Translated by Veluri Chandrasekharam. Published by Mr. Ch. Venkata Krishnayya, Pondicherry. Pp. 194. Price Re. 1.*

YOGA DEEPIKALU: *By Sri Aurobindo. Translated by V. Chandrasekharam. Published by Ch. Venkata Krishnayya, Pondicherry. Pp. 116. Price annas ten.*

The above two books give a fairly full exposition of Sri Aurobindo's views on a variety of topics. The first volume, which contains a number of dissertations, is divided into two parts, the first one dealing with *Dharma* and the second one with *Nationalism*. The essays are brilliant and inspiring, endowed as they are with the intellectual perspicacity and spiritual verve of the writer. The second volume comprises some illuminating essays on Yoga.

The translation is flawless; and the get-up of the books is excellent. These books should be read by every one interested in national regeneration.

A. K. Row

GUJARATI

BASIC ENGLISH: *By Harikrishna Vyas. Printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur. 1940. Paper Cover. Pp. 197. Price Rs. 2.*

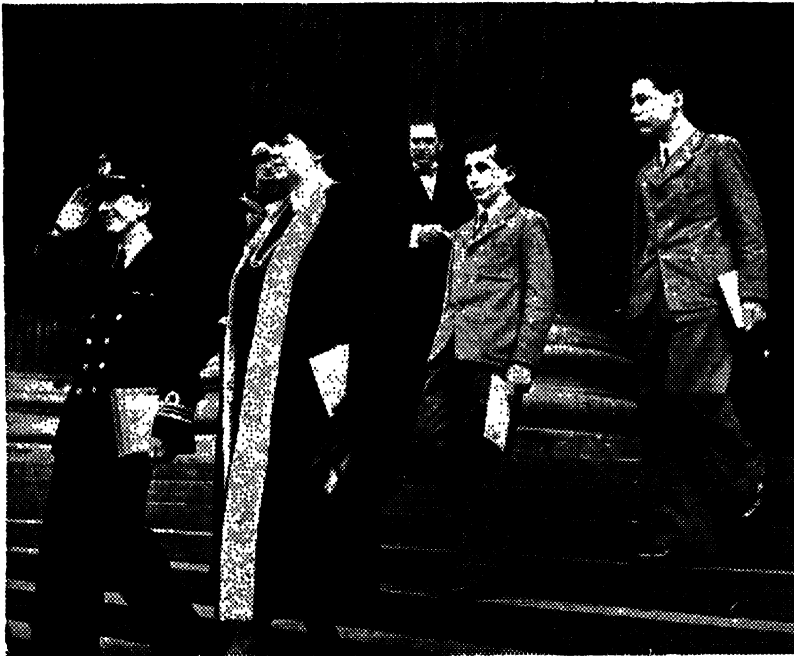
Basic English is Basic English and we fail to understand how a Gujarati guide to it would prove of any use to a person knowing Gujarati only unless it be suggested that a Basic Gujarati language is to be created on the basis on which Basic English is evolved. However Mr. Vyas styles Basic English as an International language consisting of 850 words, and in that light the writing of this book is justified. To those who know Basic English there would be found nothing new to learn in this very well and simply written treatise. It introduces however an entirely novel experiment to Gujarati readers, and hence deserves a welcome. As the inventor of Gujarati shorthand, the name of Mr. Vyas is well-known, and his efforts to popularise it merit encouragement. He has, so far as Basic English is concerned, branched out into a new direction and may be able to do some good.

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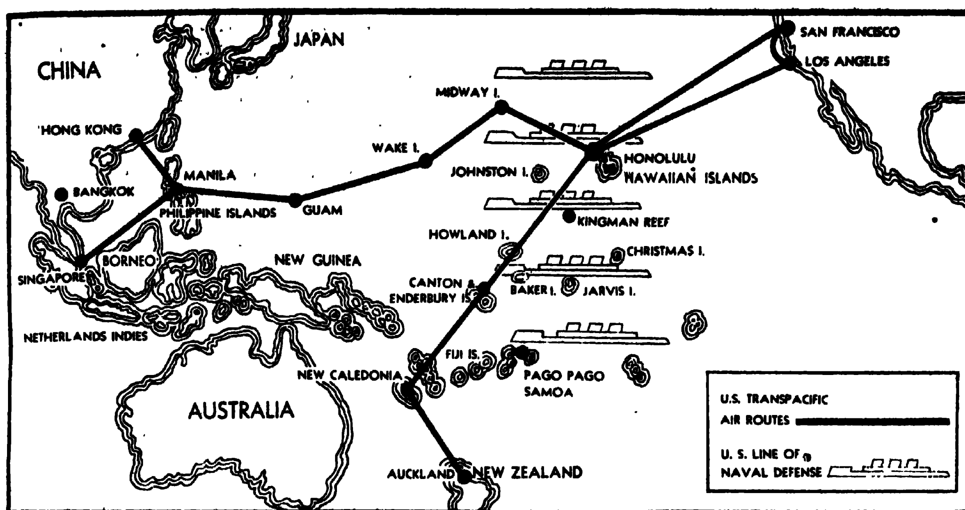
The following books were received for being noticed. But only current Gujarati books are noticed and not old publications :

KHETIWADI: *By Kanungo and Patel.*
HINDUSTANNI GARIBAI: *By G. J. Patel.*
GHARDIPAKO: *By Shardaprasad Varma.*
RAJKATHA: *By Shardaprasad Varma.*
RITU SAMHAR: *By Jethabhai B. Patel.*
GIRI RAJ ABU: *By Shankarlal D. Parekh.*
BIRADAR BABU: *By Kanti Kaka.*
PADYATMAK DAHOD DARSHAN: *By B. N. Bhatt.*

K. M. J.



King Peter of Yugo-Slavia, with his mother, Queen Marie, and his younger brothers, Prince Tomislav and Prince Andrei, leaving St. Paul's Cathedral, London, after the thanks-giving service for the young King's coming-of-age



The air and sea routes from the U. S. A. to Asia and Australasia

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

For the first time in nearly a century, the flood tide of world-history is lapping at the shores of India. Warnings were uttered for some considerable time from all quarters—even this paper did cry havoc some years back—some in seriousness others just to influence public opinion into doing several of various things material or immaterial to the actual prosecution of defensive warfare so far as the actual boundaries of this country were concerned. But it is plain and apparent now that no one in power—official or non-official—dreamt that the reality would so drastically surpass the imagined forecasts in its magnitude, or that its imminence was so perilously near.

Much has been said about the state of unpreparedness for defence, against a really determined and highly efficient aggressor, in which the defenders of the south-east pacific zones have been caught in and infinitely more can be said about it. The U.S.A. Government has held an enquiry about the "surprise" attack on the Pearl harbour and the findings go definitely to prove that the "surprise" should not have been so much of a tragic affair, had the men in charge been a little less complacent and heedless. In Britain Mr. Churchill has delivered a speech and a debate is in progress at the time of writing. It is neither within the scope of this article to discuss political matters nor do we intend to indulge in the luxury of a debate on paper when the basic facts are hidden behind the smoke-screen of an extremely capable orator's speech. It is for the people of Britain and the self-governing dominions to make up their minds for themselves as to whether they have been fooled and are still being fooled about the state of affairs in this part of the world—and further east—or not.

* * * * *

The weekly newsmagazine "Time" published in the U. S. A. contained the following news paragraphs in its issue of August 11, 1941 :

"Into the Indo-Chinese port of Saigon poured fresh, fighting fit Japanese troops. Trucks full of them rolled out toward the interior—and Thailand. Day after day the troops debarked and marched; 20000, 30000, 40000 soldiers *They were not occupation troops. They were picked troops for fighting.*" (italics ours.)

"Behind them rumbled the machinery of war. Trucks shuttled back and forth between the docks and the encampments beyond the city. Aboard the trucks were munitions boxes, crated bombs, drums of gasolene guns. Sweating Japanese labour battalions camped along the docks; they worked till their tongues hung out,

then slept in relays in the tents." The harbor was filled with transports freighters, motor boats, sampans, half a hundred warships. Fighter planes droned overhead."

"Nobody supposed that the Japanese had moved into French Indo-China to make themselves comfortable. The Japanese made no effort to persuade anybody to so think so.... Japan's Prince Fumimaro Konoye, spoke grimly of the need for "swift and determined execution" of Japan's national policy. Japan's aims (1) to secure the safety of the country"; (2) "to obtain self-sufficiency in various resources"; (3) "to establish a Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere." French Indo-China was only a jumping off place for the achievement of these aims."

He must be extremely gullible who would believe that all the above, in infinitely greater detail, was not known to the intelligence services of the A.B.C.D. powers. Or is it possible that they did not realise in full the implications of the information received?

"Time," for October 27, 1941, contains the following summary of Lord Gort's dispatches regarding the Flanders campaigns of 1940!

"It was clear from the outset that the ascendancy in equipment which the enemy possessed played a great part in the operations" Germany concentrated at least ten *Panzer* divisions against the B.E.F., threw five of them at the British rear defenses, and the British command had no anti-tank guns for this area except those to be got by stripping the units at the front. General Gort's armoured forces were only seven mechanized cavalry regiments with light tanks, a regiment of obsolete armoured cars, two battalions of infantry tanks, most of these with only a machine gun each."

"The British had only 130 fighter planes in France. (The French had only 40 bombers for daylight combat.)"

"The British lost all their usable airfields on the continent by May 30—ten days after the battle started."

"Lord Gort's conclusions: The next B. E. F. must be equipped on a scale commensurate with the task it is to be called upon to fulfil. The days are past when armies can be hurriedly raised, equipped and placed in the field, for modern war demands the ever-increasing use of complicated material."

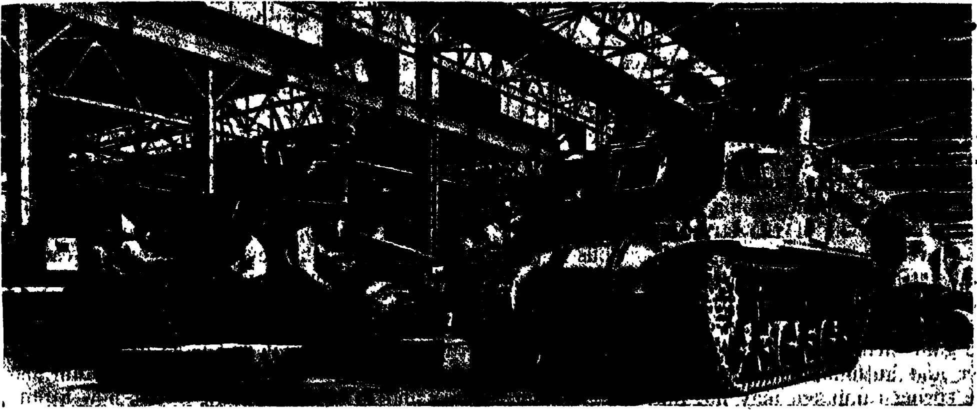
The fateful Japanese moves in Indo-China took place more than six months ago, *four months before the Libyan campaign started* and quite a good time before the all-out aid to Russia programme started in Britain at the end of September last. And Lord Gort's warning was there all the time. The Australian broadcasts of the last few days give ample testimony as to with what equipment the defenders of Malaya have had to face a fully equipped and fully trained attacking force led by officers whose skill has been praised by the British authorities. As regards the pleas put forward to explain this deficiency, we in India would ask to be excused if we class most of it as "dope" specially when we contrast the plea of insufficiency of material to go round every where to the opposition put up against the armament manufacturing schemes by Indian enterpreneurs like Mr. Walchand Hirachand.

* * * * * *

In the Philippines General McArthur is making history. Quite apart from the epic fight which the Filipino army with its handful of U.S.A. regulars is putting up against an invading force possessing all the advantages this doughty general's leadership is proving that the value of the material with which an army is made is dependant to a very great extent on the basic facts of mutual trust, regard and comradeship between the supreme commander and his men. As a result, after six weeks of the most intensive blitz that the Japanese army, navy and airforce could develop, the courageous men of the defending force are still carrying on a gallant struggle against desperate odds. This fight does not merely do credit to the leadership of General McArthur, or to the training imparted by him to this force in his previous command in those islands, it proves the strength of the bond between him and his men as evinced in this wonderful display of morale by a young, incompletely trained and not quite sufficiently equipped army.

The Japanese have virtually broken all the links in the chain of naval and air bases, strung across the Pacific by the U.S.A. commands, from Hawaii to the Asiatic mainland, via the Philippines. The Philippines further served as a barrier across the Japanese route to the Dutch East Indies and as such the seizure and complete domination of this island group is vital to the plans of the Japanese against the day when the U.S.A. navies challenge those of Nippon for the mastery of the South Pacific. If the Japanese can firmly establish themselves in the Philippines, then the task of the U.S.A. naval forces when they assume the offensive, becomes infinitely harder, grim as it always is in any case to attack a powerful navy within sheltered areas and near its main bases of supply and reconditioning.

In the Dutch East Indies the attack is developing in an well planned manner, the main



Chrysler Tank Arsenal. Here just a year ago stood a vast cornfield.

idea being to isolate those islands from all outside sources of aid as soon as possible. The Japanese drive for the present seems to have Singapore and the Dutch East Indies as its main objectives. These would provide Japan with almost all the raw materials she has been craving for since she became a world power. Further, with Indo-China, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies under her consolidated command in the West and the wide Pacific to her East, she would be as invulnerable as possible under the present world circumstances. Therefore this all-out effort to capture these positions of vantage, at the most rapid rate possible, has been launched under circumstances that seemed like a desperate gamble to western strategists.

The Japanese attack is being strictly confined to the zones controlled by her navy and naval air forces, which is a clear indication of her plans.

In Malaya the speed of Japanese advance seems to have slackened during the last week. The defending forces have been able to keep together their forces and the fact that they have been able to evade annihilation or capture to any serious extent must be placed to their credit. The Japanese navy is in absolute control of the seas to the East of the Peninsula, and their air-force is very much in a superior position as yet, and the fullest possible use has been made of these advantages so far, and as a result the defences of Malaya have gone down in an astonishing manner. Much has yet to be revealed about the causes of this collapse. The battle for Singapore is approaching the climax and much depends now on the quality and quantity of the reinforcements on their way, and on the speed with which they arrive. The last week's battles have amply proved that given a certain amount of aid in mechanical equipment and aeroplanes, the defenders are well able to hold their own.

In Singapore itself the confused situation has clarified somewhat and as a result the defense will be most probably stubborn enough to allow the reinforcements promised by Britain and America to come up to the strength needed to stabilise the position.

American aid in the shape of planes and naval units has made itself felt in the actions round the Straits of Macassar. As yet the forces at the disposal of General Wavell have not proved to be adequate, but their presence and the rapidity with which they have gone into action have done much to prove that the major battles in the South-Eastern Pacific areas are yet to be fought. She is evidently counting a great deal on the capacity of her soldiers and airmen to consolidate the gains attained during the initial period of success which would enable her naval forces to maintain a secure inner route over which the supplies and reinforcements can be conveyed in their long voyages to and from the bases in Japan. If they succeed in this attempt at consolidation before the A. B. C. D. group has been able to rush up the forces necessary to stabilise the situation, then Japan will be in a position of vantage for some considerable time to come. Otherwise the very widespread nature of her attack would make the position of the various Japanese forces scattered over a very wide area untenable in the face of a determined and well-organised attack.

In Russia, the winter still holds the Nazi forces in its relentless grip. The Soviet forces, more mobile under the prevailing circumstances

are carrying on with their plans for jeopardizing the security of the German winter line by extremely determined and well planned attacks at strategic points. The progress is slow and as yet but little of the ground lost has been regained. On the other hand the Germanic forces are having their morale sapped by the withdrawals in the face of enemy pressure. Their physical condition will also be undergoing deterioration under the prolongation of the strain due to fighting under very adverse circumstances. Thus if the winter is prolonged beyond March and the Soviet troops can maintain the terrific pressure they are exercising on the Nazi lines, then much of the gains achieved by the three thrusts, in summer and autumn, will be lost or nullified and the spring campaign may not find the Germans in the same advantageous position as they were before the winter.

Stalin's forces on the other hand will have the chances of re-consolidating the defences to the approaches of Moscow. These are situated around the towns of Kashin, Kalinin, Rzhev, Vyazma, Kaluga, Tula and Stalinogorsk, all just over a 100 miles from Moscow and spread in an elliptic arc from due north to due south of Moscow.

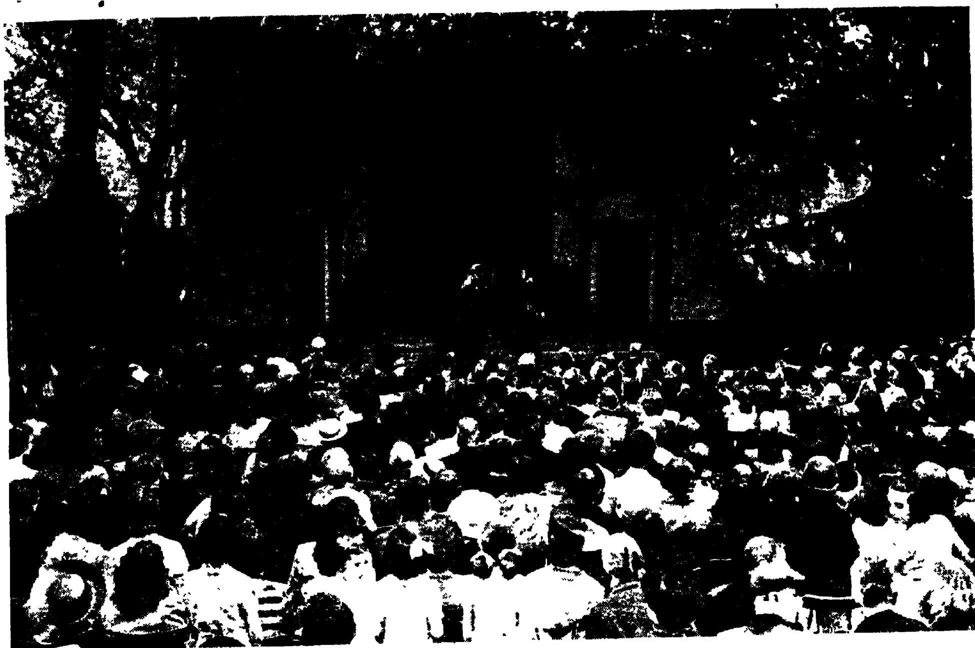
These towns had all fallen in the grip of the invader, and were so many swords pointed at the heart of Moscow. Back in the hands of the Russians and equipped for mechanized defence against panzer assault, they would prove a most formidable obstacle in the path of the invader, now that the Soviet forces have been able to attain stability during a period of enemy inactivity which has allowed the Soviet high-command to re-group and re-organise its forces.

A very great deal depends now on the speed of the American production programme. The Russians have not yet been able to regain control of the great production centres of the Don and the Dneiper basins. Even if they did regain it, a very long time must elapse before any production, excepting the mining of ores and coal, can be done. The restricted output of the Russian armament factories must therefore be augmented by supplies from those of her allies. Of these Britain has evidently not yet reached the production point at which her own forces can be supplied in anywhere near adequate quantities. The titanic burden that American armament production department will have to shoulder, to make up the deficiencies of Russia, Britain and China and to equip her own forces, now attaining vast dimensions, would be appalling to any other country starting from scratch. But mass production is the speciality of the U. S. A. big business and therefore even Mr. Roosevelt's programme might be fulfilled. The Axis powers have to face the possibility of such a vast production peak being reached before the end of this year. The Axis partners are wide-awake to their own limitations, and therefore 1942 will witness the climax of the Axis effort to reach a final decision. Drastic changes in the outlook of the Anglo-Saxon countries, specially with regard to their viewpoint regarding the peoples of Asia in general and India and China in particular will be needed before the democracies can even think of victory. As in everything else, in this case also they are late by years.

Mere weight of gold or volume of talk will not win campaigns in the future any more than they have done in the past.



Cadets of the Philippine Academy. *Right*: General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of the U. S. Army Forces in the Far East



SHAKESPEARE IN SOUTHWARK PARK

Typical of the spirit of wartime London have been the crowded performances of Shakespeare's plays, held on the banks of the River Thames, in the open air, in one of the poorest quarters of London, and close to the site of the theatre where many of the dramatist's masterpieces were first performed. This picture of a scene from "The Taming of the Shrew," shows the simplicity of its setting, which reproduces the essentials of the original performance, and the keenness with which his countrymen acclaim his work 350 years after his death.

"THE TAMING OF THE SHREW" IN SOUTHWARK PARK

Open Air Performances in London's Dockland

By IVOR BROWN

[Behind the London Docks, on the south side of the River Thames, a few yards from the site of the theatre where Shakespeare's plays were first performed, there is a stretch of open park. Here on summer evenings, among the battered ruins of buildings which the German bombs have struck in their attempt to blast the Docks themselves, a group of enterprising Londoners have been reviving the plays of Shakespeare.]

As a fascinated observer of the Shakespeare Cult, which frequently has become the Shakespeare Industry, I have naturally 'collected' curious performances of the famous plays. I have seen *Hamlet* played, for example, on and around the tiny cabaret stage of a dance-hall and in the great stone courtyard of the Danish Castle of Elsinore. I have seen and heard performances in many accents and languages, even in Hebrew—very good that was—and in Czech—those, too, in Prague, were excellent productions, full of fancy, humour and Bohemian character. But never till the summer of 1941 had I seen Shakespeare played on the South bank of the Thames, in his own Southwark, and on just such a stage or platform as that for which he wrote.

The occasion was in Southwark Park, a very pleasant piece of land behind the Bermondsey Docks. It has been a heavily bombed area, but one that wears its wounds gallantly. The reason for the performances was the eagerness of the Bermondsey Shelter Council to keep up in summer the spirit of comradeship in entertainment which had been created during the terrible nights of the winter. During those nights C.E.M.A. (the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts) had sent musicians to Bermondsey for the comfort of the people, and in the summer Bermondsey turned to C. E. M. A. again, knowing its interest in the drama.

Accordingly C. E. M. A. arranged with Mr. Robert Atkins, who for eight summers had

directed London's Open Air Theatre in Regent's Park and was now finding difficulties in the way of doing so again, to start performances in Southwark Park this year. Mr. Atkins holds very strongly that Shakespeare is best appreciated if acted on the kind of open platform for which he wrote and on which he himself walked and spoke as an actor. Accordingly he set up in Southwark Park a model of the Elizabethan playhouse, an open stage with a penthouse behind it and a gallery for the musicians —and sometimes for the actors—to use. Here he would produce *The Taming of the Shrew* in which the famous and fiery-spirited actress, Miss Claire Luce, would have a part worthy of her mettle.

There had been brilliant weather, and this lasted on well. Owing to the war, there were very many features which one would never normally expect to accompany a Shakespearean performance in a poor part of East London. The Prime Minister's wife was present, sitting in one of the two shilling seats—two shillings was top price—along with some eminent members of the London County Council. All the London dramatic critics had come out to see this Paduan escapade performed amid the docks and warehouses of Bermondsey. Over the company floated an anti-aircraft balloon, looking like a celestial gold-fish in the blaze of the summer sunset. Refreshments were served by A. R. P. workers from a mobile canteen specially given to Bermondsey's Civil Defence Workers by friends in America. There were assorted uniforms in the audience, whose members had assembled for this farce of long ago while the world's great battle rolled and roared across the plains of Russia.

Bermondsey, we knew, could "take" its share of bombs. How would it take Shakespeare? It is always interesting to watch how well Shakespeare grips an audience not too familiar with his work.

Last winter I was one of a big Lancashire audience listening to *Macbeth;* the huge crowd was absolutely entranced by the story and hanging on every word and move. *The Taming of the Shrew* is a different matter because it is a boisterous farce with a (to me) rather tedious and complicated sub-plot. None-the-less Southwark, young and old, was really listening. This was a play to them, not just 'a Shakespearean performance.'

Moreover the kind of platform for which Shakespeare wrote reproduced under trees of his own Bankside, proved itself to be an extremely serviceable and flexible form of stage. The large protruding dais allows the player to address his audience direct; the inner stage allows for quick transition to an intimate or indoor scene: the musicians' gallery above it is an admirable nook for the music and also affords a first-rate hiding-place for actors who are supposed to be over-looking or eaves-dropping on the action. A play produced thus moves quickly, easily, and forthrightly. Have we improved on it with all our mechanical ingenuities?

PETROL, KEROSENE, AND SOFT COKE

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

Lack of foresight and of consideration for Indian interests has all along marked the decisions of the Government in the matter of petrol and kerosene. Of the total amount of capital invested all over the country in motor vehicles—buses lorries and cars—90 per cent, if not more, come from Indians. So any burden placed on the motor industry has to be borne practically by Indians. The European President of the Western India Automobile Association has said more than once that India has the most heavily taxed motor industry in the world. On the 3rd July, 1940 the Commerce Department of the Government of India in charge of an Indian Member the Hon'ble Sir A. P. Ramaswami Mudaliar in issuing a press note explaining reasons for increased prices of petrol and kerosene stated:

"The oil companies have made no demand for the enhancement of the price of foreign oils but have established by the production of audited figures the fact that the cost of producing kerosene and petrol in Burma and India has advanced to such an extent as to justify an increase of prices. . . ."

To help these British oil companies working in Burma and India the prices were raised and the Indian consumers were deprived of the opportunity of buying petrol and kerosene at cheap rates in an open market from foreign companies which were not demanding an enhancement of prices but got it all the same. The quantity of kerosene imported into India in 1938-39 was 182,054 000 gallons valued at about ten crores of rupees. This article is consumed mostly by our poor country-men. With these tremendous figures before it the Government of India did not hesitate to make a gift of crores

of rupees to foreign companies at our expense in order that some British companies might not be ousted in competition.

The present system of petrol rationing is thoughtless and unmethodical. Railways Conferences have for years been urging the promotion of such bus services as do not run parallel to the railways. At a time when petrol is not sufficient to go round it is only reasonable that supplies should be greater to buses plying in areas where there is no railway or tramway. But even this common sense is not being exercised by the authorities in Bengal with the result that people in many places have absolutely no means of locomotion during five hours of the day.

If we cultivate castor plants and 'Karanja' trees (which bear fruits producing oil) in all parts of the conutry, we can do without kerosene and stop a heavy drain of our wealth from rural areas to foreigners.

PRICE OF SOFT COKE

Since we wrote in the December issue of this journal the supply of wagons improved to some extent and the price of soft coke in Calcutta came down from Rs. 1/4/- per maund to -/10/- annas. At the moment of writing *i.e.*, on the 22nd January it is -/12/- annas. It should be remembered that the normal price was /6/- annas which can be restored if soft coke be classed among fuel for public utility concerns. The East Indian and the Bengal Nagpur Railways in a joint notification state that on and from the 19th January, 1942 the allotment of wagons for coal on public account will be suspended for five days in the week "to ensure that wagons for priority orders are supplied in full before ordinary demands are met". This will have the effect of reducing the number of wagons for public supply which is at present the only outlet for soft coke. Mr. J. B. Ross in a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held in Calcutta on the 15th December last moved :

"This Association strongly supports the representations of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to the Railway Board in October last, that in view of the very unsatisfactory supplies of wagons to collieries throughout this year for loading on public account, effect should be given without further delay to the scheme prepared by the Railway Board in October, 1939 for the appointment of a Coal Transportation Officer, and the setting up of a Coal Transport Advisory Committee in place of the existing Coal Wagon Supply Committee."

During the last War and for years afterwards complete control of the coal industry existed in respect of wagon supply under a Coal Transportation Officer. In gross injustice to Indian interests this forms the most dismal chapter in the economic history of India since the Crown assumed the sovereignty of the country. While European iron-founders at Howrah got their hard coke in railway wagons at Rs. 50/- per ton, Indian iron-founders had to carry their requirements from Jharia to Howrah in motor lorries at a cost of Rs. 120/- per ton until even this process was stopped by the District Boards for fear of their bridges being broken down under the weight of the lorries.

The Indian Coal Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1925 under the chairmanship of Sir Frank Noyce unanimously recommended :

"It should, we think, be made clear that *in no circumstances* (italics ours) will the system of special or emergency supplies be revived. . . . . . We make this recommendation as it is obvious that if exceptions are once permitted this can only lead to th revival of the present system in its full working."

If preference have at all to be shown to any class of consumers, surely the poor and middle classes of India using soft coke for preparing food are entitled to it. Before the commencement of the present war Hitler's government in days of butter shortage in Germany introduced rationing on the basis that labourers doing manual work got preferential supply. In Britain at present heavy workers are enjoying similar privileges in food. Is all this out of place in India a country pre-eminently of poor, toiling millions ? To do away with all preference, introduce aboslute equality among consumers and supply collieries with wagons according to their bases (now determined by their normal raisings of coal) is the simplest, best and most just method to be pursued by the Government. It should not be beyond the ingenuity of the Finance Department of the Government of India to raise necessary money by fair taxation so that the Government may buy coal for the manufacture of war materials at market rates.

The Government should pay proper prices for its orders of sandbags and clothing materials so that the jute mills on the Hooghly and the woollen mills at Cawnpore may buy coal in the same manner as all else. Why should the poorer sections of the community and Indian-owned collieries and industries be called upon to bear an inequitabl share of the burden of this war ? The Government of India Act contains a notorious clause forbidding discrimination against British commerce. In practice however, we find that Indian interests are being discriminated against. In the matter of supply of coal wagons we do not ask for even protection of nascent indigenous industries. We ask for a fair field and no favour.

GANDHIAN ECONOMICS

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A., F.R.ECON.S.,

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THE present world war has set the whole world a-thinking. The sanguinary holocaust has shaken the time-worn economic and political systems to the foundations and there is incessant talk about the New World Order. The talk is often vague and inconclusive owing to a hopeless medley of ideologies and organised systems of greed and selfishness. It is patent that the Capitalist order has brought in its train exploitation, slavery, colonisation, unemployment and war. It has thrown humanity out of gear and Gold the Tyrant strides the world like Colossus. Vain and disgraceful attempts are made to clothe capitalism in the garb of freedom, justice and democracy; but everybody now knows that the velvet glove conceals the iron-fist.

In his Penguin Special, *Where Do We Go From Here* Harold Laski has explicitly shown that capitalism is incompatible with democracy and respect for human personality. It inevitably reduces man into cannon-fodder and justice into sham and mockery. Attempts have been made to circumscribe and control it in the form of State Capitalism or Socialism. But the sting remains and the poison slowly but steadily overpowers the classless society. Lenin tried to harness capitalism to social welfare, and Roosevelt endeavoured to control and cripple it. But both seem to have failed in their attempts. The world, instead of being an abode of peace has become an arena for callous destruction.

In this tumult of anarchy and confused thought, we can hear the faint but firm voice of the Saint of Sevagram, telling us confidently that our salvation lies in the villages, and the spinning wheel. Some dub his philosophy as medieval; others adore him as the prophet of the future. But we are concerned with the present, and it is desirable that we analyse and comprehend Gandhiji's economic ideas with a view to solving the human problems that stare us in the face. I have studied his writings and also have had the privilege of discussing various points with him. I shall, therefore, try to put down Gandhiji's economic ideas in a systematic and cogent manner.

Gandhian Economics may also be called Non-violent Economics, because it is the creed of non-violence that colours his economic ideas as well. The basis of Capitalism is the exploitation of human labour, which is sordid violence. Gandhiji, therefore, cannot envisage a social order in which there is scope for economic exploitation.

Machine is the handmaid of Capitalism; it ousts human labour and concentrates wealth and power in the hands of a few. Wealth is, thus, accumulated by violence and needs to be preserved by violence. Gandhiji is, therefore, opposed to mechanization and large-scale production which, to him, is the root of the present world catastrophe. 'Machinery' to him 'is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin.' Referring to the Indian conditions Gandhiji says,

> "Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages."

It is, however, wrong to think that Gandhiji is opposed to machinery as such.

> "Mechanization is good," says the Mahatma, "when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work."

Again,

> "The heavy industry," he says, "for work of public utility which cannot be undertaken by human labour has its inevitable place, but all that would be owned by the State and used entirely for the benefit of the people. I have no consideration for machinery which is meant either to enrich the few at the expense of the many or without cause to displace the useful labour of many."

Thus 'that use of machinery is lawful, which subserves the interests of all.' In modern orthodox language, Gandhiji believes in something like State Socialism. But his ideal Socialist State is very different from the Bloshevist model.

Gandhiji is wary of full-fledged State Socialism for two reasons. First, he fears that the large-scale economic planning of the state may prove too unwieldy and there may be ultimately a lack of equilibrium between production and distribution. Distribution in Gandhiji's opinion can be equalised when production is localised, in other words, when distribution is simultaneous with production. This means decentralization of industries which is against the fundamental conception of State Socialism.

State. Planning is also bound to infringe the personal liberty of the citizens to a considerable extent. The Socialist State will also gradually lend itself to violence in order to carry out its plan. Gandhiji, is therefore, not for Socialism of the Russian brand.

According to Gandhiji the true and lasting Socialism is the 'Socialism of the Spinning Wheel.' He wishes to banish exploitation root and branch by exhalting human labour. In the society of his dream, the people will neither exploit others nor allow others to exploit them. They will try to make their villages self-sufficient, producing their own food with the sweat of their brow, spinning their cloth for the community and manufacturing other necessities in their own villages. They will eschew all kinds of exploitation and yet maintain their social and political liberty without frequently invoking the assistance of the State. It will be natural and not cumbrous existence. Commodities will be produced for immediate use and not for trade and profit. They will be manufactured according to the needs of the community and, thus, the twin problems of consumption and distribution will not arise.

"Machinery," says Gandhiji, "would concentrate production in particular areas so that you would have to go in a round about way to regulate distribution; whereas if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated, and there is less chance for fraud, none for speculation."

"When production and consumption both become localised, again the temptation to speed disappears. All the endless difficulties and problems that our present day economic system presents, too, would then come to an end. There would be no unnatural accumulation of hoards in the pockets of the few and wants in the midst of plenty in regard to the rest, as is happening to-day for instance in America."

Gandhiji, thus, is anxious to rehabilitate the dignity of man and the holiness of his labour against the deadening and tragic influence of the machine, and its corollaries, *viz.*, large-scale production, cut-throat competition, and demoralising unemployment.

Gandhiji advocates the self-sufficiency ideal not merely to avoid the complexities of the economic and political problems; he also believes that manual labour is the sine qua non of true civilization. Wants are endless and can never be satiated; it is, therefore, wise to set a limit to our indulgences. We should cotent ourselves with things produced with our hands and feet. Happiness is a state of mind, and does not depend upon riches and luxuries. Physical labour helps to keep the mind under control and maintain its poise. This is why Gandhiji insists that every able-bodied man and woman must have a right to do eight hours work every day. Machine not only displaces human labour and breeds unemployment, but also deprives man of his right to work and thereby to develop his personality. To Gandhiji the lure of leisure is a mirage and an illusion; it can never bring real happiness. On the contrary, it is bound to demoralise human being, and deteriorate their minds and bodies. Gandhiji is also opposed to mechanisation and large-scale production because it destroys art and beauty and reduces the workers' life to monotony and boredom. Man becomes only a cog in the huge machine of production; his creative genius grows rusty and his brain and feelings are machanised. To Gandhiji this is the very negation of human existence. He shudders to think of the dull, drab factory-life where the worker has no pride and joy in his work; he has to feed and clean the machine like a slave.

In Gandhiji's ideal society there will be numerous cottage industries which will give work and livelihood to everybody. They will revitalise human personality and encourage creative genius. They will also help to bridge the wide gulf that now yawns between the pauper and the millionaire.

Gandhiji has given us only the bare outline of his self-sufficient village civilization; he leaves the details to be filled in by us. He has no taboos; the villagers may have electricity and radio sets, for example. His fundamental consideration are mainly two: first, there should be no room for exploitation and, secondly, every one must get an opportunity to work for eight hours a day.

The Mahatma is also not against the institution of private property; he is opposed to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. By means of cottage industries he wishes to level up the poor and level down the rich in order to establish ultimately a classless society without the use of violence.

In the classeless society envisioned by Gandhiji, there should be equal distribution. Writing in the British Weekly, *Tit-bits*, he says :

"The real implication of equal distribution is not an arbitrary dividing up of the goods of the world. It is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply his natural needs and no more. To give a crude example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread, and another needs five pounds, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. They should not each arbitrarily be given a quarter of a pound or five pounds."

At the root of this doctrine of equal distribution lies the concept of 'trusteeship.' Gandhiji wants the wealthy people to act as trustees. They should use only what is reason-

ably required for their personal needs, and the rest should be held as a sacred trust to be spent for the benefit of society. Gandhiji is not in favour of forcible dispossession because it would leave society the poorer.

"It would lose all the great gifts of the wealthy man, for he knows how to create and build. His abilities must not be lost."

It is difficult to appreciate Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship. The capitalists will not surrender their wealth so willingly. There may, however be a few exceptions. Further, the nation should have a right to appoint its own trustees. The rich should not be allowed to become trustees automatically by virtue of their power of exploition. I had a chance to discuss this point with Gandhiji. He agreed that heavy Death Duties and Inheritance Taxes could also be resorted to by the State, through democratic channels

Gandhiji does not envisage an intricate currency system in his ideal state. When production and distribution are almost simultaneous, currency hardly appears in the picture. On the contrary barter of goods and services will occupy a prominent position in the social organisation.

"In my system," says the Mahatma, "it is labour which is a current coin, not metal. Any person who can use his labour has that coin, his wealth. He converts that labour into cloth, into grain. If he wants paraffin oil which he cannot himself produce, he uses his surplus grain for getting the oil. It is exchange of labour on fair and equal terms."

Mahatma Gandhi does not rule out International Trade altogether. Replying to an American friend's question whether India should export manufactured cloth to America, Gandhiji said:

"I would not mind such a thing; but it must be in order to supply the felt needs of the country which received our cloth. I have no idea of exploiting other countries for the benefit of India. We are suffering from the poisonous disease of exploitation ourselves, and I would not like my country to be guilty of any such thing."

Illustrating the point further he continued:

"If Japan, say, as a free country wanted India's help, and said we could produce certain goods cheaper, and we might export them to Japan, we would gladly do so. But under my scheme of things all dumping of goods by one country in another, supported by her army and her navy, has to cease."

In order to protect the industries of a less developed country Gandhiji advocates discriminating protection.

"There can be no fair competition between the dwarf and the giant. To talk of no discrimination, for example, between Indian and English goods is to perpetuate India's bondage."

Lastly, let us study Gandhiji's ideas about the problems of regulating population. He is against modern methods of birth-control, because to him marriage is a sacred institution the aim of which is the restricted propagation of species and not physical indulgence. To quote his words:

"Birth-control is a dismal abyss. It amounts to playing with unknown forces. Assuming that birth-control by artificial ends is justifiable under certain conditions, it seems to be utterly impracticable of application among the millions. It seems to me to be easier to induce them to practise self-control than control by contraceptives."

Gandhiji is not very much worried about the population problem either.

"This little globe of ours," says he, "is not a toy of yesterday. It has not suffered from the weight of over-population through its age of countless millions. How can it be that the truth has suddenly dawned upon some people that it is in danger of perishing of shortage of food unless birth-rate is checked through the use of contraceptives?"

Gandhiji thinks that the problem of population has come into lime light on account of excessive mechanisation. In a world of self-sufficient rural units the problem will fade into the background.

This completes our brief study of Gandhian socio-economic ideas. The study cannot be regarded as merely of an academic interest; it may have an important bearing on the shape of things to come. The present world catastrophe may help to re-orient social and economic standards of value and herald the dawn of a new civilization based on co-operation rather than competition, simplicity rather than multiplication of wants. In such a re-fashioning of our world, Gandhiji's ideas may play a very important role. Thoughtful writers of the West have already begun to appreciate the value of 'simple living and high thinking.' Count Kalergi in his book, *The Totalitarian State against Man*, passionately pleads for 'Agricultural co-operatives' as a solution of our present ills. Several other writers also have turned their gaze towards the villages and their unsophisticated life. A revolution seems to be fast brewing, and Gandhiji may really prove to be the Prophet of the Future.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rabindranath Tagore as an Educationist

The purpose of education, on ultimate analysis, is twofold. Education must strengthen and develop our sense of values; it must also provide us with training to apply them. In other words, in formulating principles we should feel their truth and acquire knowledge of them under actual conditions of life. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty observes in *Teaching* :

Rarely do we find an educator who recognizes both these aspects of education with such clarity as to give him power of new leadership.

Rabindranath Tagore possessed vision and experience to a high degree. He saw the process of education as a whole. Our feelings have to be educated, or rather liberated, through education, and items of knowledge co-ordinated by an interior sense of worth. Such harmonious growth of our faculties, intellectual and emotional, will enable us not merely to adjust ourselves to the world but to give a shape and direction to human affairs. Tagore's educational ideal was to make us achieve a creative relationship with life. For him complete education rested upon consciousness of an ultimate and divine significance from which all values derived. But this consciousness, through it is man's inborn gift, can only be realized through closest contact between the mind and body and the living world.

Spiritual consciousness of man's relationship with the great universe; the growth of our personality through full exercise of our faculties; and the establishing of values—these were the foundation of Tagore's educational system.

To create the right environment in which to impart education in his own way, Tagore had to find a place which by its tradition would not hamper but inspire young minds—a place, moreover, which had a setting in natural beauty.

Such a place he found in the Ashram near Bolpur which had been started by his father and maintained by a Trust for seekers of spiritual peace. The history of the Santiniketan school, established by the poet in 1901, is well known. Here, in the heart of nature, not far from a great city, he had the advantage of being able to draw upon both raw materials and cultural products, as it were, in equal measure. The influences of trees, open fields and seasonal skies were there to help him in the nurture of children's minds and bodies, while artists, science teachers, libraries, and equipment could be obtained from Calcutta. Not that Tagore was satisfied with the level of trained talent or with the quality of textbooks; he had to unteach many teachers before training them in his educational ideas, and had to write textbooks and devise methods himself; but *his experiment did not start in a social and spiritual vacuum where only a remote idealist and his followers could attempt to build up an imaginary world. This aspect of locality and atmosphere demands the greatest emphasis, so that Tagore's integral concept of education may not be misconstrued.* The great ideals of harmonious spiritual living which he inherited from ancient India did not exclude cultural reciprocity; indeed, they had to be adjusted to modern needs and conditions so as to serve education's main objective in preparing children for citizenship.

Spiritual education, in Tagore's centre, meant the cultivation of a responsible sense of citizenship in a great world.

. . . It was an exploration together of the miracle of each day, fostering a spirit of fellowship in a friendly universe. The later development of Visva-bharati into an international centre, with its collaboration between scholars and artists from many parts of the world, naturally followed upon this early beginning of spiritual kinship.

Children possess an instinct of wonder; the great task of educators should be not to kill it, even if they cannot actively foster its growth.

An educational centre should aim at providing children with opportunities for realizing that they live in a neighbourly world with diverse kinds of people; this was one of the ways in which Santiniketan trained children for the modern age.

Schools composed of children from different communities and races, associating without a thought of barriers while they appreciated natural differences, would be ideally suited to the continental culture of India. Such schools would draw visitors from all over the country, and even from abroad—as at Santiniketan. *Tagore believed, and results have justified his faith, that aggressive nationalism and communalism, which are the scourge of modern society and threaten its very existence, would not grow in such an atmosphere.*

The place of co-education in Tagore's system is best realized in connexion with this concept of good neighbourliness seen in a cultural and spiritual light. Boys and girls, living and working together, develop community loyalties and a deep social sense, which prevent unhealthy preoccupations and ennoble conduct.

Teachers lived with their families as part of the bigger family of the educational colony; their relationship with pupils became wholly natural, evoking respect.

In Santiniketan this comprehensive ideal of education, aiming at individual growth and the development of wide ympathies, found a very congenial soil; and the institution became a large unit with many-sided activities. Rural service, handicraft, and research studies flourished. Medical work and agriculture, and also small-scale industries run on a co-operative basis, served the needs of a growing community and its neighbourhood. The significance of these activities can be fully realized if we regard them as affording children the opportunity *not merely to know about things in books but also to feel their truth, and to test their 'application value' through field work.*

But it is necessary, above all, to understand the Santiniketan way of life.

Educational principles and daily work have to be seen correlated in the living of an ideal—on this the poet insisted. Here we find his realism in blending the simplicity and dignity natural to India with the finest advances of Western culture. His educational centre is in this respect the most satisfying and original contribution that has yet been made in our era.

"I tried my best to develop in the children of my school the freshness of their feeling for Nature, a sensitiveness of soul in their relationship with their human surroundings, with the help of literature, festive ceremonials and also the religious teaching which enjoins us to come to the nearer presence of the world through the soul, thus to gain more than can be measured—like gaining an instrument, not merely by having it, but by producing music upon it. I prepared for my children a real home-coming into this world. Among other subjects learnt in the open air under the shade of trees they had their music and picture-making; they had their dramatic performances, activities that were expressions of life."

In developing this aspect of complete living, Tagore was inspired, as he has told us, by the ancient *tapovanas*.

"I cannot help believing," he added, "that my Indian ancestry had left deep in my being the legacy of its philosophy, the philosophy which speaks of fulfilment through harmony with all things."

The great traditions of India sustained him in his pioneer enterprise. *This does not mean, however, that he was ever lacking in warm responsiveness to modern ideas and methods which help us in living a good life.*

Asia and Europe, generally speaking, have often followed opposite extremes, and in India today we tend to swing from one to the other. But the spirit of negation leads to slavery, and acquisitiveness, and as we also see clearly, to world-wide aggression and disaster. Santiniketan is an experiment in freedom achieved through harmonious living and the right to serve basic ideals.

Rabindranath Tagore, as an educationist, revealed the power of sympathy and the capacity to accept the gifts of all ages; these have made him the educator of mankind.

Rabindranath at Santiniketan

Every great man has his own special background which is partly historical and partly his own creation. It is against such a special background alone that we can see him at his best and greatest. For Rabindranath also there was such a vital background. That was Santiniketan. G. Ramachandran calls forth his memories of the times when he was a student of the Visva-Bharati. This was twenty-one years ago. He writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Those were the first years after the Visva-bharati University was started at Santiniketan. Most of us, the first batch of students, were non-co-operators from various Government schools and colleges. Most of us were khadi-clad "Gandhi fanatics." I was the head of the gang in those days. Gurudev had in those days written some vigorous criticism of the non-co-operation programme in the pages of *The Modern Review*. We were much agitated over it. We were sure Gurudev was wrong and Gandhiji right. We argued and shouted. Our classes became full of those wordy discussions. We made a nuisance of ourselves. The peace of Santiniketan was much disturbed by these controversies conducted with much heat. There was also of course a strong student group supporting Gurudev's views. One day I suddenly got a message from Gurudev. Professors had told him that I was leading the opposition. The message was to the effect that Gurudev was glad that plenty of discussions were going on, but that he preferred to have some light along with the heat of controversy, and that therefore he would advise a full debate, and that he also would attend the debate gladly. I confess I felt a little nervous. In any other institution I would perhaps have been suspended or even dismissed. But our Guru was asking for further and fuller discussion! That was his way with students. A big debate was arranged. Every student in Santiniketan attended. A motion was tabled: "In the opinion of this house Mahatma Gandhi's programme is the right one for India." I moved it before a crowded house. Our side let loose a flood of oratory. So did the other side. The late Sri Kali Mohan Ghosh thundered at us and defended the views of Gurudev with great vigour. Votes were taken. We won. Gurudev was all the time sitting apart behind the students. He appeared to enjoy the debate very much. He joined in the applause for and against the motion whenever it broke forth from the students. After the votes were taken Gurudev asked for permission to speak. And he spoke. When he spoke it was all light and no heat. He prefaced his talk by saying that the debate had given him great joy. "This Santiniketan will fail if it fetters your minds or makes you fear ideas. Even if every one of you hold an absolutely different view from mine, even so Santiniketan will still be your home. It will shelter you. Today is the day of my victory because my students have said today freely and bravely that I am hopelessly in the wrong. I do not admit that I am wrong. But I want you to have the courage to say so if that is your conviction. May Santiniketan always give you that freedom and courage!" He spoke for an hour. He pleaded against fanaticism. He did not admit that non-co-operation would succeed. It was too negative. It had possibilities in certain directions. But it was tending towards the same narrow nationalism which in Europe had made civilisation into a mockery. It was impossible to reject entirely the progress of industrialism which was like a force of nature. Industrialism should and ought to be controlled but it cannot be erased. Mere asceticism will not lead to freedom. Freedom demanded clear understanding of objective realities and not only of moral values. Mahatma Gandhi was undoubtedly the greatest moral force in India, and hence the greater need to guard against his moral dictatorship.

Rightly did Mahatma Gandhi call Rabindranath the "Great Sentinel." What nobler or more courageous Sentinel of the human spirit has India produced since Gautama Buddha 2500 years ago!

Gurudev's final words that night still ring in my ears. "Do not accept anything because I say so, because it is my view. Wrestle with these problems with your own power of reasoning. You must fearlessly reject my view if your reasoning does not agree with mine. That I am the head of this institution gives me no right to enforce my ideas on you or to curtail your mental freedom. It is my duty in Santiniketan to guard the freedom of your mind as the most precious thing in

the world. That is the mission of the Visva-bharati." Let us think for one moment of the thousands of Gurus all the world over seeking to bend the mind and will of others to their own mind and will through fear and coercion of every kind, and think also with our heads bowed in love and reverence unutterable of this great Gurudev who taught us that the value of the freedom of the human mind was the greatest value under the sun. Never in all my life have I known a man with greater moral courage than Rabindranath. He had openly joined issues with Mahatma Gandhi on momentous occasions when the whole nation was being swept away by the magic of that superman's resistless faith and macthless karma yoga. From his place as the "Great Sentinel" Rabindranath has protected the freedom of the mind in India against every attack.

The writer continues:

There is one other memory which will also be of value. One of the last things I did before I left Visva-bharati was to read a paper entitled "Gandhi and Tagore." That paper contained the synthesis which I had built up in my own mind of Gandhi and Tagore after careful and prolonged study of both. The meeting took place in Uttarayana. Gurudev was also present. I think Dr. Formichi of the University of Rome who was then in Santiniketan presided. After I read my paper, Dr. Formichi complimented me and turning to Gurudev asked, half jocularly and half seriously, "Now Gurudev, what have you to say on the paper?" Gurudev smiled and said, "Ramachandran has spoken of two persons, Gandhi and Tagore. Of the first I claim to know something, and of the second so little that I dare not speak about him. The Upanisads have said that he who knows himself knows every thing. I know very well that I do not know every thing. It follows therefore that I do not know myself." There was a round of laughter. Gurudev's sense of humour was something wonderful and his great voice would sometimes roll across Santiniketan in laughter of undiluted gladness and good humour.

The writer goes on to relate his last conversation with Rabindranath Tagore:

I will close with the last conversation I had with him in his little beautiful mud-hut in Santiniketan, more beautiful than the palaces of kings, and yet simple like a hermitage. It was in 1939, I was on a visit to Santiniketan after several years. He asked me about my work. I told him that I had taken a plunge into politics, and gave him the story of the struggle for political freedom in Travancore. He said to me, "I always knew you could not keep away from these struggles. In a sense they are vital. In this new era in India our struggle is no longer for individual liberation only. It is also for social liberation, but these are not contradictory. One cannot exist without the other. That is the secret we must now learn. In the struggle for collective freedom however, let us do nothing which will kill individual freedom. I am a profound admirer of Soviet Russia, but I have a fear that individual freedom does not as yet blossom there. In your politics, never stoop to a lie. Never dishonour the man in us and never take a short cut to victory. Victory is nothing. But we must reach victory with honour, through honour. Put your trust in men, and not only in programmes. Our leader in India, Mahatma Gandhi, is right there. We must win only through pure and honourable methods. There are two things you must carry with you everywhere as an old student of the Visva-bharati. Never give up the freedom of mind to friend or foe. Keep the windows of your mind open and free. Fanaticism is death to the human mind. And secondly, never think of any man, however little he might appear, as anything less than a man, a member of the great community of mankind, and never, never, as the member of a caste or a community or a nation or a race." I bowed my head and reverently touched his feet. His face as he laid his hand on my head shone with his affection for an old and humble student. I never saw that face again but its radiance will live with me till the end.

Last Days with Gurudeva

During the whole course of his illness, which never really left him since the attack first laid him prostrate in September last, not once did Rabindranath Tagore betray singns of morbidity or despair, and, what is truly amazing, he never lost his keen interest in things and events in the world here or outside. The following extract is taken from an article contributed by an Asramite in *The Municipal Gazette* and reproduced in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

He saw to it himself that jars of lozenges or boxes of chocolates were always kept in his room at hand for little boys and girls, who never went to his room without coming out with one. Not even pariah dogs were excluded from his kindliness. One of them managed to make himself an honoured inmate of Uttarayana by the simple process of seeking shelter under his chair. Each morning it would come and obstinately stand near him until he touched its head with his hand, when it would either sit down near his chair or a little further away. Nor did he forget to immortalise that dog in one of his poems. Lalu is still fed twice and is as well taken care of as any other pet.

His sense of humour never deserted him.

His nurses and attendants will treasure as their greatest reward the kindly witticisms and pleasantries that he constantly exchanged with them. He could never get over his amusement at being fed on Glaxo, and would refer to himself as a "Glaxo baby." As he could take nourishment only in very small quantities which would gradually be increased, his amusement was very great when he was told that the doses he was being given was the same as for a two-month old baby. Since then each time Glaxo was served, he would enquire, "How many months old am I today?"

Next to children Tagore loved trees.

During the summer vacation, when the scarcity of water in the wells had become a serious menace, he was much distressed at the fate of the trees. "Have you a *mahua* tree in your garden?" He would suddenly enquire. "If not, then you must plant some. When they grow, you will find how Santhal women always gather under them." He who was so reluctant to take any nourishment and would not touch the most carefully prepared delicacies,—how eagerly and excitedly like a child he picked out and nibbled at a *jam* (black berry) when a bunch of them was brought to him from "his own tree" at the back of "Shyamali!" He kept the bunch near him and would tempt others: "Just taste one and see how sweet these my *jams* are!"

New Year Message

In wishing success to *Indian Farming* the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Member for Educa-

tion, Health and Lands in the Government of India, writes in its January issue:

Agriculture is far the most important limb in our body economic. The well-being of the vast mass of our population is intimately bound up with the prosperity of agriculture. Agricultural development again is not a peacetime enterprise only; in war the production of food to supply the needs of the Army and the civilian population is becoming a problem of growing magnitude. With the enormous increase in numbers revealed by the census, it is evident that the Indian farmer is called upon as never before to raise food for a rapidly expanding population. To fulfil this enormous task satisfactorily, it is essential that he should adopt the most scientific methods of cultivation.

Nothing is likely to reward the labours of Indian farmers more generously than the utilization of modern science and of the proved experience of successful cultivators. *Indian Farming* provides a wealth of information of practical, immediate importance to nearly every one, directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture. In reporting the achievements of science in the field of agricultural and animal husbandry research and in creating a forum for the exchange of information between practical farmers, this magazine, now entering upon its third year of useful service, is performing an urgent national task. *Indian Farming* has already won a place for itself in the country's journalism by making the benefits of scientific research available in lucid and popular language to the general public.

Democracy's Failure in France

A message from Vichy gives out to the world that France is going in for a totalitarian constitution framed on a corporative plan. Prof. Santosh Kumar Chatterjee observes in *The Hindustan Review*:

What is it that explains the violent reaction against direct democracy and compels French statesmen to embrace a totalitarian constitution? Is it due to the close association with the aggressive facist, totalitarian system of Germany, or is it the climax of a gathering volume of forces that was at work in French democracy? Parliamentary democracy has worked or rather been made to work in France with the greatest difficulty.

The highly sensitive French mind refused to surrender to discipline or submit itself to the fundamental requisites of parliamentary democracy. Right and Left were too evenly divided. Since the war of 1914-1919, ministry after ministry had fallen because of the taxes it proposed or the economics it tried to enforce. M. Herriot failed, then M. Paul Bancour and then M. Daladier, D. Doumergue, Flandin and others. Once a ministry failed, a successor could normally be appointed and found from parties, deputies and political leaders already in the Chamber of Deputies. The ministry had no right of dissolution, the President would not order a General Election; with continual buzzings and overturnings, the parliamentary system was made to work.

In England the party system has worked excellently. Not so in France. There the parties differed sharply in their views.

There was M. Poincare's "National Union" of Radicals and Conservatives; there were the Socialists under M. Blum's academically correct leadership; the Centre and Right parties contributed nothing to the good of the country at large. The Stavisky scandal and

the fatal rioting in Paris in February 1934 created a critical situation. The Daladier Cabinet resigned. M. Doumergue was induced to emerge from his retirement and form a National Government. In course of five months, the budget deficit was greatly reduced, Government bonds improved, making unemployed relief schemes and grants to agriculture possible, the depreciation of the currency was avoided. The assassination of King Alexander and M. Bathou at Marseilles gave a shock to the ministry. The ministry survived it. The climax came when M. Doumergue proposed constitutional changes for strengthening the hands of the ministry. The reforms were strongly opposed both in the Senate and the Chamber. The Radical-Socialist party withdrew its six ministers from the Cabinet. M. Doumergue had to resign.

After M. Doumergue came M. Flandin. The financial crisis liquidated M. Flandin and replaced him by M. Bouisson and M. Laval in succession. M. Laval tried to make the constitution workable by allowing of a dissolution in certain circumstances. His plan was to reduce the power of the Senate, to strengthen the hands of the ministry and to save the exitsing regime. In fact, he hit upon the same plan as was suggested by M. Doumergue. But the vicious party system contributed to the discrediting of Parliamentarism. M Daladier exerted himself only in securing the majority in the Chamber. In the process the fundamental problem of French democracy remained unsolved.

French democracy was, in fact, the most logical of the few remaining democracies of Europe.

It was keen, intensely patriotic, politically conscious and economically advanced. It had gold, it had an industrious civilised population, it had security from attack; yet this democracy, with the exception of the Poincare regime failed to produce even a tolerably stable Government. There was scarcely a governmental institution in which the mass of the French populace had any real confidence.

French democracy was tottering for lack of leadership And at last the Nazi attack completely overwhelmed the tottering democracy.

Kodo

The New Review observes :

Japan's sudden and treacherous attack has created undue panic in not a few minds; panic is never helpful at any time, but in the present case little could be brought forth to justify the fears of immediate designs on India. Japanese strategy is simple enough: a few bold strokes to cripple the Allied Navies and to put out of use the naval bases which would have allowed them to reach Japan; the capture of the Philippine Islands where American troops could gather to invade Japan; the storming of Hong Kong and Singapore so as to prevent British interference and secure the command of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. Having put the enemy out of her way, Japan could work at ease, and spread her nets over the seas.

Their success was not so complete as they had dreamed of; but that so much was achieved leads one to surmise that America's and Britain's preparations were deficient; possibly their diplomacy was again caught napping. Yet Japan's evolution justified the worst fears and commanded the most thorough preparations.

Japan's present mentality and mood has evolved under the influence of factors closely associated with Japan's life.

The ancient Shinto was revived into the Neo-Shinto, and Neo-Shinto drifted into Kodo; the "Way of the Gods," turned into the "Way of the Emperor" and the Emperor had to go the way of the military clans. Ancient Shinto, a mixture of ancestor and nature worship with the additional belief in the Emperor's divinity, was gradually swallowed up by Buddhism; Neo-Shinto revived the old faith and embodied it in concrete practices and views which dominate Japanese life. According to Dr. Kato, Shinto can be described as "a peculiar religious patriotism of the Japanese people in glorifying their Emperor as the centre of their faith" or as "a mighty political machine safeguarding the existing organisations of the national life and States; it is a mixture of religious, racial and political teaching which proclaims the Japanese to be a race of gods with the Emperor the highest of them all and which, in consequence, gives the Japanese the divine right to rule the rest of the world.

Kodo, which was conceived and christened by General Araki, emphasized anew the divinity of the Emperor against materialistic tendencies and gave Neo-Shinto a military garb; it mobilised the whole nation to achieve its Heaven-appointed mission. That is Kodo, the latest form of Shinto.

It is needless to point out its likeness to Nazi racialism.

In fact Japan had, after her national revolution of 1867, taken a good deal from Germany: vocational education, army training, political constitution, legal and juridical systems. Today's alliance consecrates their kinship; a like racialist morality justifies in their eyes and explains to others a like ambition, duplicity in promises and treachery in aggression, for which the clans and Governments bear full responsibility.

The combination of Nazism and Kodo along with their pale-looking Fascist partner is unique in history: never has mankind been threatened with so powerful and extensive a danger; it is *etatisme*, run mad. What is worse is that no effective defence appears possible without parallel dictatorial measures; personal life is being threatened not only by outside agression but by the inetrnal development in democracies. The menace was real even in the U. S. A. before she joined the conflict.

The Human Outlook To-Day

At a time like the present, one idea, one feeling, one aspiration yet offers us a glimmer of hope, yet seems to beckon us to a distant place of refuge. It is the idea, the feeling, the aspiration, that mankind is one and indivisible, that under heaven there is but one family. Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar observes in *The Journal of the Literary Committee, I. E. Association, Dharwar* :

Homo Sapiens has, according to the Biologists and the Anthropologists, inhabited this planet for about one million years. For a very long time, cert, inly for · bout nine hundred thousand years, he lived much as other animals lived—he ate, he perpetuated his species, he died.

Other species, mightier than *Homo Sapiens*, ceased to be after a brief period of agitated existence. The ichthyosauri, the giant mammals and reptiles of the past, have gone and left not "a rack behind." But Man has somehow lived on. Nay more, he has been fruitful, and he has multiplied : he has scattered himself all over the globe. No doubt, his recorded history relates only to his achievements of the last five or six thousand years. But his earlier, more obscure achievements, however tame they may appear to us, did nevertheless pave the way for his later and more sensational triumphs. Some one discovered fire, another (perhaps a few centuries hence) its use; a third made a stone implement, a fourth made a spear of a pointed stick. In the process, we have, perhaps, spanned a few centuries. Apparently, "progress" was very slow—but it was there.

About five thousand years ago, man definitely emerged from the forest.

He now knew cooking, and knew the value of wearing clothes of some kind or other; he learnt to put the plough to the field; he articulated words clearly; he danced, he sang, he fought with interesting implements His tiny brain was beginning to function. He asked questions and gave surprising answers. He evolved religions, he gazed at the stars and drew certain conclusions, he speculated on the future. He domesticated animals and plants: he built houses, planned towns and cities. The tempo of change quickened up gradually. Civilizations flowered, faded away, and died; some have left a dried up petal or two. others have disappeared altogether. Great Empires, too, have arisen, have had their brief hour of glory, and have gone into liquidation. Man has found it necessary to acclimatize himself to the bewildering changes in his environment—and generally he has managed to do so. And, after about at least five thousand years of self-conscious life, man finds himself in the midst of a war on a planetary scale, and he cannot but wonder what the future has in store for him.

Homo Sapiens has been able in the past to adjust himself even to unfavourable circumstances.

But in recent decades he confesses himself rather puzzled by the changes that are taking place in his one time placid world. Scientific progress seems to be giving him no time to catch it up. Inventions, new contrivances, new organizations, even new streams of ideas, leave him gaping and muttering. And two shocks like the war of 1914-1918 and the present European war have been enough to knock out human equanimity and complacency altogether. Man timidly "looks before and after" and "pines for what is not" and cannot be. He is confused, he is worried, at times he is even desperate: he has bad dreams, and he is terribly unhappy because of them.

Mighty issues thus bind the interests of all human beings together.

Nothing less is at stake now than man's survival as a species as the crown and roof of creation. Is it impossible that man should strenuously, and of set purpose, readjust his relations to his surroundings? He has done so in the past, and he may do so again.

The human outlook today is by no means encouraging: we are clearly at the cross-roads, and we do not know which way the engine of the future is going to whirl us forward. All that we can say is that if *Homo Sapiens* lands himself in a greater mess than he is in already, it will be entirely his own fault. But we cannot give up the hope that at long last reason will surely prevail, that the warring nations of the day will be reconciled in the end, and that the true Brotherhood of Man will be securely established in our midst. These hopes may well appear childish; but, as Dr. Wingfield-Stratford wisely reminds us, "even a forlorn hope is better than none."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Indian Stalemate Embarrasses British Propaganda

The following paragraphs are reproduced here from the *Nofrontier News Service* bulletin published from U. S. A:

The fact that audiences in the United States have been quick to question British speakers about their country's relations with India has apparently embarrassed these speakers so much that the British Ministry of Information felt called upon to issue a pamphlet entitled "British Empire Publicity Campaign—Talking Points on India." The appearance of this pamphlet caused an uproar in India, and it has since been withdrawn, but writers and speakers for the British war effort are still making use of the material that was contained in "Talking Points."

Indians feel that recent official British statements give them little hope that the policy of progress toward self-government "that has been made clear for over 100 years" will reach its goal of its own accord in anything less than a similar period of years. Prime Minister Churchill, when he discussed the so-called "Atlantic Charter" before the House of Commons, made it clear that the third of the eight points (right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live), was not to be applied too literally in the case of India. He pointed out that here it was "subject, of course, to the fulfillment of obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its creeds, races and interests."

Likewise the wholesale arrests of Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, and the suppression of Gandhi's newspaper *Harijan*, make a mockery, to Indian eyes, of the "Freedom of Expression of Thought" listed in "Talking Points" under the advantages of British rule. The statement that "nepotism is a vice to us, a virtue to them," brought forth more than one caustic comment in the Indian press relative to the way in which "younger sons" of the British aristocracy find commissions in the army and navy.

"Nehru's case in particular has raised widespread resentment in India. Nehru was arrested while changing trains on his way to make a speech as part of Gandhi's campaign of individual civil disobedience. The charges brought against him at his trial were that he had made speeches and was undertaking a tour to prepare people to offer "Satyagraha" (non-violent resistance) "to eject the British Government. . . ."

Certain statistics relative to the British rule in India—figures which are well-known here—were submitted by the Federation of Indian Student Societies in Great Britain to the National Parliament of Youth. The population of India is roughly 353 million. Only ·07 per cent have incomes exceeding £75 per annum. The average annual income per capita is estimated at £3 compared with about £82 in the United Kingdom. Of the total population 70·6 per cent are employed in agriculture. Land taxes vary between 10 and 40 per cent of the value of the harvest returns. Because of this tax burden, the need for cash at the sowing season, and the absence of adequate co-operative credit facilities, the amount of peasant indebtedness has been estimated at about 800 million pounds. After 150 years of British rule less than 8·1 per cent. of the total population is literate. Illiteracy has fallen by only 3 per cent. in the last 20 years. Two-thirds of the 700,000 villages have no schools at all. The following table shows the relative public expenditures for the years 1934-5:

Education	..	5·7
Medical and Public Health Service	..	2·6
Agriculture, Industry, Aviation, etc.	..	2·1
Police and Jails	..	9·6
Military Services	..	23·9
Interest on National Debt	..	22·5
Civil Administration	..	8·7

The War and India's Co-operation

The New Statesman And Nation observes in one of its November issues :

The Premier of Burma, Mr. U. Saw, is in London to present a demand which ought not to startle us. He asks for a plain undertaking that Burma shall become a Dominion immediately after the war. If the Government temporises (as it probably will) or refuses, he suggests that the consequences may be unpleasant and even dangerous. "Japan," as he puts it, "is very clever." This is an adroit way of recalling to our minds that the Japanese, who have domesticated the Buddhist faith in their islands and subordinated it to their own ancestral and imperial cult, have used it to establish fraternal ties with the Burmese, who might, if we follow Mr. U. Saw's train of thought, be as happy in the Japanese "Co-Prosperity" system as in the British Empire—unless, indeed, we choose to make them equal partners with the full status of a Dominion. This sharp reminder of some of the possibilities latent in the new situation in nearer Asia may be salutary if it leads our Government to review our political as well as our military defences. The battle is approaching India as well as Burma, and if the Russians should have to yield much more ground on the approaches to the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, the mood of India might weigh in the final issue as heavily as many armoured divisions. We have pleaded in these columns since the outbreak of the war, on many grounds of policy, for the reconciliation of India. Few people in this country, where Indian news is censored and American news far from complete, have any idea how large a part of India plays in American judgment of British sincerity. To have come to an understanding in India would have done more than any single act we could perform to win America's whole-hearted support and to justify our claim to leadership of a war of liberation in the eyes of people all over the world. We in Britain forget how little the world of subject peoples loves our Imperial record. We must now add another to these familiar arguments that we have always advanced. It is dangerous, as well as unworthy, to delay.

In these days of slow, meagre and censored communications, it is not easy to form a clear idea of the condition of India. The little we know is not reassuring.

The princes, whom the Paramount Power maintains on their shaky thrones, are, of course, effusively loyal: industry has been expanded to supply our forces: an army of something well below a million men has been raised, and in Eritrea and elsewhere Indian troops have fought well. The number may seem large, but it is significantly small in relation to the hundreds of millions of India's population. Much of it is traditionally unwarlike, but it is a gross mistake to suppose that only the so-called martial races can fight: John Company drew largely on Bengali Brahmins for its sepoys, and for time sturdy recruits from the depressed classes were welcomed: the Hindu Mahrattas were the dominant military power before our conquest. If we need more men and can in the future equip them, we could certainly raise in India an army of several millions of tough soldiers. But this cannot be done unless Indians believe they are fighting for their own as well as our freedom Today even the Sikhs hold themselves aloof. In a population so poor, men can always be found who will serve in the ranks for pay; but this war can be won only by armies which fight, as the Russians are doing, with conviction and pride and the love of freedom in their hearts. We need, especially as officers, intelligent men who respect themselves: we shall not get them until we satisfy their patriotism. The same thing is true, though it may be less obvious, of the industrial effort. Impoverished men will always work for us for wages; nor will the average Indian capitalist refuse to make a profit at our expense. But that is not what we mean by a national industrial effort. We appeal to wholly different motives in our own factories, and so do the Russians. The collective intelligence and goodwill of the Indian nation cannot be harnessed to make the most of the immense unused resources, material and human, of this Peninsula while seven of its eleven provinces are governed autocratically.

On whom and on what does Britain rely? The traditional Tory policy has always been to lean upon the Muslims. Lord Linlithgow's patronage of Mr. Jinnah's League has met with no success. Recently Mr. Jinnah ordered the Muslim Premier of Bengal to quit the Advisory Council which is supposed to co-ordinate India's war-effort, and he was obeyed. This week his followers walked out of the All-India Legislative Assembly, with the intention, it seems, of staying out The National Congress, under Mr. Gandhi's technical guidance, adheres to its olicy of protest which once, in the days when non-violence was at its summit nearly defeated Britain in India, but which now seem to many of its former adherents to have become sterile. The leading Congressmen, including Jawaharlal Nehru and a score or more of provincial ex-premiers and ministers lie in our prisons Many thousands of their obscurer followers, turn their spinning wheels and passively wait for the light to dawn on rulers whom they will not support but cannot overthrow From time to time the gravest warnings are addressed to the British people from men far outside the ranks of Congress, men who differ as widely as Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Muslim Premier of the Punjab, and Pundit Malaviya, the veteran Hindu leader. Mr. Churchill's deplorable statement that India lies outside the scope of the worldwide promise of self-determination in the Atlantic Charter has moved the most moderate of Indians to anger and our most loyal friends to dismay Towards this scene of hopelessness and division the Nazi Panzer Divisions steadily advance.

Is that the whole of the picture? We believe not. Something has begun to change in India since June 22. The war has swung eastwards, and this Empire is no longer the only Great Power involved on our side. We gather that a feeling is growing in the younger generation, which is not pacifist in Mr. Gandhi's sense, and also on the left, that it is intolerable that their great nation, as the hour of her destiny approaches, should remain the passive spectator of a struggle in which her future is involved as directly as our own. A conference of Indians living in England, many of them young men and most of them adherents of Congress, met recently in London and proposed that India should in every way actively support the war-effort—if it can be done with self-respect. They believed—it is hard for us to judge—that a parallel movement on the same lines is gaining ground in India and even within Congress. If that is so, there is hope; if we are worthy of the leadership we claim, we shall welcome it and come to terms with it. Of course there must be a complete and generous amnesty. But if India is ready to fight—not for us, not for the King-Emperor, but for herself and defeat of Nazi racialism—she will do it gladly and proudly only under a National Government of her own. We do not suggest, and never have suggested, a formal constitutional change in wartime. The thing can be done by turning the Viceroy's Council in effect into a National Cabinet and instructing him so to treat it. Only one further step would be required—to undertake that this National Government shall prepare and carry through the process of self-determination after the war in negotiation with this country, which pledges itself to respect India's decision, whatever it may be. On those terms alone can we hope for the full co-operation of India in a war that will decide her future together with our own. The British need this ally as certainly as they need Russia.

What to do about Astrology ?

Is Astrology a pseudo-science ? What the scientists think of it ? The *Scientific American* editorially writes in part :

It would serve little purpose here to try to refute astrology, since we can assume that our readers already oppose it—though each time we have mentioned it in this magazine without much respect, we have, it is true, received letters of protest, but never more than a trifling few. The question is, rather, what can Scientific American readers do to fight astrology in other circles where it is accepted.

For years we have given this matter much thought, but no real answer has appeared. It is easy to refute astrology—for those who already regard it as a pseudo-science; but it is not easy to refute it for those who want to believe in it. In fact we feel that, in the main, no direct attack on astrology is likely at all to have more than limited effect until the general standard of education has been raised—a long slow process. When that has been done there will automatically be little need to refute astrology.

Two notable attempts in the direction of refutation have been made in recent years, one a rather intellectual paper by Dr. Bart J. Bok and Magaret W. Mayall, astronomers at the Harvard College Observatory, and the other a rather practical if not hard-boiled approach made a year or so ago by our contemporary, *Good Housekeeping*, which probably reaches far more who believe in astrology than does Scientific American. *Good Housekeeping* put the astrologers in a truly awful predicament—and then did nothing to save their faces. It offered to place four astrologers, selected by other astrologers, in separate rooms where they were each to cast the horoscopes of two persons to be selected by its editors. It also agreed in advance to publish the findings, regardless of their outcome. The challenge was not accepted—proving that the astrologers are not fools at all, whatever else they may be !

It is probably not correct, however, and it certainly is not good psychology, if one wishes to shake their beliefs, to label the astrologers fakes and frauds, as some have. Individual frauds there undoubtedly have been, and are, within astrological circles, but in the main the astrologers are honest people who sincerely believe what they believe, and are a bit hurt in fact, because the scientists treat them somewhat roughly. They are also puzzled because science seems so stupidly blind to the obvious truths they claim to possess. Bigotry and intolerance, this attitude from our side appears to them—and, to tell the truth, some of us really have been bigoted and perhaps intolerant toward astrology. We need to cultivate more patience. Most of these people who accept astrology have had no background in the scientific world, and therefore have no way of seeing the difference between science and pseudo-science, to them, each looks about alike. Moreover, the fact is, and we should admit it, that, even within our world of science, there is not and never has been any way to distinguish positively between truth and error—all such things must be considered as relative.

If one merely wishes to have some fun, and to start a believer in astrology off on an hour's sputtering and raving, just call astrology a fraud and a fake. But if the desire is genuinely to alter his state of mind, that sort of approach is only certain to fix it. Arguing with the typical astrologer is not likely to prove very satisfying. You find that his arguments are not so much rational as emotional. And he is shifty—though we do not necessarily mean dishonest. Once, when a group of amateur astronomers in one of our larger cities was preparing to put on a public debate for and against astrology, we warned its officials that they would not get very far. They wrote afterward thus : "Reasoning with the astrologers proved to be just like punching a feather pillow—you sock it in one place and it bobs up in another. You had them figured out to a tee, and everything you promised for us came true. They haggled about definitions. So we got nowhere."

Haggled about definitions—here is the chief rub, but it's something which few except trained logicians understand as sharply as they should. In any argument, of any kind, unless the two sides accept *at least the premises in common*, there has been no real meeting of minds—no real argument. The astrologers argue from a different set of premises than do the astronomers. Probably there is, therefore, little that can be done about it, until we succeed in reaching the general standard of education mentioned a few paragraphs back.

Fine Arts and Instruments of War

The connection between the fine arts and instruments of war has been a very close one since remote ages. But with the instruments of war becoming mechanical contrivances mass-produced by machinery the connection has ceased. The Journal of the *Royal Society of Arts* publishes a lecture of James G. Mann, M.A., F.S.A., from which the following paragraphs are reproduced.

Among the most primitive races and from the very earliest ages men have been wont to decorate the weapons which often formed their most precious

possession. From the Red Indian in his war-paint and the Zulu in his ostrich plumes to the Guardsman in his bearskin, the fighting man has been at pains to adorn himself for battle.

The prehistorian and the anthropologist are well aware of the value of the evidence supplied by arms as a means of determining culture, indicating the migration of peoples and the course of trade routes. In most savage art there are motifs of decoration, of magical or other significance, so stylised as to be unrecognisable to the layman. The ethnologist can,for instance, recognise in the interlocked patterns carved on the arms of New Guinea the representation of the frigate bird. Allusions to birds and beasts have been reduced to an eye or a formalised pair of horns, each tribe having its own cult and each district its special style.

To the archaeologist, arms are familiar material; they are often included in the grave furniture of important burials, and in general it is the finely ornamented specimens that have tended to survive. Gold, which has been used to embellish weapons since its first use as a malleable mineral, is one of the least destructible of metals. This accounts for the excellent preservation of such objects as the Scythian gold shield boss from South Russia in the British Museum, and the magnificent dagger and scabbard inlaid with lapis lazuli found by Sir Ernest Woolley in his excavations at Ur, now in the Baghdad Museum, and which Mr. Sidney Smith places in the first half of the third millenium B. C.

Not only does one see the connection between the fine arts and instruments of war in the decoration of arms and armour, but it was extended to the larger engines, the chariots and warships. A lofty dragon's head carved in wood, which was once the prow of a Viking boat, is one of the most recent treasures acquired by the British Museum. The mediaeval warship, with its castles fore and aft and its billowing sails painted with the figures of saints and bright with heraldry, was a work of art in itself. The pleasure of the eye still continued to be catered for in more recent times, when ships of the line were furnished with sculptured and painted figure-heads, and their stern galleries were elaborately carved and gilt. All this has vanished only within the last sixty years, since the man-of-war has become a steam-driven ironclad. Today the weapons which Pallas Athene has given him no longer allow man to stand on his feet and face his enemy in a scarlet coat. He has to crouch in the earth and conceal his presence as best he can by taking the drab colour of his sourroundings.

Spreading Rural Education by Rowboat

The wartime difficulties have given the Chinese new incentive to try novel ways of social uplift. Here is an interesting news reproduced from the *Nofrontier News Service* bulletin :

Chungking.—Thanks to a bit of initiative, a belief in the constructive force of education, and a fifty-foot, ten-ton boat propelled by oars, no less than 113,000 Chinese along the Yangtze River between Chungking and Luhsien have already received the rudiments of an education, hitherto practically unknown in the region, and many more will benefit similarly in the future. Credit for the project, a job of no mean proportions in wartime, goes to the Chungking Y. M. C. A. and the Methodist Church. These two institutions built the boat, decorated it, staffed it, and started out on their mission of enlightenment.

Large characters on the bow proclaim the boat to be the "Szechwan Rural Education Service Boat." On one side is painted the slogan "People are the foundation of the nation and only when the foundation is solidly built can the nation be secure." On the other side are written the catchwords of China-at-war: "Victory in resistance and success in national reconstruction."

Four experts in various lines of rural education form the staff. They teach agriculture and medicine as well as the more fundamental instruction in reading and writing. Lantern slide and moving picture demonstrations are used besides the regular lectures. Music and singing are also taught, and the boat carries with her a circulating library.

Printed and Published by Ramesh Chandra Roy Choudhury, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS!

A. R. P. is a matter for the individual. It is the business of each householder to make adequate arrangements for the safety of his house and family during an air raid.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO PROTECT YOURSELF

BEFORE AN AIR RAID—that is *NOW*

1. See that your home has a good black-out.
2. Prepare a refuge room. This should be in the basement or on the ground floor, surrounded by inside walls and walls of 13½ in. or 9 in. in thickness. Windows and doors should, if possible, face soft ground. Windows and doors can be protected by an extra wall outside or by sandbags or by a double staggered mesh of wire-netting over glass or by a blanket.
3. *Equip the refuge room. It should contain a :—*
   First Aid box—Drinking water—Food in tins or jars—Some cutlery—Some crockery—Mattresses—Blankets—Books, clean rags—Old newspapers—Scissors—Washing water—Towel and soap—Chairs—Screen for privacy—Flasks for hot drinks—Sand-bags—Sand and shovel—Water in buckets—Stirrup pumps—for incendiary bombs—Electric torch and spare battery—Candles and matches—String—Hammer or pickaxe—Needle and cotton—Sanitary utensils—Disinfectant.
4. Have ready in bottles a supply of drinking water.
5. Have in store a 3 days' supply of food. (Don't forget your servants.)
6. Have ready water and stirrup pump, sand and shovel for incendiary bombs.
7. Allot duties to the members of your household to perform on hearing the Siren. For example, opening windows, shutting jhilmils, closing doors, turning off gas, electricity and water at the main, turning off lights that can be seen outside.
8. Have ready warm clothing and blankets in case you have to go out at night.
9. Fill the baths with water.
10. Keep the cistern and water tanks in your house full of water at night.
11. Keep a register of your household and give a copy to your warden.
12. Arrange for the safety of your servants in an air raid.
13. Give and receive offers of hospitality to and from your friends.
14. Find out the name and address of your air raid warden, the nearest telephone (no private calls will be put through) the First Aid post and the nearest Fire Station and Police Station.

DURING AN AIR RAID

• IF OUTSIDE

DO take cover immediately. Go into a house or slit trench. Failing this, lie face downwards on soft ground away from buildings. Rest your face on your elbows to prevent bruising of the lungs. Keep your mouth open with a rolled handkerchief.

IF INDOORS

DON'T go near glass. DON'T stay in a car, bus or tram. D'N'T run about in panic.
DO go to the refuge room. Open all windows. Close doors and jhilmils. Turn out light. Turn gas off at mains.
DON'T look out of the windows. DON'T try to telephone.

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Address: 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta · Annual Subscription Rs. 8-8

THE MODERN REVIEW

Vol. LXXI., No. 3 · Whole No. 423

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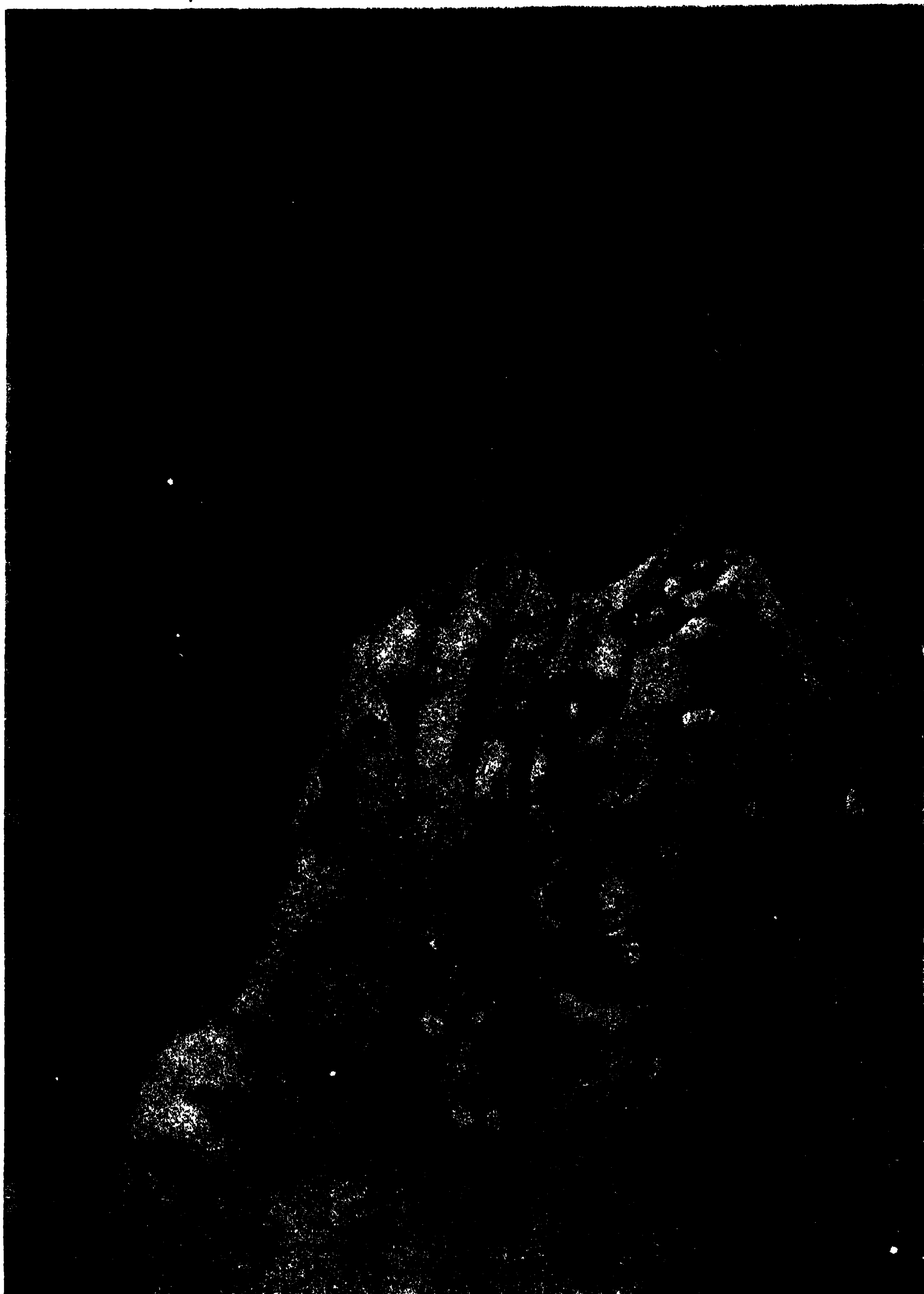
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A MALAYAN MAIDEN
By Dilip Kumar Das Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH  1942

VOL. LXXI, No. 3 WHOLE No. 423

NOTES

Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Visit

Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's visit has been a very pleasant surprise to the people of India, who have felt honoured and heartened by their coming to this country.

On many occasions when the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy or other high functionaries speak for India, they do not really voice the sentiments of her people though they may think they do. But on this occasion when the Viceroy warmly welcomed Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, his words truly reflected the feelings of the people of India.

> The Government of India are certain that the people of India will join with them in welcoming the gallant leader of the great Chinese Republic, now in alliance with the people of India in a fight against the aggression of a common enemy who seeks to destroy for both countries their inheritance from the past and their hope for the future.

In the course of his speech at the reception at the Viceroy's house Lord Linlithgow observed :

> Geography has set a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all those elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them. We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day; a day when China, following the path prescribed by the revered Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder and father of the republic, and under the leadership of her national government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan.

When the Viceroy spoke of "our two countries" and "our nations," he referred of course to India and China, to the Indian and Chinese nations, not to Britain and China and the British and Chinese nations; for the mutual relations between Britain and China neither go back to hoary antiquity nor have they been always cordial and friendly like Sino-Indian relations.

One wonders if ever a time will come when any British statesman of high position will speak of any Indian revolutionary leaders, "founders and fathers of the [Indian] Republic," in the way in which Lord Linlithgow spoke of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

It is to be noted that the Viceroy referred to the Japanese people as "the barbarians of Japan." In the reply which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave he also had occasion to refer to the Japanese. but he did not call them barbarians, though the hostility between the Japanese and the Chinese began more than four years ago and that between the British and the Japanese commenced only a few months ago. There can be no comparison between the number of Chinese killed and wounded, the Chinese property destroyed, and the humiliations inflicted on the Chinese by the Japanese, and anything similar done by the Japanese to the British. It would be wrong, in fact, to think of such a comparison. For Japan has invaded China, occupied Chinese territory, destroyed Chinese villages and towns and massacred both

Chinese civilians and soldiers; whereas no such thing has been done by Japan with regard to Great Britain herself. Japan has acted barbarously only in some British dependencies. What then caused the difference in the way in which Lord Linlithgow and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek referred to the Japanese?

Europeans consider Asiatics as uncivilized or less civilized than themselves. It is said that the Chinese considered or still consider themselves as "celestials" and some other people—particularly European aggressors against China—as under-men. But Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has not used any opprobious terms even in his references to the European Axis powers.

Both the Germans and the Japanese have been behaving worse than barbarously. Nevertheless the Chinese leader has refrained from calling them barbarians.

In the following passage in his speech His Excellency the Viceroy paid fitting tribute to the unity, the patriotism and the devotion of the Chinese people to their country's cause:

> A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China's Examination Yuan, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, and from him we learned that, vast though the land of China is, her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause, in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China's unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world.

There is a struggle in India, too. We are sorry that, though India is not quite so vast a country as China, yet India's sons and daughters are not all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause. But do the unity and the devoted allegiance to India's cause of those sons and daughters of India who are in the thick of the struggle for her freedom—do their unity and devotion rouse any feelings of admiration in the minds of Britain's eminent statesmen? Will there ever come a time when India's sons and daughters will be united and when British statesmen will find it possible to sincerely say, "We believe that in the shining example of *India's* unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world"?

The Viceroy has rightly observed in his speech:

> "China's heroism is the inspiration of us all. As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom."

Asia is a vast continent of many countries. Asia's fight for freedom is, therefore, not confined to any single Asiatic country. A struggle for freedom, of non-violent character, has been going on in India, which is another Asiatic country. Will a time ever come when some eminent British ruling personage will be in a position to sincerely declare: "*India's* heroism is the inspiration of us all. She is, like China, a veteran of Asia's fight for freedom"?

In the course of his speech in reply Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said:

> As Your Excellency has pointed out, the spiritual bonds between our two countries are no new development; no mere growth of yesterday. In days almost legendary, Chinese seekers after truth found their way to India after years of perilous travel through arid deserts and over sky-reaching mountains to drink at the inexhaustible fountain of Indian philosophy. They took back to their motherland in the face of indescribable dangers and difficulties, the priceless volumes which embodied the wisdom of India.
>
> INDIA NEVER MISLED
>
> I am appreciative of Your Excellency's reference to the cultural background between the two peoples. Without doubt, it was partly owing to its existence that the Indian nation was moved to express deep sympathy with us for the moment that we began our war of resistance. The enemy—now the common enemy—tried every expedient to divert that sympathy to himself. India was not misled for a moment. When Japan made perfidious offers of friendship, the illustrious Poet Tagore in noble language voiced the burning indignation which India felt in being asked to grasp in amity a blood-stained hand.
>
> SUN YAT-SEN'S PRINCIPLES
>
> I am further grateful to Your Excellency for the tribute you paid to the founder of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The principles which he has bequeathed to us have been responsible for the new spirit that has inspired the Chinese people to do their share in making a better world for mankind.
>
> QUESTION OF INDIAN INVASION
>
> It is now China's turn to show her appreciation of what India has done for her in a realistic way. The extension of the war to the south Pacific has brought the invasion of this country within the realm of possibility. Any attempted attack on India by Japan would have to be through Burma. The threat through Burma was one of the subjects discussed by me and General Sir Archibald Wavell, when he paid his flying visit to Chungking a month ago. An arrangement has already been made for the despatch of Chinese troops to Burma to assist in its defence. The first steps have thus been jointly taken to safeguard India for a landwise invasion from the east by using Chinese experience and manpower. On the north and east, China is India's shield from land invasion.

It is true that it was owing to the existence of the cultural background between the Chinese and the Indians that the latter were moved to express deep sympathy with the Chinese from the moment that they began their war of resistance. But there was also another cause. The people of India, too, have been engaged for decades in a struggle for freedom; and it was, therefore, natural for them to sympathize with a neighbouring people engaged in freedom's fight.

though of a different and far more strenuous kind.

What India did for China in ancient times is gratefully acknowledged by the Chinese. But in those ages China, too, did much for India. This requires to be better known. One way in which China has repaid her debt to India is the preservation of ancient Indian works, not now extant in India, either in the original Sanskrit or Pali, or in Chinese translations, or in both. Another way in which China has repaid her debt took the form of the narratives of the travels of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims in India, but for which the world's knowledge of India of those days would have been poorer than it is.

The concrete form which India's sympathy with China in her struggle has taken is more a token and symbol than of any considerable help to China. Nevertheless, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's magnanimity has moved him to acknowledge it.

Had India been free, she would certainly have been able to send troops and munitions and other war materials to help China. The latter is now showing her appreciation of what little India has done for her by sending some of the best Chinese troops to Burma and Thailand to fight the Japanese.

Chiang Kai-shek's Reference to Rabindranath Tagore

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's reference to Rabindranath Tagore was quite fitting, as it was India's Poet who revived the age-long Sino-Indian spiritual and cultural relation by visiting China and by the promotion of Chinese studies in Visva-bharati, which cultural endeavour has taken concrete shape in Cheena-bhavana in Santiniketan.

The great Chinese leader has said:

> When Japan made perfidious offers of friendship, the illustrious Poet Tagore in noble language voiced the burning indignation which India felt in being asked to grasp in amity a blood-stained hand.

When we read the above reference to Rabindranath Tagore in Chiang Kai-shek's speech we wrote in the Phālgun number of *Prabāsī*, published on the 12th February last, that had the poet been living now the Marshal would certainly have come to Bengal to pay his respects to him, and we surmised that, though the Poet is no longer alive to accord him a warm reception, "perhaps the Generalissimo may come to visit Santiniketan." We are glad our anticipation has been fulfilled.

Referring to Tagore the Marshal said:

"When Japan made perfidious offers of friendship, the illustrious Poet Tagore in noble language voiced the burning indignation which India felt in being asked to grasp in amity a blood-stained hand."

The Japanese offer mainly took the form of letters written to Tagore by the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi. In the first letter written by him he said in part:

> Believe me, it is the war of "Asia for Asia." With a crusader's determination and with a sense of sacrifice that belongs to a martyr, our young soldiers go to the front. Their minds are light and happy, the war is not for conquest, but the correction of mistaken idea of China, I mean Quomingtung government, and for uplifting her simple and ignorant masses to better life and wisdom. Borrowing from other countries neither money nor blood, Japan is undertaking this tremendous work single-handed and alone. I do not know why we cannot be praised by your countrymen. But we are terribly blamed by them, as it seems, for our heroism and aim.

In reply Rabindranath wrote in part:—

> You seem to agree with me in your condemnation of the massacre of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy but you would reserve the murderous attack on Chinese millions for judgment under a different category. But surely judgments are based on principle, and no amount of special pleading can change the fact that in launching a ravening war on Chinese humanity, with all the deadly methods learnt from the West, Japan is infringing every moral principle on which civilisation is based. You claim that Japan's situation was unique, forgetting that military situations are always unique, and that pious war-lords, convinced of peculiarly individual justification for their atrocities have never failed to arrange for special alliances with divinity for annihilation and torture on a large scale.
>
> Humanity, in spite of its many failures, has believed in a fundamental moral structure of society. When you speak, therefore, of "the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent"—signifying, I suppose, the bombing on Chinese women and children and the desecration of ancient temples and Universities as a means of saving China for Asia—you are ascribing to humanity a way of life which is not even inevitable among the animals and would certainly not apply to the East, in spite of her occasional aberrations. You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls. I have, as you rightly point out, believed in the message of Asia, but I never dreamt that this message could be identified with deeds which brought exaltation to the heart of Tamer Lane at his terrible efficiency in manslaughter. When I protested against "Westernisation" in my lectures in Japan, I contrasted the rapacious Imperialism which some of the *Nations* of Europe were cultivating with the ideal of perfection preached by Buddha and Christ, with the great heritages of culture and good neighbourliness that went to the making of Asiatic and other civilisations. I felt it to be my duty to warn the land of Bushido, of great Art and traditions of noble heroism, that this phase of scientific savagery which victimised Western humanity and had led their helpless masses to a moral cannibalism was never to be imitated by a virile people who had entered upon a glorious renascence and had every promise of a creative future before them. The doctrine of "Asia for Asia" which you enunciate in your letter, as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the

larger humanity that makes us one across the barriers of political labels and divisions.

In the course of his reply to this letter of Rabindranath Yone Noguchi wrote:

No one in Japan denies the greatness of China,—I mean the Chinese people. China of the olden times was great with philosophy, literature and art,—particularly in the T'ang dynasty. Under Chinese influence Japan started to build up her own civilization. But I do not know why we should not oppose to the misguided government of China for the old debt we owe her people. And nobody in Japan ever dreams that we can conquer China. What Japan is doing in China, it is only, as I already said, to correct the mistaken idea of Chiang Kai-shek; on this object Japan is staking her all. If Chiang comes to senses and extends his friendly hands for the future of both the countries, China and Japan, the war will be stopped at once.

The Japanese poet concluded this letter with the following flattering paragraph:

Finally one word more. What I fear most is the present atmosphere in India, that tends to wilfully blacken Japan to alienate her from your country. I have so many friends there, whose beautiful nature does not harmonise with it. My last experiences in your country taught me how to love and respect her. Besides there are in Japan so many admirers of your countrymen with your noble self as the first.

There was a final rejoinder from Tagore, in the course of which he wrote:

It seems to me that it is futile for either of us to try to convince the other since your faith in the infallible right of Japan to bully other Asiatic nations into line with your Government's policy is not shared by me, and my faith that patriotism which claims the right to bring to the altar of its country the sacrifice of *other* people's rights and happiness will endanger rather than strengthen the foundation of any great civilization, is sneered at by you as the "quiescence of a spiritual vagabond."

Tagore's rejoinder concluded thus:

I am quite conscious of the honour you do me in asking me to act as a peace-maker. Were it in any way possible for me to bring you two peoples together and see you freed from this death-struggle and pledged to the great common "work of reconstructing the new world in Asia." I would regard the sacrifice of my life in the cause a proud privilege. But I have no power save that of moral persuasion, which you have so eloquently ridiculed. You who want me to be impartial, how can you expect me to appeal to Chiang Kai-shek to give up resisting until the aggressors have first given up their aggression? Do you know that last week when I received a pressing invitation from an old friend of mine in Japan to visit your country. I actually thought for a moment, foolish idealist as I am, that your people may really need my services to minister to the bleeding heart of Asia and to help extract from its riddled body the bullets of hatred? I wrote to my friend:

"Though the present state of my health is hardly favourable for any strain of a long foreign journey, I should seriously consider your proposal if proper opportunity is given me to carry out my own mission while there, which is to do my best to establish a civilised relationship of national amity between two great peoples of Asia who are entangled in a desolating mutual destruction. But as I am doubtful whether the military authorities of Japan, which seem bent upon devastating China in order to gain their object, will allow me the freedom to take my own course, I shall never forgive myself if I am tempted for any reason whatever to pay a friendly visit to Japan just at this unfortunate moment and thus cause a grave misunderstanding. You know I have a genuine love for the Japanese people and it is sure to hurt me too painfully to go and watch crowds of them being transported by their rulers to a neighbouring land to perpetrate acts of inhumanity which will brand their name with a lasting stain in the history of Man."

After the letter was despatched came the news of the fall of Canton and Hankow. The cripple, shorn of his power to strike, may collapse, but to ask him to forget the memory of his mutilation as easily as you want me to, I must expect him to be an angel.

Wishing your people whom I love, not success, but remorse.

Yours sincerely,
Rabindranath Tagore.

The booklet from which the extracts in this note are taken is entitled *Poet to Poet*. It has been published by The Sino-Indian Cultural Society at Santiniketan and priced four annas per copy.

India's Man-Power

In connection with the visit of Chiang Kai-shek and his noble consort and with some other matters India's man-power has been repeatedly referred to in recent public speeches, statements and newspaper articles.

A country which at present contains nearly 400 million people certainly possesses very large man-power. Though the British rulers of India have in pursuit of their imperial policy divided the people of India into two classes, warlike and unwarlike, there is really no such distinction. There is no part of India of which the inhabitants did not furnish valiant soldiers in some period or other of India's history. But taking into consideration even only those whom the British rulers of India style warlike, let us consider what some British generals think of them as soldiers.

Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Hamilton, K. C. B., has written in his *A Staff Officer's Scrap-Book During the Russo-Japanese War* (1905), Vol. I, pp. 7-8, in part:

This is no time for any civilized nation to play pranks with its army, or to gamble at confidence-trick games with its rivals at The Hague. Disarmament talk from the mouths of the masters of India would be supremely ridiculous were it not so dangerous. Have those who cry "peace" ever paused to consider the lordly Sikh, whose God is the sword and his religion war? What would he say, or do rather, for he does not say much, if the Sahibs tried to transform gallant armies into military police? Every thinking soldier who has served on our recent Indian campaigns is aware that for the requirements of such operations a good Sikh, Pathan or Gurkha Battalion is more generally service-

able than a British battalion. If, for instance, a non-commissioned officer and a dozen men are required to picquet a mountain top two or three miles distant, until the column has passed, and are then to find their way back and follow on with the rearguard, no one in his senses would send British soldiers. They might lose their way; they might unseasonably exhibit a preference for fighting and require to be extricated; or, in some way or another, accentuate the anxieties of their general, even if they did not form the text for a regrettable incident despatch by getting cut up completely. For advance guards, rearguards, road-making, night fighting, escorts to convoys, and for everything in fact that takes place in these mountains except a definite attack upon a definite position, the best native troops, being more in touch with nature, can give points to the artificially trained townsmen who now form so large a proportion of our men. I do not ignore the fortunate fact that the scouting and reconnoitring of the British army has vastly improved since the South African war. But even so we remain, and must continue to remain, a long way behind more primitive nations in these important warrior characteristics.

All this is supposed to be a secret; a thing to be whispered with bated breath, as if every sepoy did not already know who does the rough and dirty work, and who, in the long run, does the hardest fighting. Nevertheless, these very officers who know will sit and solemnly discuss whether our best native troops would, or would not, be capable of meeting a European enemy! *Why—there is material in the north of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations* if once it dares tamper with that militarism which now alone supplies it with any higher ideal than money and the luxury which that money can purchase. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

The same military author writes in the same book and in the same connection that in India "diffusion of knowledge will produce leaders."

Lieut.-General Sir Ian Hamilton gives his opinion of the fighting qualities of soldiers recruited from the north of India. But other parts of India, too, have produced equally good soldiers.

It is not necessary to go back to the pre-British period of Indian history or to the early days of British rule to find evidences of the bravery and efficiency of Indian soldiers. In an article in the *North American Review* of July, 1914, Lord Curzon called the sepoy army of India "one of the finest fighting forces in the world." Sir Valentine Chirol, in his last book on India declared that "The Indian army has a fine record for gallantry, and is a great fighting engine." He tells of a remark once made by the late German Kaiser, that the Sikhs of India were the only foreign troops against whom he feared to pit his own German infantry. But we need not multiply such testimony.

It may be objected that, though Indians fight well under British or other European officers, they would fail under officers of their own race. But the pre-British period of Indian history furnishes the names of numerous great Indian military leaders. As for the British period, the English historians, Kaye and Malleson, in their *History of the Indian Mutiny*, tell us of the bravery and great efficiency of the Indian soldiers in the armies of the East India Company, fighting mainly under Indian officers.

The Indian troops that fought in the first World War (1914-1918) came partly (the larger number) from British India and partly from the Indian States. Those from the Indian States were commanded by Indian officers, who showed no lack of efficiency as compared with the British. Those from British India were commanded by European officers; but when these were killed or disabled, the Indian officers took command, and, as recorded, with complete success. There is no evidence from any source that Indians are any less able than the British to fill high commands (even the highest) if allowed to have proper training and experience.

At present India has a population of 380 millions in round numbers, from which to draw soldiers in time of need. This is about equal to China's population, twice that of Russia, five times that of Germany or Japan, and more than seven times that of Great Britain. No recent estimate has been made of India's available military man-power, that is, the number of her men between the ages of twenty and forty. But such an estimate was made in 1918. It was found to be over 40 000,000. It must be much greater now.

So, if India's military man-power were properly utilized, she could easily meet an invading army with a fighting force of ten millions.

It is true that the Indian people as a whole are more peacefully inclined than Europeans. But all history shows that peaceful nations often produce the bravest and most effective armies known, when there is need to defend their liberties and their hearths and homes. Such armies fight from duty, from principle, from true patriotism. Their courage is moral, not merely physical; and they come nearer than any other soldiers to being invincible. But even if recruitment were confined to those whom British imperialist policy recognizes as India's fighting races, many millions of soldiers could be furnished by them; for more than a hundred million of India's population consists of her Sikhs, Gurkhas, Garhwalis, Rajputs, Pathans, Marathas, and others.

For proof of the fact that peaceful nations often produce the bravest and most efficient

armies, we need not scan the pages of the history of times past. The Chinese have been a peaceful nation. They are proving to be better soldiers than the Japanese, who in the first decade of this century defeated the Russians and are at present often defeating the British, the Australians and the Dutch.

Chiang Kai-shek's Message to the People of India

The following is the full text of His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's parting message to the people of India, released from Government House, Calcutta :

During my two weeks' stay in India, I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities as well as with my Indian friends the questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I am happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to all my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame and myself. The briefness of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them the following farewell message. It is the expression of my high and warm regard and long-cherished hopes for India. It comes from the depth of my heart.

Since my arrival in this country I have found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India unanimous determination to oppose aggression.

Same Destiny

China and India comprise one-half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to 3,000 kilometres. In the 2,000 years' history of their intercourse, which has been of a purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature. Today they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the Anti-Aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and, in the present war, to ally herself unhesitatingly with the Anti-Aggression countries not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind.

Freedom for Mankind

I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and the Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

Two Camps

The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the Aggression Camp and the Anti-Aggression Camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and mankind should join the Anti-Aggression Camp. There is no middle course and there is not time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country; nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people, therefore, which joins the Anti-Aggression Front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front. This leads us to believe that the Pacific War is a turning-point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The Anti-Aggression nations now expect that in this new era the people of India voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world in which India must play a part. A vast majority of the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material, and should therefore by all means be retained.

Freedom *vs.* Slavery

The present struggle is one between Freedom and Slavery, between Light and Darkness, between Good and Evil, between Resistance and Aggression. Should the Anti-Aggression Front lose the war, the civilization of the world would suffer a setback

for at least one hundred years and there would be no end to human sufferings.

Japanese Cruelties

So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by the Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression which have been the fate of the Formosans and the Koreans since their subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese Army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, is a case in point. Over 2,00,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population in free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombings from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools and domestic animals, have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation rape, rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence. Moreover, they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill-fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eye-witnesses.

Atlantic Charter

In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of China and their brethren, the people of India, should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the Joint Declaration of Twenty-six Nations and ally themselves with the Anti-Aggression Front. I hope they will whole-heartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

India's Freedom

Lastly, I sincerely hope and I confidently believe that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will, as speedily as possible, give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realise that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the Anti-Aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.

The message of His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to the people of India in Chinese and an English rendering of the same by Madame Chiang Kai-shek were broadcast from the Calcutta station of All-India Radio —(*A. P.*)

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's message to the people of India—and also to Great Britain—is entirely worthy of China and himself. Some leading Indians had asked Mr. Roosevelt, joint author of the Atlantic Charter, to give his own interpretation of it. But he has not done so. He either agrees with Mr. Churchill, or, not agreeing with him, shrinks from displeasing him. That shows that, though he is the highest-placed functionary of the most wealthy State in the world, he lacks that real love of liberty for all mankind, that nobility of mind, that spiritual greatness and that courage which have led the leader of China to give his message both to the people of India and to Great Britain.

His message is not one-sided. He appeals both to the people of India and to Britain. He does not appeal to the people of India to take part in the fight because India is part of the British Empire and because India's mistress Britain is involved in the fight. No. He appeals to them on higher grounds. Says he :

"I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world."

He adds :

"In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of China and their brethren, the people of India should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint declaration of Twenty-six Nations

and ally themselves with the Anti-Aggression Front."

"I hope they will whole-heartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged."

It is significant that in referring to the Allies he names China first. This is not due to egotism, vanity or arrogance. It is entirely just that China should be placed first. For none of the Allies have fought single-handed longer and against greater odds than China. It is also to be borne in mind that neither territorial and political, nor economic imperialism can be said to be at the root of China's struggle. It is a purely democratic fight for freedom.

It is absolutely true that without China and India free there can be no real peace in the world. It was only recently that we wrote an article in this journal to show that for world peace and world freedom the freedom of India is absolutely necessary. We did not then think of China. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is right in coupling China and India together.

It is characteristic of the courtesy and the sagacious statesmanship of the great leader of China that he appeals last to Great Britain, to which country his hosts in India belong. Said he:

"I sincerely hope and confidently believe that Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will, as speedily as possible, give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realise that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the Anti-Aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire."

Is A "Protectorate" "Territorial Gain"?

In our last issue, page 120, we extracted a note from the British *News Review* of October 9, 1941, in which the criticism of Dr. Berriedale Keith, "much-honoured constitutional jurist and orientalist," of the (then) British proposal to give the Emperor of Abyssinia a British Agent to advise him on policy,......was quoted. That British weekly's note said:

"In August, 1941 when Planners Churchill and Roosevelt chinned over their famous Atlantic Charter, they proclaimed in Point One that Britain and the U. S. were not fighting the war for territorial gain. . . .

"Last week reports from Addis Ababa spoke of Emperor Haile Selassie being given a British Agent to advise him on policy, said that British officers would control the activities of native governors throughout the provinces of Abyssinia.

"Cried Professor Keith, a stickler for law: 'We propose to impose on the Emperor . . . . what is nothing short of a protectorate. . . Flatly does this violate the [Atlantic] Charter. . . Why should the youth of America be sacrificed to add a new territory to an already over-large empire?'

"In the Professor's opinion, Britain is still bound by the League [of Nations] covenant to respect Abyssinia's independence. 'There is only one honourable course open,' he urged. 'Let us make an alliance with the Emperor,' he urged, lend him money and skilled administration, 'but let them be servants and let our advice be given not by a British Agent but by a British Minister or Ambassador.'"

But no such alliance has been made with the Emperor. What has been done is detailed below in a *Reuter's* telegram.

LONDON, Feb. 3.

It is announced in London that an agreement was signed at Addis Ababa last Saturday on behalf of the British Government with the Emperor of Ethiopia.

It is expected that the currency of the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement will be for two years.

The British Government has agreed to finance the Emperor during the first year to the extent of £1,500,000 and, during the second year to the extent of £1,000,000. Should the agreement be prolonged beyond two years, the British Government has agreed to grant him £500,000 during the third year and £250,000 during the fourth year. Tapering off of the financial aid makes an allowance for gradual restoration of the Ethiopian finances.

Financial arrangements, therefore, have been designed to ensure that the dependence of Ethiopia upon foreign currency shall not perpetuated.

The Emperor had asked for a military mission to assist him in the reorganisation of his armed forces. The military convention signed at the time of the recapture of Addis Ababa provides for this, and for the British forces that it may be necessary to maintain in Ethiopia for strategic reasons, as well as for the evacuation of Italian prisoners of war.

The Ethiopian army will be equipped from the booty captured during the campaign of Ethiopia.

The Emperor has asked too for some British Judges to his courts to assist him in the administration of justice and the agreement provides that a foreigner may elect to have his case heard in an Ethiopian court, on the bench of which a British Magistrate shall sit.

At the request of the Emperor, the services of a British magistrate are to be made available at the Ethiopian court.

It is stated that the Emperor has declared his intention to abolish slavery as soon as he was in a position to legislate.

MR. EDEN'S STATEMENT

The agreement between the United Kingdom and the Emperor of Ethiopia was announced today in the House of Commons by Mr. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary. He said that Mr. R. G. Howe, the newly appointed British Ambassador to Addis Ababa, was proceeding shortly to assume office there.

Mr. Eden added that the agreement was expected to be valid for two years.

Mr. Eden paid a tribute to the fine sense of statesmanship shown by the Emperor, which was abundantly in evidence during the trying period of transition from a state of war to an independent administration.

It is plain to all the world, including Great Britain we hope, that the British Government has not been able to protect Malaya, Singapore, and part of Burma. And yet that Government has added to its other responsibilities that of protecting Abyssinia, and the Emperor of that country relies, too, on such protection. Let us hope, he will not find British help a broken reed, as unhappy Malaya and Singapore have found —we hope, only temporarily. The Ethiopian Emperor was evidently in need of money and has got it in exchange for independence.

Let us hope, after the war—when we do not know, his independence will be restored to him —by whom nobody knows.

British Press Comments on British Withdrawal Manœuvres

The loss of Malaya and Singapore and the partial occupation of Burma by the Japanese have led some British newspapers to indulge in comments and criticisms which if made by the Indian press would have been disliked by the British diehard press. Here are some of these observations, purveyed by *Reuter* :

London, Feb. 19.

Leading British newspapers speculating whether Japan will now strike the hardest at Burma or Java or possibly simultaneously at both, nearly all urge that for the defenders, planes are the most pressing need.

Discussing the threat to Rangoon, the London *Times* on Thursday reminds the readers that in Malaya the Imperial forces carried out a series of withdrawals when their flanks were turned, but ended by bottling themselves up in a position ill-suited to prolonged final defence. "Manœuvres in retreat against superior strength is essential, if it is likely to provide time and opportunity for the delivery of a counter-stroke." The *Times* adds, "but is there no grave risk, when it is continued, of being manœuvred into the sea or a prisoners' camp ? We can probably never manœuvre faster than the enemy, whose exploits prove his agility.

Some shrewd military opinion holds that the most promising way to meet the Japanese is to stand up and fight them even if at a disadvantage.

The *Manchester Guardian* writes : "We do not know if Java can be held—experience has encouraged us to doubt all things—but even if it should fall, let the fall be delayed and contested with the utmost determination by all Allies. . . . By aiding the Dutch and holding Java, we may serve not only part of our grand alliance but the whole."

The *Daily Mail* says, the lesson of Malaya is airpower, but points out that enormous numbers of planes are not sufficient unless they are of the right type.

The *News Chronicle* referring to reported shortcomings of the British administration in Singapore, gives a warning that there is in this lesson for the British in Burma and India.

"The penalty of blindness and reaction now threatens us in both countries," it says

"*Had the lesson been learned earlier, we might now have millions upon millions of Indians and Burmese pouring to the defence of White democracy in the east. . . . . There is perhaps still time but only just.*"

Was *The Times* sarcastic ? one wonders. The lesson which, according to the *News Chronicle*, Britain ought to have learned earlier, she does not show any sign of learning even now.

Baroda Makes Hindu Marriages Monogamous

It is quite in keeping with the socially progressive character of the administration of Baroda that she has enacted a law making Hindu marriages monogamous. Most Hindu marriages, at any rate among educated persons, are at present monogamous. There ought to be such a law in British India. It is too late in the day to dwell on the evils of polygamy and the ethical and sociological superiority to it of monogamy.

C. Rajagopalachari on Students' Participation in Politics

In the course of a speech at Madura Mr. C. Rajagopalachari addressed some words of advice to students. He asked students "not to take part in active politics, as he did not want them to be cannon fodder for politicians who wanted to make use of them."

Jawaharlal Nehru on Students and Politics

Cawnpore, Feb. 9.

The student's function is to learn and not to teach, observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a meeting of students held in Tilak Hall with Mr. Pyarelal Agarwal, President of the City Congress Committee in the chair.

Pandit Nehru said that the question was very often asked if students could take part in politics. The answer to this question was in the affirmative *as it was essential for them to learn politics to be responsible citizens in future.*

[This means, we take it, that students' part in politics should be just as much and of such a kind as would be necessary to learn politics. They should not aspire to be political leaders and teachers of politics.]

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru criticised the participation of students in politics on party lines and added that party politics had proved disastrous to student movements in other countries also. In their individual capacity students could join any political party but as students they should be united and should conduct their movement absolutely free from party politics.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the Patna Conference of students and expressed surprise at the new policy laid down there. *The claim of students to speak on behalf of forty million people in regard to war was ridiculous,* he remarked.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was pained at the growing indiscipline among students. He had very often read in newspapers about students fighting amongst themselves which was a sign of their weakness.

The Congress, he added, followed the peaceful methods for some years and found them very useful to the country. He pointed out that even in case he had to resort to violence it would not amount to abusing others. Abusing others would weaken their cause.

Referring to the war Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that he would not discuss the point whether help should be given or not but he would certainly say that it could not be the people's war when a majority of the people except a few individuals were against it.—*A. P.*

Exploitation in Motor Tyre Industry

The price of a 32 × 6 motor tyre used in buses and lorries is now Rs. 117-5. Before the declaration of the war, say in August, 1939, it was Rs. 76-3. A little earlier it was Rs. 61. There are only two factories in India for the manufacture of motor tyres and tubes. One managed by the British and used by three British and American Companies is situated near Hooghly in Bengal and the other managed by Americans is at Bombay. The Government of India in its last budget imposed an excise duty of 10 per cent on rubber tyres manufactured in the country. The tyre companies immediately passed on the burden to the consumers in the shape of a price increase of exactly 10 per cent. Imports of motor tyres and tubes had dwindled so much on account of the war that the two factories practically enjoyed a monopoly and so could do this with impunity. As soon as the war was declared the companies manufacturing their articles in the Hooghly factory increased their prices by 10 per cent, but within a few days cancelled this enhancement. The Government of Bengal was at that time launching prosecution against tradesmen and manufacturers for such unreasonable increase of prices. An import duty of 20 per cent on motor tyres and tubes has been prevalent for a long time while Japanese tyres under the Ottowa Trade Agreement had to pay 50 per cent. The two factories have been established apparently with the object of taking advantage of the situation. This is a case of protection by the back-door. We have been told by European engineers that wages paid in these factories to workmen (who are all Indians) and Indian mechanics and engineers are one-eighth of those paid in Europe for similar work. Labour is costlier still in America. Transport charges for rubber from Malaya are much less to India than to Europe or America. European and American tyres have to pay ocean freight and the import duty. It does not require, therefore, much calculation to arrive at the conclusion that the cost of production of tyres and tubes in India is enormously less. But the tyre companies here kept their prices at only 5 per cent less than foreign imports in order that customers might be compelled to buy their goods. It should be remembered that 90 per cent of motor vehicles—buses, lorries and cars, are owned by Indians, who, therefore, have practically to bear the brunt of this unabashed exploitation. The imposition of the excise duty by the Government was a step in the right direction, but when its good effect was nullified by the price increase, the Government should have intervened in view of war emergency, which left the consumer at the mercy of the manufacturer. It may not be out of place here to mention that the Australian Government has recently prohibited profits of more than 4 per cent for the manufacturer. How the helplessness of the buyers is used by most of the tyre companies to their own advantage will be evident from the fact that a common practice with them is to inform the large dealers through salesmen that a price increase would take place in a day or two so that the dealers are compelled to buy to their utmost capacity, thus locking huge capital unnecessarily. Rubber goods deteriorate with the passage of time. Consumers have to buy goods manufactured months ago at prices of fresh articles.

What prevails in the tyre industry is true of many other industries that have grown up behind the tariff wall. It is an irony of fate that in some protected industries foreigners preponderate, while the position of Indians is insignificant and only serves to give the whole thing an appearance of decency, as if protection has been designed to help the growth of indigenous industries.

Speaking in 1916 on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission, Sir William Clarke, the then Member of Commerce, said: "The building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view." He deprecated the taking of any steps which might "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries." Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya apprehended this danger in his minute of dissent in the report of the External Capital Committee. But this is what has actually taken place. The meagre wages which the foreign capitalists spend in paying labourers here are considerably less than what they have to pay by way of customs duty when they import goods manufactured in their own countries. These factories further render it impossible for indigenous capital to start similar industries. For example, the two tyre factories in India can supply the country's needs and if Indians start a tyre factory, they will have to face the severe, cut-throat competition of the wealthy foreigners. This happened in the jute industry of Bengal sometime ago when small Indian-owned mills began to grow up. Is not India being mortgaged to foreigners under our eyes?—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

Price of Soft Coke

The price of soft coke is now, on the 22nd February, 1942, as high as Rs. 1/2/- per maund in Calcutta. What we apprehended in the February issue of this journal has come partially true. In the name of urgent requirement of industries the black regime of control of the coal industry during the last war and for some years afterwards is being re-introduced. The Hon'ble Railway Member in his recent budget speech admitted the prior claim of food articles. To be logical he must class soft coke used by poor and middle classes in preparing food as more important than coal consumed by industries not engaged in manufacturing war materials. But even distilleries are getting a preferential supply of wagons, while poor people are cooking food only once a day and eating it

both in the morning and at night.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

We are informed that the retail price of soft coke on the 26th February last was in the neighbourhood of Re 1-8 per maund.

Machinery Industry of Howrah

During the last war we witnessed the commandeering of lathes by the District Magistrate of Howrah from the mills of the late Babu Surath Chandra Sadhukhan and others. Now the workshops under the management of Srijut Alamohon Das at Howrah are turning out any number of lathes as also other machinery for the Government, which has, therefore, no need of taking any drastic measure to secure lathes. Jute mill machinery manufactured by Srijut Das are being used by European managing agents of jute mills on either side of the Hooghly. Weighbridges made by him are being used by Railways of India, Printing machines, which require much finer workmanship than motor cars, are made in his workshops and have given customers satisfaction. Howrah has for more than a century been the seat of large European-managed engineering workshops with the result that a class of Indian mechanics, often illiterate but yielding to none in accurate craftsmanship, has sprung up in and around this town. European-managed workshops at Bombay have often taken mechanics from here. Old mechanics on retirement from service have started a good many small workshops which taken together turn out a large quantity of machinery every month. It remained for Srijut Das to assemble a number of skilled workers, give them the self-respect of working under and for their countrymen and prove to the world that Indians can produce machinery which other men can produce. It is a pleasure to see skilful carpenters still in their teens drawing a salary of Rs. 80 per month—young men whom Srijut Das himself has trained from day to day in pattern-making. Starting his life as a hawker of fried rice in the streets of Calcutta, this captain of industry has risen step by step and has no difficulty in making his mechanic apprentices feel kinship with him. Capitalists of Western India often speak of starting motor car factories in India. Cannot they do so at Howrah where craftsmanship is handed down from father to son? Cannot our Bengalee rich men give up the case of investing in Government securities and use at least a part of their wealth in building up a prosperous machinery industry yielding handsome profits and giving employment to thousands? The last war was an eye-opener to the Government to the importance of a steel industry within the country. The remarkable growth of the Tatas, protected by tariff, followed. This war with its mechanised armies needs the immediate development of the machinery industry. But where can it be developed without loss of time? No doubt, Howrah is such a place.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

Effect of Continued Abduction of Hindu Women on the Growth of Bengali Hindus

In the October issue of *The Modern Review*, we tried to show that the growth of the Bengali Hindus as a community has been retarded by as much as 6·0 per cent on account of the regular and continued abduction of Hindu women by Muhammadans. We *then* stated that those women who are abducted are generally between the ages of 15 to 25. It is the younger women of the reproductive age-period, who are valued most by the abductors and kidnappers. Mr. Jatindra Bose, Secretary of the *Matri Sadan*, one of the institutions responsible for bringing the offenders to book, has kindly furnished us with particulars as to the ages of the several scores of kidnapped girls rescued by him during the years 1932-1939. From his figures, we find the average age at which a Hindu woman is abducted or kidnapped is 16·7 years. The lowest age is 10 years and the highest 22 years; and 15 seems to be the age of most frequent abduction. It is interesting to notice that the average age at which Muhammadan girls are abducted is almost the same, *viz.*, 16·0 years.—Jatindra Mohan Datta.

One Cause of the Communal Riots in Bengal

The causes of the Hindu-Muhammadan communal riots are many; but the chief cause in our humble opinion seems to be the undue pampering of the Muhammadans by the authorities and the belief among the general mass of Muhammadans,—from amongst whom the rioters and looters are mostly recruited, that they would go unpunished if they looted the Hindus. The following extract from page 317 of Sir Henry Cotton's *Indian and Home Memories* published in London by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin in 1911, is highly instructive.

"The Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal are almost all descended from low-caste or aboriginal Hindus who long ago embraced Islam in the hope of social improvement or from hard necessity. There was never any cause for quarrel between Hindoos and Mohammedans as such. As simple cultivators they live side by side, and speak the same language. For the first time in history a religious feud was established between them by the partition of the Province. For the first time the principle Divide and Rule was enunciated in official circles. The hope was held out that the partition would invest the Mohammedans with "a unity they had not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman viceroys and kings." The Mohammedans were officially favoured in every possible way. "My favourite wife" was the somewhat coarse phrase used by Sir Bampfylde Fuller to express his feelings. The High Court in Calcutta was constrained to censure the racial bias judicially displayed by a District Judge. The opportunity was taken by evilly disposed persons with their headquarters at Dacca to scatter emissaries through the country preaching the revival of Islam, advocating the wildest extremes, and proclaiming to the villagers that the British Government was on their side and would exact no penalty for violence done to Hindus. No steps were taken by the authorities to check this dangerous propaganda. Riots followed, lives were lost, Hindu shops were looted, Hindu temples were desecrated, and many Hindu women were carried off. Some towns were

deserted, women spent nights concealed in tanks, and general terror prevailed throughout the country-side."

J. M. Datta.

We are confident that under the coalition ministry in Bengal not only will the mistakes of the past not be repeated but every effort will be made to apply remedies. We support the budget provision of Rs. one lakh for the promotion of communal harmony.

Wrong Defensive Tactics of Some Democracies

SYDNEY, Feb. 18.

"We think that a big mistake the democracies are making is in thinking in terms of defence, which involves the enemy coming down to get them rather than going out and fighting the enemy," the Lieutenant-Governor-General of the N. E. I. Dr. Van Mook told a Press Conference in Sydney.

"The policy of constantly retiring to prepared positions could lead to a position in which the Allies might lose the war.

"Java can hold for the time being without assistance," Van Mook said.—*Reuter.*

The Times of London has similarly criticized the British 'withdrawal manœuvres' in Malaya, Singapore and Burma.

British Governor of Malaya Appreciates Heroism of Srish Chandra Goho

The Leader of Allahabad writes :

We have read with much pleasure the message of the Governor of Malaya bringing to the notice of the Government of India "the valuable services rendered by Mr. S. C. Goho of Singapore in the evacuation of Indian women and children and the fine example of courage and determination which he has set to his countrymen and indeed to us all." Mr. Goho who is the Vice-President of the Central Indian Association of Malaya of which Mr. N. Raghavan is the President, is one of the most popular leaders of the Indian community. Mr. Goho was a busy lawyer, but his time and services have always been at the disposal of his countrymen. Only a few days before the outbreak of war in the Far East, he said in the course of a speech at Malacca, "If you ill-treat the labourers, no matter how much money you possess, the day will come when you will be swept away. Before that day comes, I beg of you to try to understand these people, and help them out of their difficulties." But because he befriended the labourers the planters disliked him. When there were strikes in the Klang district, the planters ascribed them to "the adherents of the Central Indian Association" who were accused of carrying on propaganda among the labourers. Nothing was farther from the truth. Mr. Goho and Mr. Raghavan exercised a very wholesome influence on the workers. They advised the men not to strike work, and if the employers had been reasonable there would have been no strike. But the employers were not amenable to reason, and the Government made matters worse by ordering Indian soldiers when there were disturbances to fire on the labourers. This harsh treatment alienated from the Government the sympathies of Indian labour. We have been told that the Japanese owe their speedy success in Malaya among other things to the failure of the Malaya Government to organize Asiatic labour to enable the bases of supplies to keep functioning under and after fire. The task of organizing Asiatic labour was beyond the capacity of the Malaya Government which was both unsympathetic and incompetent.

Sir Shenton Thomas, the British Governor of Malaya, now a prisoner in the hands of the Japanese, appears to be a very just and impartial man. For he severely criticized the conduct of the white officials of Penang who gave evidence of their cowardice and lack of sense of duty by leaving that place without permission in spite of the fact that he had issued an order that no responsible officer should leave his post of duty without leave or order.

"New York Herald Tribune" Urges Solution of Indian Problem

The New York Herald Tribune is an influential and widely circulated American daily. What it says in relation to the solution of the Indian problem has been cabled thus by *Reuter* :

NEW YORK, Feb. 23.

"It is the task of statesmen to evolve a formula on which all interests can agree to fight the Axis now and settle the future of India after peace in a manner which will safeguard the best interests of the Indian people," writes the *New York Herald Tribune* in a leader on Monday. The *Tribune* says that it would be a mistake to expect too much from co-operation with the hitherto dissident Indian political groups. The nationalist movement has been largely trained in and inspired with the practices and doctrine of passive resistance and this cannot be transformed in a moment to fighting zeal. The India of Hastings and Kipling is dead but the India emerging from the present struggle it is difficult to foresee but one thing is certain and that is that an Axis victory would produce an India that patriots could not contemplate without horror and this should be the ruling thought among Indians."—*Reuter.*

If Japan Subjugated India—

CHUNGKING, Feb. 22.

Anglo-Indian relations are the subject of noteworthy comment by a prominent Chinese official in an article published here today.

The Secretary-General of the Chinese Cabinet writes : "It would be a world tragedy if the British and the Indian peoples, who are both fighting for freedom, are unable to co-operate. We feel India should have freedom, but we must also point out that the method and procedure are practical, not theoretical, problems which cannot be entirely settled on the basis of theories. We feel there should be ways of bringing about co-operation between Britain and the Indian peoples. If the Japanese were allowed to subjugate India, there would be no hope for Indian freedom. A Nehru or a Gandhi in Korea is unimaginable."

The Chinese Cabinet official also warns the peoples of the Far East not to be misled by Britain's recent setbacks in the Far East. "Of Britain's strength and the British people's will to fight and of the wisdom of British policy we should not be in the least doubt," he concludes.—*Reuter.*

Great Britain is the mother-land of the British people and India is their *zamindari* or landed estate. They cannot be expected to fight as tenaciously and desperately for their estate as for their mother-land. It is the two-fold duty of Indians to free India from British bondage and to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Japanese. It is a difficult but not an impossible task.

Viceroy at Banquet in Honour of Chiang Kai-shek

At a banquet given on the 10th February last at the Viceroy's House in New Delhi in honour of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek His Excellency the Viceroy said in the course of his speech :

> Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common. In both the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail: in both the lamp of freedom has been lit: and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end.

Do the words, "the lamp of freedom has been lit," bear the same meaning with reference to both China and India ? Who lit the lamp of freedom in India and when ? By whom has it been kept burning ? What is the British imperialist attitude towards the lighting and keeping burning of this lamp ?

Chiang Kai-shek's Reply at Banquet in His Honour

In the course of his reply at the New Delhi banquet in his honour Marshal Chiang Kai-shek said :

> Your Excellency has done Madame Chiang and myself a signal honour which we deeply appreciate. You have been very generous in your praise of our personal endeavours. In those nearly five strenuous years of which you have spoken our contribution has not been as great as we wished. It is the united people of China, who true to their ideals, have borne the brunt of the battle for democracy. Since Japan's first invasion of Chinese soil, they have been rising together to higher heights of philosophy, patriotism, unselfishness, courage, endurance, and generosity with but one aim; out of the agonizing sufferings and losses that have been inflicted upon us, there shall arise a new world in which men and women can live in peace and happiness.
>
> Since the outbreak of the Pacific war, China and India have been drawn closer together. In the midst of the trial of war, I have availed myself of the first opportunity to visit India, our ally, in order to get better acquainted with her potentialities and the possibility of her contribution to the joint cause. I am glad that I have come and have learned much during my short stay here. We have a Chinese saying "to have one look at things is a hundred times more satisfactory than hearsay." I am truly impressed with the greatness of India.

It is characteristic of the Marshal that he has given all or most of the credit to the united people of China for bearing the brunt of the battle for democracy. The people of China do certainly deserve the highest praise for what they have been doing. But the Marshal also is entitled to great praise for what he has done.

Great Britain claims to be fighting the battle for democracy. So far as the British people are concerned it is a people's war. In India, however, it has been so far a British bureaucracy's battle. Great Britain has not done what is necessary to make it an Indian people's fight for democracy by enlisting their wholehearted co-operation.

That the Marshal spoke of the people of China rising to *greater heights of philosophy* in the course of the war is a significant oriental and Chinese touch. No occidental war-lord would have thought of associating philosophy with war in the life and conduct of his people.

It is very satisfying to learn that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has "learned much during his short stay," as according to the Chinese saying, "to have one look at things is a hundred times more satisfactory than hearsay."

Madame Chiang Kai-shek on Women's Part in China

Madame Chiang Kai-shek made her first public appearance in Delhi at a reception given under the auspices of the All-India Women's Conference and stirred the packed audience by her eloquence. Mr. Vijayalakshmi Pandit presided.

After expressing heartfelt thanks to the meeting Madame Chiang Kai-shek said :

> "The urge to come has been mine for a long time. Now I am here and I am glad to stand in the midst of you women of India who like their sisters in other countries at this time are working for their people. There are ancient bonds of history which unite the people of China and India as brothers. China and India are the two pillars supporting the economic and social edifice of Asia and both are playing their part in making the world safe for democracy. The war in China has brought into existence a large number of organisations and the women are playing a great part in them. One cannot live in China now and think without being moved to action. Planes roar, bombs crash and one sees the awful effects of sharpnel. The Japanese have slaughtered men and women and destroyed our industries in the hope of terrorising us but they have failed.
>
> The Women's Advisory Council are trying in every sphere to do work which will relieve the men for the army. They have organised the evacuation of children

and taken part in many other activities. Women of China are doing something worth while. I am anxious to hear what our sisters in India are doing to play their part."—*A. P.*

"War is at your very doors. As I came up from Calcutta to Delhi and saw your beautiful country and fertile lands I prayed that you should never have to suffer what we have suffered in China," said Madame Chiang Kai-shek in a stirring address delivered extempore to the meeting of women held to give her a public reception. She made the speech after her formal reply to Mrs. Pandit's address of welcome.

"But," Madame Chiang Kai-shek went on,

"If you are to escape this fate you must be prepared to defend yourselves for only by preparedness can you survive. First of all I want to tell you what you are up against, and I think you would want to know. I believe you are realists, for, in spite of thousands of years of our heritage enriched by the development of the most profound systems of philosophy yet evolved by any people in the world, the people of China and India are realists. You may have to fight against a foe full of treachery. During the last five years I have repeatedly pointed out what sort of people the Japanese are and what they have been doing in China, but because the western world was too engrossed in other affairs they branded my admonitions as propaganda. Now that the world has had a taste of Japanese methods at Singapore and Manila they are realising that what I said was not a figment of war-torn imagination but bare facts.

In 1932 at Shanghai when the Chinese and Japanese had agreed in principle on certain conditions and were on the eve of signing the agreement, that very night the Japanese bombed and set fire to the sleeping population of Chapei and tens of thousands of people were killed and wounded. Just before the outbreak of the present Pacific hostilities while the Japanese Ambassador in America and Kurusu were carrying on conversations with Mr. Hull, the Japanese again without warning struck at Pearl Harbour. A nation which has treachery as its policy in international dealings can never be trusted. The Japanese are already at your door. They have already struck at China and Burma. Who knows what will happen when they strike India? They will say to you "we come to liberate you." But that is a lie. Do you know what happened in Nanking? After our troops had withdrawn, the Japs rounded up every able-bodied man they could find there, tied them wrist to wrist, made them walk out of the town, beat them and bayoneted them. Later on the Japanese did not even take the trouble to bayonet or shoot them but made them dig their own graves and buried them alive.

After describing what the Japanese had done to Chinese women Madame Chiang Kai-shek went on in a moving passage:

"What did they do to our children? They captured them and took their blood for the purpose of blood transfusion. They also sent boat-loads of our children to be trained as traitors to their own country. We have found many little spies who told us that they had been trained by the Japanese to work against us. This happened especially after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1932 when these children were carried off in thousands specially drilled to work against their fatherland. When the Japs occupy and seize a city they are not only out to loot everything but they try to kill the very soul of the people, everything to deaden body and soul. In cases when some of the surviving population were employed as labourers by Japs they received as part payment—injections of opium and heroin. Japanese are an incredibly cruel and inhumanly callous enemy."

Calling upon Indian women to prepare themselves, she said:

"We did everything we could at first to appease the Japs, because we needed time in which to prepare ourselves. But when at last we knew the ruthlessness of the enemy we had to take up arms, ill prepared as we were, for we realised that however terrible suffering and death may be there was a worse thing—slavery of body and slavery of soul. China today is an acknowledged ally of the democracies, but we have earned this name by fighting mostly with bare flesh and inferior arms and by destroying everything of value which might fall into the hands of the enemy as we withdrew into the interior. We have burnt our fields; we have destroyed our houses and property in order to prevent the enemy from gaining them. We have this courage because we know that in order to save our national life we must have the fortitude to sacrifice our individual life.

In India today there must be many people who still do not understand what the war is about, and who must be told. Many women from schools and colleges ran away to join our war efforts because they said they could not study while their nation was in jeopardy. I have trained such women personally. Among other lines of work after their training they go behind the army and do liason work between the army and the people.

At first the authorities asked how can girls go and work in the big hospitals where the men are so rough. Who could protect them? Do you know that when the girls went there the men called them army officers and saluted them as such. Now we received hundreds of telegrams asking for more and more women nurses and workers for the hospitals. For not only are the girls appreciated for their nursing ability but also for the fact that they provide wholesome and inspiring entertainment for the soldiers during their stay in the hospitals. As in India there are many illiterate people and our women are also working against illiteracy. The soldiers are learning to read and write while convalescing.

The spirit of the new China is one for all and all for one. We are united by suffering, and victory will crown our efforts. In every worthwhile enterprise, there must be people who are willing to sacrifice everything they have for what they hold most dear if that is to be a success. We in China have those people. I do not mean the Generalissimo. I do not mean myself. I mean the people of China, the unsung heroes. Like India China's roots are deep. In our fertile soil which is now soaked in the blood of our patriots whether soldiers or civilians we shall grow fruit for the future. Thus runs a Chinese proverb: "Think only of sowing; think not of reaping." We of this generation shall not reap the full benefits of what we have sown but the generations to come will reap the fruits of our sacrifice. And as we today are reaping the fruits of labour of our ancestors, so must we be willing to sow for our children and our children's children."—A. P.

The Chinese saying, "Think only of sowing, think not of reaping," is equivalent to the teaching of the *Gītā*, "Karmanyevādhikaraste, mā phaleshu kadāchana," "You have the right only to act, never to the fruits of action."

Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the Press

Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek received press representatives on the 15th February last in the garden of their residence in the Viceregal estates and spoke to them for a few minutes. Madame Chiang went round with her husband greeting them with a warm and cordial handshake.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek cheerfully submitted to questions and, asked to sum up her impressions, said in English :

"I have been so short a time here and India is such a huge country that it is going to take me some time to really digest what I have seen. But one thing which has impressed me, one of the many things which has impressed me, is the fact that the women of India, like the women of China, will have to take a tremendous part in the reconstruction of the country. I have met quite a number of leaders among Indian women and I am full of hope that the women of India will be able to fulfil that destiny and I am greatly impressed by the selfless quality of the women whom I have met. And, if they are the representatives of Indian women, I assure you, India has an even more glorious future than her past has been."

Giving her message to the Indian press she observed :

"War has to be fought not only with bullets and with artillery and aeroplanes; it has to be fought by the press. You have tremendous influence over the people. The press in China today reflects the will of the people, the heart of the people. Not only does it reflect that, the press is also the moulder of opinion. And, you have, therefore, a tremendous responsibility. Voices die out, but the printed word seems to live on in the mind of the reader. I hope you will not take the easy way of writing the sensational but the more fundamental and honest way of writing what you think the people should know in order to educate mass opinion. That is my message to you."

"Speaking for my husband and myself, we would have regretted it if we had not been able to see you, because we feel that you are a very vital part, a very essential part, in the India of today and in the India of to-morrow."

Answering questions whether there were religious differences in China, Madame Chiang said :

"We have no clear-cut religious sections as in India Religion has more or less become part of life. Politics is not coloured by religion. We are all Chinese. We are all one."

"It has been possible to put up this gigantic struggle," she said in reply to other questions, "because we feel it is better to die than to become slaves and to have our children and children's children become slaves, because we are determined to see that China is once for all freed from Japanese aggression."

"I am not paying you a compliment," she added, "but I feel a bond of sympathy and spiritual unity between your people and mine, which my stay here has intensified."

Asked about the Taj she said :

"I think it is a beautiful building. I think it is the symbol of a spirit even more beautiful than the building itself; because it shows that none of us really die, even if our bodies die. I think the spirit lives on and when we think of the fact that so many centuries ago there was this devotion of an Emperor to his Empress, it only proves what the human heart and the human mind is capable of."—*A. P.*

Madame Chiang's and Chinese Women's Work for China

How Madame Chiang has built a Chinese womanhood which has become not only part of the solid foundation of the new China emerged from the ruins and ashes caused by the Japanese wanton destruction, but also established a standard for women in the world in time to come, was explained by Madame C. J. Pao, wife of the Consul-General for China in India, in the course of a broadcast talk from the Calcutta station of All-India Radio.

"Since the establishment of the Republic in 1911," Madame Pao said, "and particularly after the inauguration of the new cultural movement in 1917, the condition of the Chinese women has undergone a change."

The Government had provided equal opportunity to man and woman in regard to education and other pursuits of life. In national affairs women had also been given opportunity of representation. The new life movement launched by Madame Chiang, wife of the Chinese Generalissimo, almost 14 years ago, had helped to accelerate the realization of the duties of a woman as a citizen of China today, apart from having substantiated the old moral standard of Chinese women developed from the profound culture of her country."

Referring to the part that is being played by the Chinese women in the present Sino-Japanese conflict, Madame Pao said that

for four and a half years, since Japan had launched her large scale invasion of China, Chinese women were equally determined to resist the aggression to the bitter end and had put their services at the disposal of the nation. Spiritually they had unique records, materially they were anticipating in no small measure of China's work of national reconstruction. They did not only render their help in essential industries of wartime, but also join many undertakings to help to build up the means of production of the Chinese people which had been destroyed by the Japanese. In civil defence work and in social service their achievements had so far been unprecedented. Many of them had also joined China's fighting forces. They fought the enemy shoulder to shoulder with their male comrades with equal courage and determination. In many districts behind the lines, women had also organised guerilla units harassing day and night the invader to proceed with stabilising work in occupied zones.

Madame Pao in conclusion appealed to the women of India to let their ability and conscience guide their duty towards this total war.

"Let the experiences of the women of China today be a lesson to you. Let us join together to serve wherever our service is needed to achieve our war aims. There will be no home if our respective nations are destroyed. There will never be peace with justice if our common foe has not been eliminated. The success of the world reconstruction needs the support of women."

Indian Leaders And Our Noble Chinese Visitors

Among the Indian leaders who met and had conversations with Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek Pandit Jawarlal Nehru naturally met them oftenest. For it was he who had undertaken the perilous journey to China in war time and had the honour and privilege of getting acquainted with both the Marshal and his wife.

Among the other leaders Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the non-official members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Mr. Jinnah, etc., also met him.

Mahatma Gandhi met the Marshal at Birla Park, Calcutta, and had, it is said, some five hours' talk with him.

What the Chinese leader told the Indian leaders and what the latter told the former have not been and may never be made public. But one may be sure that both parties learnt much from one another. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's mention of the Chinese saying about the superiority of seeing with one's own eyes and hearing with one's own ears to hearsay indicates pointedly that his visit has made his knowledge of India far greater and clearer than before.

Chiang Kai-shek's Conversations with the Viceroy, C.-in-C., Etc.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's consultations with the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief of India and other high authorities on the war situation and presumably with regard to the route of supply of war materials to China, will be advantageous to both sides.

Supply of War Materials to China

It is satisfactory to learn that, even if the Burma Road to China has to be given up, an alternative route has been almost completed.

It is also to be borne in mind that when, as the result of an Anglo-Japanese agreement, the Burma Road was closed, China did not discontinue her war of resistance. She has displayed wonderful resource. One may take it, therefore, that whatever happens outside China, she will succeed in carrying on her struggle for freedom to a victorious close.

Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Visit to Santiniketan

Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek visited Santiniketan on the 19th February last, accompanied by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They were received at Bolpur station by Poet Tagore's daughter-in-law, Mrs. Protima Tagore, Principal Kshitimohon Sen and Mr. Anil Chanda, Secretary to the President, Visva-bharati. The party then motored straight to Uttarayana where they were received by Mr. Rathindranath Tagore.

After taking short rest at "Udichi," the Poet's last residence, the Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek visited the Arts Department of Santiniketan.

In the afternoon a reception was held in honour of Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek at the Sinha Sadan. After the guests had taken their seats, the function commenced with the singing of Vedic songs and chanting of appropriate Vedic verses. This was followed by the garlanding of the guests, who were also painted with sandal paste on their foreheads in true Indian style.

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was presented with a pair of silk dhoti and chaddar, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek with a piece of lovely silk saree on behalf of the Visva-bharati.

Welcoming Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek on behalf of the Visva-bharati, Mr. Rathindranath Tagore referred to Poet Rabindranath's sympathy and love for China which knew no bounds "to the very last of his life." He said:

"The Poet continued to show undiminished interest in the fate of your country and never ceased to express his admiration for the great qualities of your people, their love of knowledge and the finer pursuits of the mind to which they have held fast even in the turmoil of their life and death struggle."

Remarking that the visit was an honour, conferred upon the Visva-Bharati and that they would even cherish the memory of this great event in their individual lives and in the annals of this University, Mr. Tagore said that

their one regret was that they had not today in their midst, presiding at this ceremony of welcome, one, who alone in his inimitable way could have adequately expressed their thoughts and their joy on this occasion. None indeed would have been happier, he added, than he to welcome them to this Asrama.

Continuing Mr. Tagore observed:

"Your Excellency, you are aware of the great admiration my father always had for you and for your noble and heroic spouse and comrade-in-arms, Madame Chiang Kai-shek. This admiration and his faith in the great future of your land he had voiced on many an

MARSHAL AND MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK AT SANTINIKETAN









Top : Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek coming out of the Sinha Sadan after attending the reception meeting
Bottom : Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Mr. Rathindranath Tagore in front of "Uttarayana"

[*Photographs copyright by Bhakat Bhai & Co.*]

Top : On the eve of their departure, Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, accompanied by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prof. Tan Yun Shan and others
Bottom : On their way to the Asrama, Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Pandit Jawaharlal, Pandit Kshitimohan Sen and others

occasion, and he looked forward to the day when your people and ours will resuscitate not only their ancient heritage but also that friendship which had once brought them so close together.

Concluding Mr. Tagore expressed the hope that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, "who personifies the indomitable spirit of deathless China," would lead his people from glory to greater glory.

In replying to the address of welcome by Mr. Rathindranath Tagore, the Generalissimo said :

"Both Madame Chiang and myself feel happy to visit the home of the great Poet at this international seat of learning. We are grateful for the reception you have given to us. We did not see the Poet in person, but we are glad to witness the spirit he has left behind in this institution he has founded. We fervently hope that the teachers and students who have gathered here, will try to uphold the tradition and continue to build up the great work, of which the foundation has already been laid by your Gurudev. Just as our Sun Yat-sen had established the spirit of universal brotherhood amongst us and raised the glory of new China, so your great preceptor has elevated the spirit of your great land and brought to it a new awakening.

Addressing Mr. Tagore, teachers and students the Marshal said :

"I have brought nothing from China to offer you, but the warmth of my heart and the good wishes of our people. May you achieve the great work that has been left as a trust to the entire nation by the great leader of your land."

Replying separately, Madame Chiang Kai-shek addressed the students in particular and said :

"Today my mind flies back to thousands of students in my own country. Seeing your young faces, I remember with pride and hope the ardent spirit of new China, and I also remember the terrible trial through which they are passing at this hour. Since Japan started her aggression on China, thousands and thousands of our students had to face bombs, tanks and artillery. Their homes and sanctuaries of learning were desecrated and destroyed, but as you know they walked hundreds of miles to new seats of learning provided by the Government in the interior of the country. They kept the mind of China awake and the torch of flaming patriotism burning brighter than ever. In this peaceful land not suffering from Japanese militarism, it may be difficult for you to realise what this means.

"I wonder also whether you realise that the principles of humanity demand a dynamic attitude towards life. Absence of hatred would be a dead and cold thing if it does not make it impossible for others to perpetrate wickedness and wrong. You have a great opportunity now to lead millions into freedom and equality. The Japanese bombed our Universities thinking that they were hot-beds of resistance, and our students took the opportunity to make them real hot-beds of resistance. They carried on their work among masses of our people. They laid the foundation of a great united China."

"Your noble founder, I believe," she concluded, "wanted you to prepare yourselves to become leaders."

"He would not remain apart from your people and be mere leader in name only, but bring revival in the generations which have to redeem your nation. I know that if our young people were aware of the possibility of my coming here, they would have sent their warm greetings of fellowship and of their sympathy for you. Your Poet has a place in their heart and has been enshrined in the minds of the Chinese people for all time to come."

Owing to heavy rain, the venue of the reception was changed from the mango grove to the Sinha Sadan.

Girls of Santiniketan dressed in saffron sarees presented a guard of honour to Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru supervised the guard of honour.

Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek visited Kala Bhavan (Arts Department) and Sree Bhavan (Girls' Hostel). They were treated to tea in the afternoon in Cheena Bhavana (Institute of Chinese Culture) which was artistically decorated with Chinese paintings. Later they went to Uttarayana where an entertainment programme had been arranged.

Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Gift to Visva-Bharati

On their return to Calcutta after visiting Santiniketan Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek sent to Mr. Rathindranath Tagore a donation of Rs. 50,000/-, to be used in any way Mr. Tagore might see fit, in memory of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, "as a small token" of their deep admiration of the wonderful work of Poet Tagore. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have donated another sum of Rs. 30,000/- for the completion of the extension of the Cheena Bhavana at Santiniketan.

"We feel that if we had not visited your institution, our visit to India would not have been complete."

Thus wrote Madame Chiang Kai-shek in a personal letter to Mr. Rathindranath Tagore on their return to Calcutta from Santiniketan. She added :

"We wish to express our hearty appreciation of the hospitality you and Mrs. Tagore showed to us during our visit to the well-known international seat of learning founded by the great Indian poet, your father. We are taking back with us vivid impressions of his monumental work on the eve of our departure for China. We are placing at your disposal Rs. 50,000 to be used, in any way you see fit, in memory of our Gurudeva as a small token of our deep admiration of his wonderful work which you are so ably carrying on. My husband joins me in wishing you speedy recovery from your recent indisposition and in sending our warmest regards to Mrs. Tagore. Will you tell your faculty and students how very much we enjoyed their songs and dances."

In a personal letter to Prof. Tan Yun Shan head of Cheena Bhavana, Madame Chiang Kai-shek wrote :

"Both of us are much impressed with the part you have been playing in the international seat of learning and desire to express to you our hope of further success in your promotion of the cultural fellowship between China and India through the medium of the Visva-bharati."—*A. P.*

Roosevelt's Hope of Final Victory

President Roosevelt in a long broadcast speech on the 23rd February, George Washington's birthday, said,

"Until our flows of supply give clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if for a while we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day."

President Roosevelt said,

"Soon we and not our enemies will have the offensive in the war and we will win the final battles and make final peace."

By way of emphasising the unusual and world-wide character of this war, he said :

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons, but also in its geography. It is a warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every airplane in the world. That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you a map of the whole world and to follow my reason, which I shall make to a world encircling the battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered, but I know you will realise that I cannot cover every thing in any one report to people. The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields. We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way round the globe.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER POLICY

The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them from one another, so that each may be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer."

There was no mention of India in the map of the world which President Roosevelt asked his hearers to spread before them.

As regards the parties who will make final peace the President said :

"We and other united nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon we and not our enemies will have the offensive. We and not they will gain the final battles and, we and not they will make the final peace. Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All people in Asia know that if there is to be a honourable and decent future for any of them, or for us, that future depends on a victory by the united nations over the forces of Axis enslavement. If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home, and that is to keep uppermost the fulfilment of our special task—production.

Here also there is no separate mention of India. Our country is mentioned in some other passages of the speech, but not in such a manner as to show that she is pulling her weight in the struggle, which undoubtedly she is not, though not through any fault of hers.

President Roosevelt's speech was mainly intended to expose the shortsightedness of American isolationists and the harm done by those American panic-mongers who have exaggerated the losses inflicted by Japan by her attack on Pearl Harbour.

According to the President, America is at present engaged in a war of attrition against Japan, and hopes erelong to outbid Japan on land and sea and in the air, and then take the offensive and finally crush her.

The resources of America, and of Britain, too, are vast. Therefore we believe they will be victorious in the long run. In the meantime, however, India may have to lose and suffer much, as Malaya has already done and Burma has been doing. These losses and sufferings could have been prevented if these countries had been allowed and helped to develop economically, industrially and militarily as self-governing States. It is greatly to be regretted that hitherto British political and economic imperialism has stood in the way of such development on their part.

Surplus Railway Budget

The Railway Budget shows huge surpluses. These are mostly paper surpluses due to unusual war-time traffic. Nevertheless, as there are surpluses, there should not be any increase in rates of passenger fares and parcels and goods freights.

The increases are meant, we are told, to discourage travelling—a very curious reason. Petrol rationing has made travelling by motor cars and motor 'buses much less easy than before, though it has added to the income of railways.

We are against people getting panicky and leaving their usual places of residence owing to the war scare. But women and children should not remain in danger zones, and there are many men, too, whose presence in such areas cannot serve any useful purpose. No artificial difficulties should be created in the way of their evacuation. And ordinary railway travelling, too should not be made more expensive; on the con-

trary, as there are surpluses, it should be made cheaper.

Bengal Budget

The Finance Minister has presented a deficit budget. For this the new ministry cannot be held responsible, as it has been formed only recently. That in spite of the deficit there is to be no new taxation, will be highly appreciated.

Agitation Against Panjab Sales Tax

For weeks past there has been in the Panjab a raging and tearing agitation against the Sales Tax of that province, including hartal, satyagraha and processions by the trading classes, women joining the last in large numbers. Numerous arrests have been made and there have been the usual *lathi* charges by the police. The character of the agitation cannot but lead even outsiders belonging to other provinces who do not know the details of the Panjab Sales Act, to believe that the people affected have a real grievance. The Panjab Ministry will be well-advised to effect a compromise.

War Debate in Commons

We shall in this note touch upon a few of those points in the speeches of the members of the House of Commons during the war debate which have a direct or indirect bearing on India.

Mr. Hore-Belisha said that the inclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps in the War Cabinet had given widespread satisfaction. As before inclusion in the Cabinet Sir Stafford Cripps suggested that India should be made independent, it has to be seen what he will recommend for India now.

Referring to the loss of Singapore, Mr. Hore-Belisha said that it was noteworthy that the Malayaians, unlike the Filipinos, did not appear to have resisted invasion in their homeland. To some extent the same phenomena are noticeable in Burma. "It may be too late to take action in Burma to join the local population with us in fighting against the Japanese. In India, however, there is still time."

The difference noted by Mr. Hore-Belisha is plainly due to the fact that America has made the Filipinos self-ruling, whereas Britain has treated the people of Malaya, Burma and India as her subjects. Mr. Hore-Belisha is right in pointing out that there is still time to make India self-ruling. But there is not much time. Britain should act at once.

Mr. Hore-Belisha complained that colonial administration left much to be desired. It had not enlisted the co-operation of the people. There was lack of imagination and foresight.

"Arising out of General Chiang Kai-shek's long and arduous journey to India he has made recommendations to us to which I trust Government will promptly respond. He has thought it possible to carry India with us by bolder and more comprehensive proposals than have yet been made. Such considerations have a decisive effect on the military conduct of the war and may determine success or failure."

Mr. Vernon Bartlett (Independent) said:

We are not doing as much as we could do to get active help from the people of India and China.

Sir Richard Acland (National Liberal) said,

In dealing with India "we should banish from our vocabulary the phrase Dominion Status. In our dominions where people are of our own stock the conception of Dominion Status holds us together by ties of sentiment but in dealing with people of a different race, culture and background the statement that Dominion Status is no different for practical purposes from Independence produces sentiments of an unfavourable kind.

Therefore whatever declaration may be made the phrase Dominion Status should be scrapped and in its place the term of Independence should be used.

Sir Alfred Knox (Conservative) thought

it "absolute lunacy" to make any big political change in India today. There were roughly 250 million Hindus and about 100 million Mahomedans. The latter was directly against any change on the so-called democratic lines. "Democracy," said Sir Alfred Knox, "means counting of heads regardless of what is inside the heads."

"The Mohamedans know that they would be condemned to perpetual minority. The strongest force in India is the Hindu majority. Mr. Amery has done his best to bring the two political forces together but he has not been successful. To give India Independence now would drive all these Mohamedans into revolt. They have said so."

There are many lunatics in the world who consider others insane but themselves quite sane.

Sir Alfred Knox's estimate of the numerical strength of the Hindus and the Mahomedans need not be examined. But it is not a fact that all or the majority of Indian Musalmans are against any constitutional changes in India on democratic lines. Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League say they are. But there are larger groups of Muslims—the Momins, the Congress Muslims, etc., whose politics are different.

Sir Alfred's explanation of the word 'democracy' is delightful. It means counting of heads regardless of what is inside the heads. He suggests that the heads of Jinnahites and himself contain more precious political wisdom than the heads of Hindus and non-Jinnahite Muslims.

We are not aware that "Mr. Amery has done his best to bring the two [Hindu and Muslim] political forces together, but he has not been successful." It would have been

nearer the truth to say that "Mr. Amery has done his best to keep the two political forces apart, and he has been hitherto successful."

What other Mahomedans except Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League, constituting a minority, have said that "to give India independence now would drive all Mohamedans into revolt"? *The Tribune's* New Delhi correspondent wrote on February 24 last:

> A number of Muslim legislators have severely commented in the lobbies against the suggestion of revolt made in League's Working Committee resolution and will probably also express themselves in the same strain during the budget discussions.

Of all Muslim majority provinces, Bengal contains the largest number of Muslims. In this province Mr. Jinnah's fiat is disregarded. And it is disregarded in the other Muslim majority provinces, too.

Mr. Sloan (Labour) believed that

> Britain without waiting for any demand from the Indian people would as speedily as possible give them real political power. "This will be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire" he added.

In replying to the two days' debate in the Commons Sir Stafford Cripps, Leader of the House, said in part:

> I now come to the question which has vexed the minds of members from all sides of the House—the question of India.
>
> Government are as much concerned as is everybody else with the whole question of the unity and strength of India in the face of the dangers which now threaten that country and they very fully realise that it is important that this country should do its utmost in the present circumstances to make a full contribution towards that unity. I think, however, it would not be profitable to debate so important and vital a question now in a partial manner but Goverment hope that such a debate will be possible very shortly upon the basis of a Government decision in the matter.

Did Sir Stafford suggest that the "Government decision in the matter" would insist on the unity of "all the principal elements in the national life of India"—Mr. Amery's phrase—as a condition precedent to any constitutional advance?

Reshuffling of British Cabinet

The British Cabinet has been twice reshuffled. But Mr. Amery still remains Secretary of State for India. He is evidently the British imperialists' prize-boy.

British War Cabinet Considering Chiang Kai-shek's Appeal

LONDON, Feb. 23.

> General Chiang Kai-shek's appeal that Great Britain should give India "all political power as speedily as possible" is noted with sympathy by the British Government, *Reuter's* diplomatic correspondent learns to-night (Monday). That India should become "a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations" is the keynote of British policy. The Chinese Generalissimo has narrowed the desire and intention of the Cabinet, which for a long time has been concerned with problems of the defence of India and the complex political situation in that country. The question for Britain's leaders, however, is when India will be ready for her freedom. Her great misfortune is that she is torn by opposing views of her political parties. Even General Chiang Kai-shek's speech caused varying re-actions over the week-end, revealing once more how difficult it is to please all factions in this densely populated part of the Empire. Indians ask for a new constitution, but what kind of constitution would be acceptable to the main political elements in the life of the country?
>
> The problem is old, but wise statesmanship will not regard it as insuperable. There is no reason why a fresh examination should not be made. It is not suggested that in the middle of the war one-fifth of human race should be forced to embark on a completely new constitutional experiment. The ideal is somehow to discover within the broad framework of the existing constitution a way of Government that would make all parties and interests ready—indeed eager—to work together for India's good, her war effort and her safety from attack.
>
> The clamour in India for a clear statement of Britain's intentions with regard to her constitutional status after the war is well understood in Government circles here. Indian leaders naturally want a clear exposition of the policy, pledging Parliament to a definite course of action, when peace comes. But whatever the Cabinet undertook to do, would always be subject to the old fundamental condition—there must be a broad measure of agreement between the main political elements in India, to whom Government is entrusted. Meanwhile the War Cabinet in London is going thoroughly into the whole situation. As the Prime Minister has indicated to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, he will make a comprehensive statement on the attitude and intentions of the British Government before long. Already arrangements are being made for India to be represented in the War Cabinet and on the Pacific War Council."—*Reuter.*

If *Reuter's* diplomatic correspondent is correctly informed—"that whatever the British Cabinet undertook to do would always be subject to the condition that there must be a broad measure of agreement between the main political elements in India," then the British Government's effort, *if any,* to secure India's full co-operation in the war effort is foredoomed to failure.

Red Army's Task To End Hitler's Clique

> "We shall throw the enemy from the gates of Leningrad, liberate White Russia, Ukraine and the Crimea, and plant the Red banner everywhere where it flew before."

declared M. Stalin in an Order of the Day marking the 24th anniversary of the creation of the Red Army.

He calls for a great effort from a united nation to complete the defeat of the invader.

While warning the people against the belief that Hitler is already beaten, he says that the German's last advantage is a surprise—" an element which formed their reserve stock of power."

" The war will now be different, in that the disparity caused by this element no longer exists," M. Stalin continued. " Recent events have proved that once this element has gone the German army is no longer what it was."

Referring to the " stern struggle still ahead of us " he said,

" New units must be sent to the front to forge victory. Industry must work with redoubled energy. The army must receive every day more and more tanks, aircraft, guns, machineguns and other arms. Therein lies its strength."

Stalin denounced as " a wicked and foolish libel " the statement that the Red Army aims at the destruction of the German people.

" It is probable that this war will bring about the end of Hitler's clique but it would be ridiculous to identify that clique with the German people and the German State" he declared, " history teaches that Hitlers come and go but German people and the German State remain."

India in the House of Lords

During the discussion of the war situation in the House of Lords in the last week of February last, the subject of India's future also cropped up. Lord Samuel (Liberal) said :

" Where can we get aid to repel possible attacks that may develop in the next year or two on India itself ? From China perhaps—and the Chinese are now in or near Siam and parts of Burma and they may possibly render some efficient aid in repelling these attacks. But obviously the main source of aid should come from within India itself, from the vast man power and great resources of the Indian Empire. The population of India is now approaching 400 million—one-sixth of mankind. Armed forces are one million. If India were to follow the example of Canada she would have not one million but fifteen to twenty millions. A large part of the population did not belong to the martial races but very many did and they were of magnificent quality as recent campaigns have shown.

TRIBUTE TO INDIAN TROOPS

Under good leadership and when not handicapped by air inferiority they have been able to render magnificent service in Eritrea, Abyssinia and other places.

Lord Samuel added :

If in Malaya and Burma we had had close at hand great Indian armies, fully equipped, such disasters as we suffered would not have been possible. " And probably such attacks as Japan made would never have been contemplated. Enlistment in India has been good. There has been many more recruits than can be equipped and there is difficulty of obtaining trained officers. My idea is that even now very much greater efforts should be made to raise armies and equip them in India than has yet been contemplated." If problems were approached by the whole Indian people in the right spirit and enthusiasm probably within the next one or two years the Southern Asiatic portion might be completely changed. In the Indian situation two facts are outstanding. First, all India irrespective of divisions detest aggressive militarism and was against totalitarianism. Second, many of the principal leaders were holding back and the war effort was damped down. Old political controversies have been allowed to cut across this world-wide moral issue.

Lord Samuel concluded :

The deadlock had continued for two years. Unless a more vigorous effort is made to bring it to an end there would arise an insistent demand in Parliament and the country for a fresh approach to problems by fresh minds animated by different ideals.

In outlining the war situation Lord Cranborne, the Colonial Secretary, dealt with the situation in India, too. Said he :

The idea that there were hundreds of thousands of fully armed men standing idle in India was an absolute delusion. It was not right to assume that the million men who at present composed the Indian Army were armed and fully trained. Every man who was fully armed was being used. Equipment was a difficult part of the problem.

Equipment is no doubt a difficult part of the problem, but it is not inherently more difficult in India than elsewhere. This country has vast mineral and other resources. It has skilled mechanics, whose numbers can be multiplied indefinitely by proper training. And in spite of the vast drain of wealth to foreign lands, there is capital, too, to start industries for the supply of war equipments.

One principal cause of Japan's victory in Malaya is her air superiority. If India had been allowed and helped to make aeroplanes, tanks, ships, etc., Japan would not have been superior in equipment on either land or sea or in the air. The jealousy of British capitalists and industrialists has prevented the industrial development of India in those and other directions.

As to the general policy in India Lord Cranborne said that

Government welcomed the message from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek to the Indian Government. " We are glad that there should be the closest understanding between the Indian and the Chinese people. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek urged India to rally to the cause of liberty, and so do we. He expressed himself in favour of India's political freedom, and so are we. If Indian leaders would get together and devise some scheme which would be satisfactory to all, the Indian problem would be satisfactorily solved. It is hoped that this visit of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek will help them to take such a step.

Mr. Amery's bogey of " unity among the principal elements of India's national life " as a condition precedent to her constitutional advance, peeps through Lord Cranborne's

transparent declaration "in favour of India's political freedom."

British Press Plea For Early Solution Of Indian Problem

LONDON, Feb. 26.

Sir Stafford Cripps' reference in the Commons yesterday (Wednesday) foreshadowing an early Government decision about India gives rise to a discussion on India in the British press this morning.

The *Daily Telegraph* says: "The political situation in India is a serious source of weakness and misgiving, nothing that might reasonably be expected to improve it should remain untried. If we do not appease the Congress we invite the certainty of major revolts. That is our dilemma. Enfeebling discords survive and it must be the major objective of British statesmanship to seek the means of rallying all India to a wholehearted co-operation in the common effort."

The Times says, that the Japanese threat to India through Burma "makes an early solution, however provisional of the Indian political problem, imperative. Indian opinion, with insignificant exceptions, is united on the main issues of this war. The Indian Army has done nobly in many campaigns. The purpose—the achievement of full Self-Government in India—is common to the British and Indian peoples and since one purpose is one and the stake in the war is identical for both, the difficulties in war of accomplishment, real as they are, must be made to yield. Indian war effort has been impressive. But none can doubt that it would have attained far larger dimensions if official and public attention in India had not been occupied with the country's political future. It is time and more time for the new British move foreshadowed again by Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons yesterday to dissipate suspicions and meet the Japanese advance by the formation of a common Indo-British Hindu-Moslem front against the common danger."—*Reuter.*

A special copyright cable to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* from London, dated 26th February last, says:

The most incredible thing happened on Sunday when the die-hard Tory *Observer* demanded Dominion Status for India forthwith with all that such status implies.

The *Daily Mail*, which championed Mr. Churchill's anti-Indian crusade in the days of the India Bill controversy, now wants the immediate dismissal of Mr Amery because the Japanese menace looms ever closer to India and still the relations between Britain and India remain undetermined. Recalling Sir Alan Hartley's warning of the Japanese menace to India the *Daily Mail* asks: "Are we going to hide our heads in the sand like ostriches?" It adds: "The defence of India cannot now be left entirely to generals, which demands political measures on Britain's part as well."

INDIA'S NEEDS

Lord Kemsley's group of newspapers in London and the provinces published a long dispatch from Mr. J. L. Hodson, from New Delhi. Mr. Hodson gives the lie to the Government statement that India is the arsenal of the East when he says that the paramount need of India is for adequate supplies of modern equipment, especially A. A. guns, fighter aircraft and coastal batteries. He also urges some imaginative political stroke to weld India into unity. He adds: "India needs a new voice to speak for her—someone appointed by the new British Cabinet. The retention of Mr. Amery does not command the enthusiasm of the Indian press." Mr. Hudson advocates sending out to India of a new man with a new function akin to Captain Lyttleton's in the Middle East, a man who knows new Britain and the new spirit of the change in Britain."

Of course, papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, *News Chronicle* and *Daily Herald*, which have throughout shown a greater sense of reality on the Indian issue, continue to maintain the same attitude, not because India is menaced by the Japanese but because, as they always assert, the war is being fought for the liberation of people and India must be freed.

Excuses for Malaya Defeat

During the debate on the army estimates in the House of Commons Captain Margesson, the War Secretary, referring to the loss of Malaya, said:

"When we meet the Japanese, we have to face hardened soldiers with four years of experience of a type of warfare with which we are totally unaccustomed."

This is not correct. The first contingent of Indian troops reached Malaya in August, 1939. During the next two years and a half the Indian troops had attained a very high standard of training in jungle warfare and became real experts in it. The British defeat in Malaya was really due to Japanese superiority in numbers and equipment, particularly in the air.

Britain's Just Desire to Defend Britain First

During the debate in the Commons on the army estimates it was said in criticism that "while we (the British Government) are willing to accept arms and equipment from any and every source, we are not willing to send our soldiers out to fight with them."

In reply to this criticism the War Secretary drew attention to the various theatres of war to which British soldiers had been sent and the part played by them there, and then said that the despatch of British troops to foreign war areas depended fundamentally upon the absolute necessity of the defence of Britain, "the heart of the empire," and the availability of shipping.

It is quite natural and just that the British people should place the defence of their motherland first. But it was not and is not just to stand in the way of the fulfilment of

India's Desire To Make Her Own Arrangement To Defend Herself First.

Britain made herself responsible for the defence of India and other dependencies on land and sea and in the air. She has kept all power to herself as regards the defence of India.

Indians, not being self-ruling, have not been able to have a land army of adequate strength and equipment, an adequately large and well-equipped navy, a sufficiently large air force with up-to-date equipment, and factories to manufacture the equipments required by these forces on land and sea and in the air.

Britain's selfish and shortsighted imperialist policy has led to disaster in Malaya and Burma. That policy should be reversed at once in India.

Non-Party Conference Demand For Establishment of National Government

The Non-Party Conference at New Delhi passed a resolution on the 22nd February last moved by Mr. Jayakar expressing "profound dissatisfaction" that "all real power in the Central Government is still concentrated in British hands."

The resolution called for an abandonment at this critical stage of the existing policies of the British Government and urged the immediate adoption of the following measures:

A declaration that India shall no longer be treated as a dependency to be ruled from Whitehall.

During the period of the war the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be reconstructed as a truly National Government.

The British Government should recognise the right of India to direct representation through persons chosen by the National Government in all Allied War Councils and at the Peace Conference.

The National Government should be consulted in all matters precisely on the same footing and to the same extent as His Majesty's Government consult the Dominions.

Mr. P. N. Sapru moving the resolution welcoming Marshal Chiang Kai-shek referred to the fact that at places visited by him, the Chinese leader had been received not by the "mighty Governors" but by their A. D. C.'s. Mr. Jayakar did not know whether the stories of niggardly treatment given to the General are true but it was certain that India did not give him the reception which a free India would have given.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made more than one forceful speech in connection with this conference and in his concluding remarks made an impassioned appeal declaring that occasion demanded we must cease to think in terms of communalism. "It would do you no dishonour if you bent before your own countrymen," he concluded, "You have been bending for years before others. For once learn to bend before your countrymen. When we shall have passed the ordeal of fire we shall then be able to solve our differences."

Churchill's Reply to Indian Liberal Leaders' Appeal

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru received from the Viceroy on the 21st February the following reply to the Liberal Leaders' appeal of January 2.

The Viceroy's letter says: His Excellency has received from the Prime Minister, through the Secretary of State, the following message for transmission to you:

"In normal course I should have replied earlier to the telegram which you and your distinguished colleagues sent to me at Washington. The pressure of public business connected with the grave events of recent weeks has, however, prevented my doing so. I trust that you will not think on that account that I have given no attention to your representation. You will be aware that on two of the points which you have raised with me effect has been given to your views in that an invitation has been issued to the Government of India to be represented, if it so desires, in the formulation of policy in the War Cabinet in London and on the Pacific War Council. We shall welcome unreservedly the presence at these meetings of whoever may be chosen to fulfil these responsible duties.

"The other proposals which you put to me are far reaching issues in regard to which I hope to give you my considered answer before long."—*A. P.*

Sir Tej Bahadur made appropriate comments on this reply in his opening speech at the Non-Party Conference.

The representatives of the Government of India at the War Cabinet and on the Pacific War Council cannot be regarded as representatives of India or of the Indian people; for the Government of India itself does not represent the people of India. The concession mentioned in Mr. Churchill's reply is, therefore, no concession at all.

Sir Tej Bahadur's Opening Speech

"What is wanted at the present moment is an act of courage and faith, and this is wanted, as much on the part of England as on the part of India," declared the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presiding over the Non-Party Conference at New Delhi on the 21st February.

He added:

"At the back of our minds is undoubtedly the feeling that the old policy of distrust of Indians, on the part of England, still survives. Similarly, there is also a feeling among us that mere pledges, however, repeatedly they may be given, will not carry us very far when they are hedged in by so many preliminary and indefinite conditions. England has got yet to make up its mind as to its future relations with this country and express it in unambiguous language as to our future—future in which India shall not be treated as a dependency but occupy internally and in the Councils of the Empire and at International Peace Conference, a position of honourable equality with England and the Dominions."

Sir N. N. Sircar at the "Sapru Proposals" Conference

Sir N. N. Sircar made a very vigorous and masterly speech at the "Sapru proposals" conference in Calcutta on the 14th February last.

"While I feel confident that the aggressor will be finally vanquished, I may be permitted to repeat that should events turn otherwise, it matters little whether we vote for Independence or Dominion Status, for united India or for an India partitioned between two or more nations.

"As we are situated today, it is obvious that an improvement in the political status of India, and its aspiration for freedom rest on the success of the Allies in the war. In the interests of India and Indians we should offer our whole-hearted support in war efforts."

Thus began Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar in his presidential address at the conference held in support of what are known as the Sapru proposals at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta.

Referring to the apathy of the masses in the prosecution of the war, the speaker pointed out that

Masses eked out their existence under miserable conditions and had no margin whatsoever. It was for creating enthusiasm in the Indian mind, and for getting the active moral support of India in war efforts that the British Government were moved to discuss India's political advance during the war. "Even in these days when tanks and bombing planes were things which really count, the moral aspect of the matter cannot be neglected and this has been fully realised by the British Government. The step was a right one to take, and if that is so, it is equally necessary for Indians of all classes to express their opinions and press their views before the war is terminated. It is their duty to state what alone can arouse enthusiasm, and make them consider the war as really their war."

Sir Nripendra Nath said in this connection that

One had, however, to consider what for brevity was called the Sapru scheme, to come to the conclusion that it was intended to help and not to hinder war efforts. He then very briefly dealt with the emergence and progress of this scheme.

Quoting Sir Stafford Cripps the speaker said that

Indians had been saying exactly what Sir Stafford Cripps had said to which every time its contrary had been asserted by Mr. Amery and others. "It is a matter of deep regret, and it is very unfortunate, that Indian politicians have been unable to come to an agreement but is the lack of unanimity in the political field the monopoly of India? What is the amount of disunity among British politicians on the question how the Indian problem should be solved?"—*A. P. I.*

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

In Seth Jamnalal Bajaj India has lost a public man of priceless worth. No one is better qualified to speak on his life and character than Mahatma Gandhi, of whom the Seth was a most sincere disciple and follower.

"In Seth Jamnalal Bajaj death has taken a mighty man," said Mahatma Gandhi expressing his sorrow over the sudden death of Seth Jamnalal.

"Whenever I wrote of wealthy men becoming trustees of their wealth for the common good I always had this merchant prince principally in mind. If his trusteeship did not reach the ideal the fault was not his. I deliberately restrained him. I did not want him in his enthusiasm to take a single step which in his cool moments he might regret.

"His simplicity was all his own. Every house he built for himself became a dharmashala. His contribution as a satyagrahi was of the highest order.

"In political discussions he held his own. His judgments were sound. As an act of renunciation his last was the crown of all. He wanted to take up a constructive activity to which he could devote the rest of his life and in which he could use all his abilities. This was the preservation of the cattle-wealth of India personified in the cow. He threw himself into the work with a single-mindedness and zeal I had never seen surpassed.

"His generosity knew no distinction of race, creed or colour. He wanted to perform a rare thing for a busy man. He wanted to control his thoughts so as to prevent a single intruder from coming in. The world is poorer for his death. The country has lost one of the bravest of its servants.

"Janaki Devi, the widow, has decided to take up the work to which he had dedicated himself. She has divested herself of all her personal property valued at about two and a half lacs. May God enable her to fulfil the trust she has undertaken."

Language of the Hindu University

In his speech at the Benares Hindu University Jubilee Mahatma Gandhi wanted Hindi or Hindustani to be the laguage of instruction in that University. When a sufficient number of good books on all subject of study there have been written in that language, the change may and should be made. But then that University would cease to be an All-India University, as Hindi is not the mother-tongue of students from all provinces.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes in his *Eighteen Months in India*, pp. 288-9:

"The policy governing State educations should be that education is to be given in the language of the student. In each linguistic area education from the primary to the university stage will be given in the language of the province. Even within a linguistic area, if there are a sufficient number of students whose mother-tongue is some other Indian language, they will be entitled to receive primary education in their mother-tongue, provided they are easily accessible from a convenient centre. It may be possible if the number is large enough, to give them secondary education in the mother-tongue as well. But all such students will have to take, as a compulsory subject, the language of the linguistic area they live in."

UNITY OF THE GENIUS OF RABINDRANATH

By Principal S. N. DASGUPTA, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.)

Rabindranath is no longer in the land of the living, so they say. Memorial meetings have been held all over the country. The day on which his physical remains mixed with the golden dust of Bengal, which he loved so dearly, thousands of men and women crowded over the streets and behaved in the most frantic manner, as if they had lost some dear and near relative. That familiar great figure, that type of Gothic structure, the beaming face lit with genius, adored by millions of people all over the world, has vanished before our eyes once for all. But great men like Rabindranath never die; he has left himself in all his books, his poetry and drama, his novels and essays, his songs and sermons, and probably also in his paintings. All along his life he has put brick upon brick, to raise such a spiritual memorial of himself that it would be vain for us to think that it lay with us to preserve or not to preserve his memory. The memories of a Shakespeare, a Kalidas or, an Aristotle stand by themselves as long as human civilization and culture last. So it will be with Rabindranath also.

But we human beings, provided we have life within us, burn with a fire of our will, and are not satisfied unless we do something. We acknowledge God to be omniscient and omnipotent, to be just and merciful, and yet when we are in trouble we offer prayers to Him, so that by His grace He may save us. But if God is omniscient it does us no good to communicate that to Him which He already knows. He is not mean that we should flatter Him. He is not weak that we should coax and cajole Him. We offer Him flowers and fruits that He has given us, and feel that we have at least done something to deserve His kindness and grace. There is a philosophy in India which holds that "to exist" means "to do something". Our very existence is meaningless unless we can do something. This is inherent in the very nature of our will, in the very nature of our personality, which impels us to effect something in thought and action and feeling, which are the only ways in which we understand that our personality is a living one. So we feel that we must do something in order to keep alive the memory of Rabindranath. He is not a man who was a Viceroy or Governor-General of India or a great general who led armies to devastation and enslavement of others' countries; he was not a Dictator to whom the liberty of the nation was pawned; he was not a politician who by his clever tactics got the better of the masterful geniuses in politics who kept the people in chains; he was not a social leader who introduced widow-remarriage or abolished the *Sati* rites, or made large donations for opening a University or organizing a great institution. The good that such men do are often interred with their bones. So it has been with a Caesar, and an Augustus, and an Alexander, or a Napoleon. In a new age new people came to whom they became personages of history. They have to be reminded of these great men, and statues are erected in the middle of a *maidān*, a park, or a square, in an institution or in the marketplace, in a museum or an art-gallery, to remind us of the physical physiognomy of these persons. But Rabindranath was none of these. He was a creator of Truth and Beauty, and so long as human nature does not change, so long as human nature is permeated with the ideals of Love and Beauty, Truth and Wisdom, it will for its very nourishment have to go to the writings of Rabindranath, and regenerate those spiritual values. So far as we Bengalees are concerned, he is a great 'guru' who has taught us to think and even to handle our own language, and so long as the Bengalees would live they cannot go away very far from the limits of thought which he had set for them. Rushing towards the dim infinity where the earth and sky meet, absolutely true and loyal to the Upanisads, he has taught us to recognize the truth of the same in the puzzling meanderings of a baffled and intoxicated age. For the whole of India, he will remain to the world, the torch of glory, the throne of honour, before which the whole world will offer their willing homage and devotion. Of what little use is there to raise a marble statue in the midst of a park, on the head of which the crows and vultures might take their ugly nap?

But still we must do something for him. Well, it is not possible to do anything for him. We may only take advantage of the emotion which his physical departure has roused in us to do something for us. But what can we do for ourselves? We cannot imitate him in writing poetry, we have not that genius or wisdom. If it is a result of industry and labour it is many times more the result of superior gifts, and the attainment of gifts is not possible through the exertion of will or devotion.

Rabindranath has in many places of his different writings referred to a unique occasion

of his early life when all on a sudden the world appeared to him apparelled in the celestial light of joy, such that even the poorest stranger in the street appeared to him to be nearest to his heart. As the sun reflected itself from the house-tops and the meadows, these, the most insignificant commonplaces of every-day life, appeared to him bathed in a strange joy of intoxication. In one moment and in one flash of intuition the veil that separates the inner from the outer was removed. He felt within himself the spontaneity of joy that disclosed to him the kinship and the affinity of the external world of nature crowded with living and non-living beings with his spirit and God within. The instruction that his father had drawn from the maxim of the Upanisads—the God that resides in water, in trees, and herbs etc. —was with him a matter of concrete experience. In his little work, *Personality*, he has shown how he derived his notion of 'personality' from this unique experience.

If we try to dig deep into the unique concept of 'personality' as conceived by Rabindranath and review the implications of this concept, we may have a glimpse into the nature of Rabindranath's own personality, which seems to me to be like a seed which has expressed itself in the living contents of all his works. It is here that we find a unifying principle of the apparently multifold manifestations of his genius in poetry, songs and thoughtful essays on various subjects. Just as a principle of life that lies hidden in a seed expresses itself in the stem, the leaves, the corolla, the calyx, the pollens, the fragrance, and the fruit, so it is the unique personality of Rabindranath that has made itself concrete and expanded in various stages of epochal developments of his emotional and intellectual progress.

Postponing for some future occasion a fuller analysis of this concept of 'personality,' which holds within itself the unifying principle that combines the man, the poet, and the philosopher in one compact organic whole, we may briefly point out here a few of its implications without entering into any discussion. It means with us, firstly, a spirit of overflowing sympathy of an intuitive character; secondly, this intuitive realization is so incisive and deep that it can penetrate into the shells of crust that dogmatism and convention of ages have grown around most of our concepts, and which prevents us from penetrating deeply into their real nature; thirdly, our misconceptions about things are largely due to the fact that with our stagnant intellect we deaden the realities of life into inert stones gravitating towards one end only, and thereby lose their contact and organization with the other aspects of reality such that we miss the fundamental facts of life as a coalescing whole; fourthly, it is through sympathy alone that we find our union not only with our fellow beings in their experiences of joy and sorrow, in their historic manifestation of life and character, their unity of experiences, and the like, but also with the fundamental unity of the life of man with life and nature in all their various modes and manifestations; fifthly, it is through this unique personality that the poet penetrates through the crusty outlook of traditions and conventions and arrives at its inner truth where it is in an organic contact with all forms of truth. The poet is not in the habit of making any keen philosophical or psychological analysis in the form of a logician or philosopher, but he dances in his inner vision of light and reflects himself through a host of imageries and analogies, which implies a fundamental unity all through.

Many writers of note have written upon the poetry of Rabindranath but few have sought to discover the unity that lies between his poetic fancies and his intellectual effusions.

The present writer cannot hope that it would be easy to prove in a convincing manner the unity that runs through the poetry of Tagore as also between his poetry and other works. It has to be confessed that it is a point of view of interpretation which in a way may show the organic unity of the personality of Rabindranath as he manifests himself through his works. It is only through a long and continued effort that the fundamental truth of Rabindranath can be adequately expressed at least to the satisfaction of the writer himself. There must indeed be here and there some slight channels of aberrations and deviations, but on the whole the unity is supreme.

As we take a bird's-eye view of the development of the poetry of Rabindranath starting from *Kadi o Komal* we find that there is a stage in which the young Rabindranath becomes intoxicated with sensuous delight; at this stage he does not philosophise over it, but his mind overflows with the sensuous joy and its pathological counterparts. The very intoxication with this delight, which is merely of a sensuous nature, opens a further door and reveals to him the fact that the crowding sensations are interpreted by the mind and lived through by it, and what appears as sensuous is in reality largely mental. It is here that his sympathy with the material and the gross takes him to the mental

* কড়ি ও কোমল

aspect and he realizes that it is by subduing the grossly material that the spiritual element can manifest itself. It is here that he crosses the ferry in his imagination and from the shore of the material crosses over to the shore of the spiritual. It is from now onwards that he begins to realize that as in man so in nature there is a continuous dance of life and of joy ;—a renewal of life through death, all of which are but the manifestations of a pulsating throb and dance of the transcendent and immanent reality that in one supreme grasp holds everything within it and yet transcends it. It is the fullness of life along motion of freedom and of joy that pervades every article of reality. He arrives here at the fundamental truth that our life and our joy is a movement and a becoming, and the shadows of misery and death are but the darkness through which the scenes of the panorama are changed from moment to moment and from epoch to epoch. In living compresence and enjoyment of this life he listens from time to time to the call of the Unknown and the Beyond and the Infinite, which expresses itself through the Finite through a natural dialectic of thought and emotion. He realizes the close affinity of the Finite and the Infinite, both of which are wedded together in the concept of the whole, to the continually becoming and begetting. Thus from that which was crudely sensuous he arrives at the palpitating spiritual through a continual dialectic of emotion which holds the suspended animation of reason within its womb. Nature and man are complementary to each other, not in any narrow sense of an epistemological and ontological object and subject, but as one continuous flow of life from one to the other, and vice versa, both being expressions of a higher reality that runs through them. As there will be occasions later on to deal with these problems in the development of Tagore's poetry it is not necessary to continue this illustration any further.



Rabindranath Tagore at Mangpu

But we may illustrate it from another field of Tagore's thoughts, say, for example, his ideas of education. The fact that he feels the pulsating presence of one life throughout nature and man, is well apparent from the fact that in handling the educational problems he is never tired of describing the importance of vegetable life and its association for the growth of human mind. The growth of knowledge must be like the growth of life, a process of organization and not merely one of accretion and that as in the growth of life the juicy circulation is the most essential factor, so interest and emotion are the most fundamental factors in the growth of intel-

lectual life. That the process of instruction from the teacher to the pupil is not one of mere communication but a process of integration and production through which the teacher's mind descends into that of the pupil, is a rather fundamental note of Rabindranath's idea of education. It is for this reason that he gives supreme importance to the teacher in the life of the pupil. Thus here also we find that the same personality of Rabindranath that dallies in sympathy with nature and with man, understands through it the secret of the growth of human intellect through education as being a repetition of the same process in which life as a whole develops.

In his *Religion of Man* he does not run for God as any extraneous being as a *deus ex machina* of a Deist or the Pantheistic unity of One Supreme Being which is all, or a personal God of the Semites or the Vaishnavas, but to the Infinite that is revealed in man as the joy and the creative impulse that is wholly unfettered by any objective necessity or conditions. It is a revelation in him by direct intuition of the supreme principle of life that manifests itself to the psychic experience of man unconnected with motives that are primarily or secondarily biological, is the direct experience of life and life-force that is revealed in man in its unaffected spontaneity. Tagore's idea of aesthetics also takes its cue from here, but it is not the purpose of the present paper to deal in any extensive measure with the problems that are raised here, but we want here merely to enunciate the fundamental principle of our study of Tagore as a person, poet and philosopher. This principle, as we have already said, consists in our affirmation of the thesis that there is a fundamental unity in the genius of Tagore, and the principle of this genius and its activity is the principle of Tagore's concrete personality.

The theory suggested here of the unity of the genius of Rabindranath does not involve the ordinary criticisms against the theory of aesthetical individualism or the logical criticisms against the theory of the unity of mind. The objection against the theory of aesthetic individualism is that since the audience also plays the function of a collaborator with the author, it is wrong to think of the artist as a self-contained personality who is the sole author of all that he does, of the emotions he expresses, all of which are but expressions of a personality as an integral mystic unity. The criticism is pointed to the direction of the meaning of "self-expression" when we think that what makes a poem great is that it expresses a great personality, whereas in reality a great poem like *Hamlet* does not express so much of Shakespeare as it expresses ourselves. No criticism of Shakespeare ought to set us off looking to the man Shakespeare in the poem, and to reconstruct his life and opinions from it and turn all critical approach into idle gossip. An individual or a person should not be regarded as a self-contained and self-sufficient creative power whose only task is to be himself—a segregated unity standing alone and giving expression to the nature of his own being; but whatever a man does in art as in everything else is in relation to others, and he is thus what he is by the integrated history of his people, the family, the society, and the education that he has received; and the people to whom he addresses himself is also a part of this constitutive nature. A man does not develop his poetry as he develops his beard. A poet in his writings has always the minds of his fellow men reflected in him. A man becomes aware of himself as a person only so far as he relates himself with others of whom he also simultaneously become aware as persons. The finite man with his finite capacity thus becomes infinite through his ever-growing relations. His awareness is being continually re-inforced and developed; if he has a new idea he must explain it to others, and at every such step he must develop himself. The aesthetic experience of the aesthetic activity must always be in the mind of the writer, but this subjective activity always implies an objective stimulus and an objective reference. A lover may love a woman and so far the love is his own, but it has an objective reference in the woman he loves. But the objective reference does not stop here whether the woman loves him or spurns him, it makes a unique difference in the nature of the experience of his love. We are reminded of the passage in Kalidasa, *akritārthe'pi manasije ratimubhayaprārthanā kurute.** A particular artist's creation holds a definite relation between the given artist and his other fellow artists and also with the persons who are his audience as well as the entire history of the growth of his mind, subjective and objective, the society as a whole, and the moral and social and political opinions of his history and of his age. In speaking of Rabindranath's personality we do not deny these facts, but it need not be our purpose to analyse Rabindranath's personality into the component factors which may have contributed to his development. But it will be our purpose to take a synthetic view of the whole situation and to understand Rabindranath's personality as an integrated whole. Whatever may be the nature of the constitutive

* अकृतार्थेऽपि मनसिजे रतिमुभयप्रार्थना कुरुते

factors, the appearance of the personality is an emergent whole, and in studying it we study the character and qualities of this whole. A chemist may know that copper sulphate is composed of one atom of copper, one atom of sulphur, and four atoms of oxygen, but it is impossible for him to trace the qualities and properties of Copper Sulphates from the properties and qualities of these components. He has to study the qualities and properties of copper sulphate as one unique object, though he may remember in his mind that it is not a homogeneous whole but an organization of heterogeneous elements, and it is the principle of this organization as manifesting itself in its diverse fields of activities that should form the subject of our study.

[This paper forms a prefatory chapter to the author's forthcoming book, *Rabindranath, the Person, the Poet and the Philosopher*.]

THE TRAGIC CAREER OF A FORGOTTEN SOLDIER

By Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI, B.A.

The career of Muzaffar Khan Gardi, the ablest and most talented disciple of Bussy, forms an important chapter of Indian history. Although it deserves careful study it seems so far to have been sadly neglected. This soldier of fortune was the first Indian who revolutionized the art of traditional Indian warfare and was so gifted in his profession that his tragic end excites our great sympathy and sorrow, particularly when we see that history often takes careful note of mediocrities and forgets the achievements of several eminent characters. I am, therefore, trying to rescue from oblivion Muzaffar Khan Gardi's singular but fitful exploits, by piecing together several small bits of information, gathered from Marathi sources during the course of my studies.

Bajirao I in his eventful life of conquest and aggression always found himself severely handicapped for want of a well-organized park of artillery and had to depend solely on the time-honoured guerilla tactics of which he was one of the best exponents. His brother Chimnaji had the same experience in his capture of Bassein from the hands of the Portuguese. The untimely death of the two brothers prevented them from taking practical steps towards forming an establishment of gun-warfare supported by infantry corps of the western model. The Marathas, however, had not long to wait for a practical illustration.

During the mid-forties of the eighteenth century the French and the English settlements on the south-east coast started warlike operations, thereby exhibiting to the unfamiliar Indian world new models of organized warfare in which both the navy and the land troops co-operated and obtained rapid successes mainly with the help of a few guns supported by a number of infantry-men.

In 1746 when Labourdonnais arrived at Pondicherry with a fresh contingent of fighting arms from France, there was in his train an officer named Bussy, then in the 28th year of his age, an ingenious commander and organizer, who during a period of the next fifteen years (1746-61) effected a striking change in the Indian methods of war and diplomacy. During the process he took under him for special training several competent young Indians, particularly Muslims, called *Gardis*, all of whom soon came to be in great demand by Indian chiefs then scrambling for power. Of the large number of pupils thus trained by Bussy, Muzaffar Khan was perhaps most efficient and famous, but at the same time most unreliable,—a trait of his character which ultimately cost him his life. He fully equalled if not surpassed his own master Bussy in successfully conducting not only battles, sieges and long campaigns but even in diplomacy and state-craft, so that for a time Muzaffar Khan figured in South India as a powerful factor to be reckoned with.

The first mention of Muzaffar Khan occurs in a letter, dated 31st December, 1749, in which his agent Hirachand came all the way from Pondicherry to Poona, where he met Malhar Rao Holkar and received from him twenty thousand rupees for raising a company of two hundred Gardis to serve Holkar. It is evident from this that the name and fame of these Gardis had become familiar at that time throughout Maharashtra and South India. The term "Gardi" came to be applied to the troops

and officers trained by Bussy with strict regulations about discipline, uniforms, arms, marches and other military essentials, which were till then conspicuous in India by their absence, and which the Marathas with their strong self-will particularly hated. Macaulay in describing the famous siege of Arcot by Clive has made the distinction severely clear between the Indian and European armies of the day. Any number of Indians was available for service provided regular pay was guaranteed, and once disciplined they were a match for the huge masses entertained by Indian Princes as their fighting forces.

Bussy spent the first three years of his life in India (1747-49) in selecting proper well-built candidates for service with a strong physique and measured height and in training them for the purposes of infantry and artillery during field-operations and sieges. Several names of capable Gardi leaders occur in Marathi papers as having been trained by Bussy—such as Muzaffar Khan, Mohammad Alam, Sayad Karim, Latib Khan, Ali Khan, Sidi Masud, Sidi Amber, Rustum Dil Khan, Mehdood Khan, with Ibrahim Khan, who was Muzaffar Khan's sister's son and who later served Sadashivrao Bhau at Panipet and suffered the same fate with him. Kadar Khan and Hassan-ud-din are mentioned as Muzaffar Khan's brothers. These are all Muslims—the only Hindu name I find is that of Sumer Singh, who later on became notorious for the murder of the Peshwa Narayan Rao at Poona in 1773. I suppose Bussy preferred Muslims to Hindus on account of the latter's caste prejudices. The exploits of most of these Gardi commanders are lost to history. They mostly served the five great Nawabs of South India, *viz.*, of Arcot, Kadappa, Karnul, Shira and Savanur, who between them claimed the possession of the Peninsula for some twenty years.

After some three years' training Muzaffar Khan was first entertained in service by his namesake Muzaffar Jung, grandson of Asaf Jah, who claimed the Nizami as against Nasir Jung, the Nizam's son. Muzaffar Jung employed Muzaffar Khan in attacking Tanjore early in 1750; the latter succeeded in exacting a heavy tribute from the Raja of Tanjore after having given the first exhibition of the terrible havoc that European artillery could execute upon the Indian rabble. As soon as the Peshwa at Poona came to know of Muzaffar Khan's achievement at Tanjore, he sent his special messenger Shyamrao Yadav with an offer for his services. Shyamrao met Muzaffar Khan at Karnool and communicated to him the Peshwa's desire. Negotiations were then carried on for some time both directly with him and also through the medium of Bussy. In December 1752, the Peshwa and Bussy met for the first time at Bhalki near Bedar, when Bussy presented Muzaffar Khan to the Peshwa along with his help-mate Latib Khan. He was at once taken into employ by the Peshwa on condition of a monthly payment of fifty-five thousand rupees for himself and his contingent of two thousand infantry-men, a thousand cavalry-men and ten guns. Thereafter Muzaffar Khan continued to serve the Peshwa for a little over two years in his Karnatak campaigns, when he reduced Bagalkot, Bednur, Srirangpatam and other places in those regions.

But along with his excellent organizing capacity and brain power, Muzaffar Khan had a sad trait in his character, *viz.*, that he did not remain absolutely faithful to the master he served. He was fond of dabbling in politics, often made secret overtures to the parties whom he was called upon to oppose, received illicit gratification from agents and individuals outside his sphere. Insubordination and open defiance of orders were also traits which cost him his good name. By such conduct he brought unjust reproach upon all the Gardis as a class. The Peshwa Balajirao as a rule managed to connive at these irregularities, but Sadashivrao Bhau, more stern and upright as he was, and in control of financial dealings, contracted a severe aversion towards Muzaffar Khan, particularly over money transactions. Early in 1755 Muzaffar Khan was conducting operations in the territory of Bednur with the Paymaster-General Mahadoba Purandare in charge. The roll-call was taken and it was discovered that the number of the Khan's men on service was far short of the stipulated contract. Payment of wages was refused. Hot words ensued. The matter was reported to the Peshwa, who was far away. Muzaffar Khan in a fit of excitement left the Peshwa's service and walked straight to the Raja of Mysore, who welcomed this deserter, as he was himself quaking under a threat of invasion by the Peshwa.

Upon return to Poona for the monsoon of 1755 the Peshwa felt extremely uneasy over the affair of Muzaffar Khan and on 26th May 1755 addressed the following letter to him and despatched it with a special agent of his own confidence :

"It was not right that you should have quitted our service without permission on a point of disagreement with Mahadaji Pandit, at a time when we were both mutually on the best of terms. I am now sending you my Agent Amritrao to fetch you and assure you that you will receive ample satisfaction when we meet personally. Please come immediately without the least scruple. You are a great and eminent soldier and with

your cordial help I am hoping to achieve great things. Amritao will personally explain my intentions."

This appeal of the Peshwa fell upon deaf ears. Vengeance marked the Khan's character; he refused to return to the Peshwa and managed to organize a strong opposition to him, taking the Southern chiefs into confidence. He had already broken his relations with Bussy and now defied both him and the Peshwa. This was an audacious move on the part of Muzaffar Khan. He knew the Peshwa's intentions, knew also that the Nawab of Savnur was in sore straits, as the Peshwa had long been meditating a blow against him. Muzaffar Khan went to Savnur, saw the Nawab, assured him of his own help and started immediate military preparations to oppose the Peshwa. He fortified Savnur, secured the help of Murar Rao Ghorpade and the Raja of Mysore and organized a combined formidable stand at Savnur. This was a god-send to the Nawab himself, who spared neither money nor other resources to face the onslaught from the Peshwa that he knew was coming early in 1756.

The Peshwa became wild with anger when he learned of the strong combination which the Khan with his rare genius thus organised against him. He feared that all his work of the past several years was going to be upset and in his extremity appealed to Nawab Salabat Jung and his general Bussy to help him in subjugating Savnur and punishing Muzaffar Khan. Salabat Jung and Bussy both readily agreed to help the Peshwa, who thereupon openly called upon the Nawab of Savnur to deliver up Muzaffar Khan, the root of the whole mischief. The Peshwa's demand was spitefully rejected, which led to open hostilities during the early months of 1756. The Peshwa attacked Savnur with large forces and all available resources, laid siege to that place, which on account of Muzaffar Khan's tactics has become famous in the military history of India. The Khan boasted that he was prepared to put down both Bussy and the Peshwa in an open fight, provided there was no treachery or sedition. But this is exactly what took place. After a siege of two months the Peshwa succeeded through underhand means in detaching Morar Rao Ghorpade from the hostile combination; and as the poor resources of the Nawab of Savnur had all been exhausted, and as Bussy's formidable artillery reduced Savnur to ashes, he had to submit to the terms imposed upon him by the Peshwa, allowing in the meantime Muzaffar Khan to escape and save his life from the vengeance of the Peshwa. Savnur fell in the middle of May 1756, the treaty of peace having been signed on the 18th of that month.

For a time the brave Khan was reduced to utter helplessness. Deserted by all friends and comrades and with no means of livelihood, he wandered from place to place in desperation. Wherever he went he found himself surrounded by the Peshwa's spies, one of whom thus reported his miserable plight :

"Muzaffar Khan is in utter ruin; he cannot show his face; no one would take pity on him. The few followers he had are deserting him for want of wages."

Mukund Shripat, whom the Peshwa had secretly employed to induce the Khan to submit to the Peshwa unconditionally, writes :

"Muzaffar Khan has taken the garb of a mendicant, has become a faqir and talks of proceeding to Mecca for ending his life in that holy place. He has contracted huge debts which he cannot pay. He had purchased rifles, shots and munition during the siege of Savnur from the Portuguese of Goa; he has not yet paid for those articles and is being extremely harassed by them for payment. Yesterday some of his own followers laid violent hands on him and he would have lost his life if one or two devoted servants had not interfered. But his spirits have by no means been depressed. He goes on boasting as usual of having long opposed two great powers, those of the Peshwa and the Nizam. He seems to have reached the last extremity and declines to serve any one hereafter."

All this while, the Peshwa kept watching the Khan's movements and employed agents to persuade him to accept whatever terms the Peshwa would offer. They came and said to Muzaffar Khan :

"You have proved treacherous to all the masters you have till now served, so that you have lost your character before the world and now no one would take you up. But we would entreat the Peshwa once more if you promise to serve him loyally, and unhesitatingly accept whatever he offers. The Peshwa is rich and if you give him satisfaction, he will not only forgive you your past conduct but reward you handsomely."

All this time Muzaffar Khan had other irons in the fire. While displaying utter misery outwardly he tried to ingratiate himself with Bussy, with the English at Madras and with the French at Pondicherry. The great Seven Years War had just started in India and offered a rare chance for a man of the Khan's abilities. The Peshwa's agent, however, succeeded in inducing him to go back to Poona along with his comrades Sumer Singh, Sidi Masud and Mohammad Alam. The terms were fixed. Rupees twenty-five thousand was advanced for his travelling expenses, and Muzaffar Khan once more entered the Peshwa's service in the beginning of 1757. The Peshwa's cousin, Bhau Sahib, however, was totally oposed to this course and tried his best against the Khan's employment, so that practically they became enemies to each other. During the next three years (1757-1759) Muzaffar Khan was employed by the Peshwa in reducing several difficult places and forts in the

hilly regions of Baglan and North Konkon and in putting down the turbulent Kolis who had for long infested those parts of the Peshwa's dominions. But wherever the Khan conducted operations, serious complaints constantly reached the Peshwa from his officials and private individuals against the high-handed and unscrupulous tyranny that he practised. He freely plundered and wasted the country through which he passed, sent his Gardis to ravage the villages along his route, obeyed no law or authority and defied all those who remonstrated with him, so that the advent of these Gardis came ever after to be regarded by the public as a regular nuisance far outweighing their utility to the State. A complaint from Berar is thus reported:

"The Gardis have created a havoc throughout the land. Large numbers of women jumped into the wells to save their honour, several hanged themselves with ropes, others again have stabbed themselves with their own hands. Ten thousand women have been ravished. village after village has thus been sacked." (P. D. S. 20.125).

Muzaffar Khan cared only to gain his own private ends. During the Sindkhed campaign which the Peshwa conducted against the Nizam from October 1757 and which was led by Sadashivrao Bhau and Vishwasrao, they purposely contrived to assign some insignificant duty to Muzaffar Khan, away from the main operations, lest he should practise treachery at a vital moment involving serious consequences.

Ibrahim Khan Gardi, son of Muzaffar Khan's sister, was another renowned artillery officer trained by Bussy but possessing a high reputation for loyal and honest character, although a trifle inferior to Muzaffar Khan in the technicalities of his profession. Salabat Jung once remarked:

"Bussy had no difficulty in getting rid of Muzaffar Khan at a moment's notice. Ibrahim Khan stands no comparison in that respect."

The latter was for some years in the employ of Nizam Ali and was highly attached to him.

Nizam Salabat Jung was always afraid of this, his younger brother, who had just contrived to murder Haidar Jung and Shah Nawaz Khan, two eminent and reputed officers of Salabat Jung. In the year 1759 Salabat Jung appointed this brother Nazim Ali as his Prime Minister, but in so doing he stipulated that he must remove Ibrahim Khan from his employment. Nizam Ali agreed to this. The matter was at once reported to the Peshwa at Poona. On 9th October 1759, news reached Sadashivrao Bhau that Ibrahim Khan had been removed from Nizam Ali's service. Bhau at once made overtures to Ibrahim and took him into his own service and agreed to pay him liberally. This affair could not long remain a secret. Ibrahim Khan's acceptance of the Peshwa's service meant a death-blow to the prospects of Muzaffar Khan, as the latter supposed. Possibly the Peshwa would have accommodated both, the one in the South and the other in the North. Ibrahim Khan was to join service at Poona on November 5, 1759.

During the previous month of October serious hostilities broke out between the Peshwa and the Nizam. Maratha armies gathered at Poona to march upon Hyderabad under the command of Sadashivrao Bhau, who had gone into tents to start on the expedition. In the afternoon a little before sunset on 28th October 1759, Muzaffar Khan's son-in-law Haidar Khan suddenly entered the Bhau's tent and as he was transacting business with papers in his hand, Haidar Khan approached and struck him in the back with his dagger. Happily the stroke did not prove fatal, although a serious wound was caused. Nagoji Gujar and others who stood near Bhau, caught hold of Haidar Khan and disarmed him. On being questioned, Haidar Khan confessed that he was instigated by Muzffar Khan to perpetrate the murder of Bhausaheb. The crime was proved and both were publicly executed on October 30. Bhau Saheb recovered from the effects of the wound in a month's time, marched against Nizam Ali and humbled him in a long-drawn campaign—near Udgir in February 1760—so completely that the Nizam's kingdom would probably have been swallowed up by the Peshwa, had not dismal news just arrived of Ahmad Shah Abdali having routed Dattaji Sindia's armies near Delhi and killed him. On 10th February 1760, Sadasivrao Bhau had to patch up a hurried peace with the Nizam and proceed to Delhi to drive away the Abdali invader. What terrible fate awaited the Marathas on the field of Panipet in the following year (14th January, 1761) is a well known historical event. The Maratha dream of extirpating the Nizam vanished for ever.

The tragic end of Muzaffar Khan is indeed a sad episode illustrating the history of the Maratha-Nizam relations during the stirring days that followed the death of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah in 1748. Human affairs often take a turn from which there is no retreat. Muzaffar Khan was doubtless a master hand in war and diplomacy, but his rash and vacillating ways cost him his life. After all, the highest essential of a soldier is a cool and collected temperament. But success or failure is not the criterion of greatness. History must remember

that during his ten years' eventful career, Müzaffar Khan effected a complete revolution in the traditional art of war as followed in India. Bussy and Muzaffar Khan are two names to bring about this great change, which was put into actual practice by Muzaffar Khan alone. He doubtless possessed a consummate genius of which I find ample eloquent testimony in Marathi papers. Let us join in honouring Muzaffar Khan's memory.*

* For those who care to verify the references the following few are mentioned : *Aitihasik Patravyavahar* No. 92; *Purandare Daftar* Vol. 1—293, 367; *Peshwa Daftar Selections*,—Vol. 6-9; Vol. 21, 54, 55, 86; Vol. 25, 134, 165; Vol. 24, 185; Vol. 28.—See Index full.

WAR IN THE PACIFIC : THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

The flare-up in the Pacific opens up many problems for us. It brings War nearer to India. Furthermore, it extends the War not only to the Far East but also to the Western Hemisphere. In fact the picture is now almost complete and no major power is outside this cataclysm. It has its many aspects,—social, political and military. We shall examine the economic aspect of the question and find out how the A.B.C.D. countries can wage a successful war on the economic front.

It is often found that many here look with contempt born of familiarity upon the strength of the Asiatic partner of the Axis. We very often wonder : How long can Japan prosecute this War specially after four years of Chinese incident ? Is not Japan's national economy already strained enough—in fact too strained for a new war of this magnitude ? To some extent, these doubts are true. In the period just preceding World War No. II industrial production in Japan showed wide fluctuations thus reflecting the strain which the country was undergoing because of the 'Chinese Incident.' Thus the general index of industrial production in 1939 varied between wide limits, rising as high as 185 approximately (base :—1929=100) and coming down to nearly 170.[1] Then again in the year 1939, the budget deficit and Government borrowing were larger; the note circulation continued to expand more rapidly : the upward trend in prices was accelerated : currency depreciation occurred, if incidentally, following the outbreak of the European War; civil industry contracted further owing to shortages of material power and labour; and the supply and allocation of consumption goods were dislocated increasingly.[2] It is therefore natural to come to the conclusion that with this past, her national economy would not be able to bear any sustained additional strain and warfare in the Pacific is, at lesat on the economic front, likely to be short. Yet it may be urged, and urged on good authority, that Japan is not so weak economically as she appears to be : her rushing into a major war, after four years of national strain, may be a wild rush to regain lost prestige, or it may be, in Churchill's words "the result of a deep conviction of strength." It is therefore necessary to judge accurately the exact strength of Japan and find out how the A.B.C.D. countries can fight her on the economic front.

1. *Review of the Trade of India, 1939-40.* P. 3.
2. *Economist*, February 1[illegible] 1940. *Commercial History and Review of 1939.*

Japan's National Economy—the Points of Strength

In a revealing article, the *Economist* (6th September, 1941) writes :

"Of all the major countries, Japan today would appear to be, in relation to its economic capacity and eventual war requirements, the best stocked."

It is true that recent Japanese purchase of essential materials was in many cases not for her own needs and she acted merely as a purchasing agent for Germany.

In the words of the *Economist* :

"Yet the third Konoye Government has devoted its supreme economic and financial effort to the accumulation of the unprecedented reserve stocks demanded by Japan's fighting forces."

This accumulation was accomplished, first through the systematic economising of war and other materials originally earmarked for use in the China war. This was achieved, secondly by the continued tightening up during the past twelve months of Japan's foreign trade and foreign exchange controls with a view to eliminating the last non-war imports, and at the same time reducing exports to the minimum level required by foreign exchange needs. The increase

in stocks was achieved, thirdly, by the further curtailment of civilian consumption all along the line. Japan has, in this way been able to have

"It is estimated," the *Economist* continues, "that and other military and naval equipment, but also raw materials and fuel including iron ore, iron and steel scraps, coal, fuel oil, gasolene, lubricants, rubber, non-ferrous metals, rice, clothing material and leather."

"It is estimated," the *Economist* continues "that they (these stocks) will permit Japan, while continuing the war in China, to face an Anglo-American trade embargo for about a year, or to allow her to fight a southward *blitzkrieg* for a duration of some six months."

This is indeed a picture of strength. It becomes therefore clear that unless Japan is weakened economically, the war in the Pacific is bound to be a long one. It is necessary for Great Britain and her allies not only to strengthen their lines of economic defence but also to take an economic offensive for achieving quick and decisive victory.

WHAT THE ALLIES CAN DO—THE ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE

Now under present conditions what can be the nature and method of the economic offensive? Obviously, economic offensive would mean anything that would dislocate Japan's economic structure. Such dislocation may come from many directions; it is necessary to mention at least three of them. Such dislocation, in the first place, may come from any inherent internal weakness in Japan's national economy; this is, of course, not an economic offensive proper. Dislocation again may result from the inevitable consequences of the declaration of the war *viz.*, the cutting off of supplies from Great Britain and her allies. This also does not constitute an economic offensive in the proper sense of the term. Dislocation, in the third place, may be the consequence of positive measures taken by the allies calculated to strangle Japan economically. Though this only falls within the category of an offensive proper, it is still necessary to discuss all these questions that will ultimately determine Japan's staying power.

1. Japan's Internal Weakness:—We have already mentioned how symptoms of internal weakness became manifest even before the outbreak of the European War in 1939 and how signs of strain appeared after the early years of the Chinese campaign. It should however be admitted that Japan managed her difficulties pretty well, for these difficulties could not go to any unmanageable extent because of the rigid control exercised by the Government on the whole economic structure. We have already seen that this technique of state control organised on German lines, did enable Japan to stock all necessary commodities. But while German methods have proved fairly successful in amassing additional stocks of war supplies, concurrent efforts to increase Japanese industrial war production have been far less so. To quote the *Economist* (Sept. 6. 1941),

"the very success of those measures is largely responsible for the lack of success in the extension of war industries and auxiliary industrial plants and in boosting their production."

Then again the end of Trans-Siberian totalitarian trade has also paralysed a number of projects for expanding war industries in both Japan and Manchuria; German deliveries of machinery destined for Japan are marooned by the war in Russia. These are indeed vital, though accidental (for they are not created by the Allies), weaknesses and cannot but have repercussions on Japan's war effort.

II. Automatic Effects of the Declaration of War:—(*a*) *Cutting Off Of War Supplies*—We have mentioned before that the outbreak of the Far-Eastern war would naturally result in the stoppage of supplies from the democracies to Japan; the nature and extent of the disadvantage that Japan will have to face in this regard will depend on the necessity of these supplies and the importance of that trade in Japan's national economy. Now the effects may be two-fold. There are certain war supplies, which if cut off, cannot be replaced easily. There are again other articles, which though not *directly* necessary for the prosecution of the war, are nevertheless indispensable because of the necessity of maintaining a favourable foreign trade position and thus keeping the economic structure sound. We shall examine, first, how far Japan would lose her war supplies because of this extension of the European War to the Far East, and we shall also try to ascertain, in the second place, how far this sudden shrinkage in foreign trade would adversely affect her economic system.

It was calculated by the *Economist* some time ago that 54·2 p.c. of Japan's essential war supplies came from the U. S. A. and 17·5 p.c. from the British Empire in 1937 (vide *Economist*, Dec. 30, 1939). To this must be added the supplies from China and Dutch East Indies and other South American countries which have either declared war on Japan or are too closely allied to the United States to follow a vigorous pro-Japanese policy. The position becomes clear from the following table:—

TABLE I

PRINCIPAL IMPORTS TO JAPAN IN 1938

From (in Y. 1,000)

	U.S.A.	U. Kingdom	China
Cotton ..	166,414	....	71,790
Coal ..	....	....	26,877
India Rubber ..	....	....	....
Ores and Metals ..	262,866	11,295	....
Machinery and others ..	158,110	38,849	....
Oil and Fats, etc. ..	240,143	....	....
Chloride of Potash, Phosphosite, etc. ..	10,670 (app.)	....	....
Iron and Steel ..	....	....	....
Oil Yielding Seeds ..	....	....	6,963

	India	Canada	Malaya	Dutch East Indies
Cotton ..	113,331	....	....	....
Coal ..	....	....	....	....
India Rubber ..	....	....	10,700	12,080
Ores and Metals ..	....	54,112	....	....
Machinery and others	....	....	....	....
Oils and Fats, etc.	....	....	....	....
Chloride of Potash, Phosphosite, etc. ..	....	....	....	....
Iron and Steel ..	18,327 (in Rs. 1,000)	....	....	....
Oil Yielding Seeds ..	....	....	....	....

(Compiled from the *Japan Year Book* 1939-40, published by the Foreign Affairs Association).

It is doubtless that Japan will have serious difficulty in making up for the loss of such a large portion of war supplies. Unless she is counting upon a quick victory, it will be difficult to get ample supplies after the depletion of her stocks specially when it is doubtful whether Germany would be in a position to spare any large amount of her own supplies for her Far-Eastern partner.

(*b*) *Effects On The Foreign Trade Position and The Economic System in General.*

What are the possible effects of this sudden shrinkage of foreign trade on Japan's economic system in general? This would depend, first, on the importance of foreign trade in Japan's national economy, secondly, on the nature of foreign trade with each country in question, thirdly, on the efficiency of State control and the degree of susceptibility to outside influence, fourthly, on exchange factors and through them on the changes in the price level, in conditions of industrial production, in the term and balance of trade and finally on the general economic structure and the elasticity of demand and mobility of labour and capital in the national and international spheres.

Japan's foreign trade constitutes a very large share of her total trade. It is, therefore, only logical that any major change in her foreign trade would affect not only her foreign—and consequentially internal trade, but also the whole economic system. The countries on the A.B.C.D. front supply a very large share of Japan's total imports and also consumes a large portion of her total exports. In fact, allowing for the margin of error because of the unrealiability of recently published Japanese statistics, it would not perhaps be unsafe to conclude that the A.B.C.D. countries supply together at least 75 p.c. of Japan's total imports while they consume about 60 p.c. of Japan's total exports. It therefore goes without saying that this stoppage of supplies would adversely affect Japan's economic structure. We therefore conclude that the first effect of this sudden shrinkage would be that Japan will not be in a position—or at least be in serious difficulty—to secure necessary foreign exchange even if it is possible to get hold of other sources of supply, for it has been mentioned that Japanese foreign trade was already brought down to the minimum level absolutely necessary to ensure required foreign exchange and further compulsory restriction of foreign trade cannot but adversely affect her exchange position and deplete her exchange resources. It may, however, be contended that that will not seriously affect Japan's position as a whole for Japan had all along been experiencing a huge import surplus except in very recent years and this may only make her revert to the former position reducing altogether the newly developed export surplus. But this contention will not hold good for several reasons. Even if it is admitted for the sake of argument that there will not be any net loss as compared to the position some years back when the visible balance of trade was considerably against Japan, we must take into account the loss sustained because of the progressively deteriorating term of trade from some years back.

TABLE II

	Export Surplus (+)* or Import Surplus (—) (in Y. 1,000)	Term of Trade† Unit Price of Japanese Export Goods / Unit Price of Japanese Imports Goods
1928 ..	—224,359	100
1931 ..	—88,693	99·8
1936 ..	—70,705	68·9
1937 ..	—607,759	59·1
1938 ..	+26,240	....
1939 ..	+523,100	....

The term of trade is likely to worsen still further in recent years for various reasons, for

* *Japan Year Book*, p. 357 or *Economist*, Feb. 17, 1940.

† *Review of World Trade* (L. of N.) 1937, p. 41.

while in times of war the elasticity of Japan's national demand is not likely to be very great and her labour and capital comparatively immobile because of the indispensability of war industries, her import prices are showing a rise relatively to her export prices. Things would therefore move in a vicious circle, for if Japan tries to prevent this worsening of the term by controlling import goods with relatively high prices—which in itself is a difficult operation in war time—that must be paid for in other ways, may be in gold as was actually the case in 1937 when there was an outflow of gold to the extent of 379 million yens in the first seven months of that year, while any attempt to prevent worsening of the invisible balance or check the outflow of gold by bringing about a shift-over in the composition of imports to goods fetching high prices would result in a deterioration in the term. But this is not all; for it is possible, at least in theory, that in spite of an unfavourable term, the actual gain in international trade may be greater because of increased volume; but such a question perhaps does not here arise at all, when there has been such a dangerous decrease in Japan's foreign trade. It would be a miracle indeed if the Japanese exchange control can prevent serious dislocation in Japanese internal economy and specially in the price level and the volume of and impetus to production, for the loss here results not only from an unfavourable term, but also from a comparatively unfavourable balance of trade, which, coupled with inelasticity of national demand and immobility of labour and capital, must have serious effects on Japan's home front, even if we leave out the difficulties created by the loss of her vital war supplies.

(*c*) *The Offensive Proper* :—But the possible effects of this new extension of war, discussed above, are, in spite of their great importance, more incidental in character rather than the result of a deliberate policy. But if the democracies are to win the war, they shall have to take up a positively aggressive attitude also on the economic front. The most important of such measures would be to tighten the blockade that was practically declared long ago by the U. S. A. and the United Kingdom when they freezed Japanese assets; it is for the Ministries of Economic Warfare as also for the Navy to ensure that there are no loopholes in that blockade. Another important measure that may be resorted to is to divert neutral trade from the enemy country and the United States can have a lot to do in this respect by entering into agreements with her neighbouring neutrals and specially the South American countries with a strong Nazi bias.

THE SPECIAL PROBLEM OF INDIA—THE DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE MEASURES

What role can India play in this economic warfare ? Without any independent political status, her policy will ultimately be guided by the policy of the British Empire as a whole. Nevertheless, her geographical position and the peculiarities of her trade with Japan give rise to certain special problems which must be solved by India alone. Japan was an important customer of Indian goods; we find from the latest *Review of the Trade of India* that Japan used to take 6·9 p.c. of our total exports, thus coming only after the United Kingdom (35·4 p.c.) and the U. S. A. (12·0 p.c.) while she supplied 11·7 p.c. of our total imports, thus making a third to the United Kingdom (25·2 p.c.) and Burma (19·0 p.c.). This war would, therefore, not only imply the break of trade relations with the third most important country in India's foreign trade, but would also lead to dislocation of Indian trade with the Western Hemisphere firstly because of the complete American switch over to war economy and secondly because of the unsafe shipping conditions in the Pacific.

The extent of this loss increases further when we consider that Japan had recently a greater share of our foreign trade; we have it from the Reserve Bank Report on *Currency and Finance* (1940-41) that Japan's export to India increased from Rs. 15·4 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 19·2 crores in 1939-40 and to Rs. 21·5 crores in 1940-41, though her offtake of Indian goods fell from Rs. 14·5 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 13·9 crores in 1939-40 and to Rs. 9·0 crores in 1940-41. There is perhaps one comforting thought that this has enabled India to avoid her increasingly unfavourable balance that characterised her trade with Japan; but even if it minimises the extent of loss—though that is a doubtful proposition—it would be achieved perhaps at too great a cost from the economic point of view. Analysing further, we find that Japan used to supply 10·3 p.c. of our total import of iron and steel, 1·3 p.c. of machinery, 11·0 p.c. of hardwares, 5·2 p.c. of instruments, 55·0 p.c. of cotton manufactures, 47·9 p.c. of silk manufactures, 82·6 p.c. of artificial silk and 8·2 p.c. of chemicals, etc., while she took away 35·7 p.c. of our total export of raw cotton, 0·1 p.c. of hides and skin, 2·2 p.c. of raw jute, 0·1 p.c. of jute manufactures, some amount of paraffin wax, tungsten, manganese ore, etc. This composition of India's trade with Japan reveals that India will not possibly be seriously affected in her war effort because of this new development probably except in the case of iron machinery and instruments

(we are not considering here the broader effects on foreign trade in general) while Japan would certainly be at a disadvantage so far as ores and metals are concerned. But it cannot be said that there will be no serious trouble in our economic system in general, for apart from the losses stated above, India's cotton trade (both imports and exports) will be greatly affected. In fact, it may not perhaps be too much to say that if other countries with their rapidly expanding demand fail to compensate for the disappearance of Japan from India's trade in cotton and other important commodities, it will not only lead to a slump in India's trade in these commodities only and specially in cotton, but may also affect the conditions of trade and production in general as also her term of trade and exchange, because Japan occupied so large a position in her international trade. If India has to maintain her former trade position, she shall have to adopt certain defensive measures on the economic front. It is, for example, necessary to find out new markets and thus more than make up the loss sustained; it is also necessary to see to it that this favourable balance be secured not at a very great cost, for it is quite possible that this expansion of export trade may not only be secured at a very unfavourable term of trade, but may, what is more important, open the door to certain imports which may compete unfairly with and thus damage production at home. Internally, it is not only sufficient to secure readjustment in production which may be necessary even if the above measures are successfully adopted; it would certainly be of ultimate benefit to this country if any capital and labour, thus released, be re-employed with an idea of altering the basic pattern of her economic structure in new types of industries, such as, the automobile and aero-engine industries so that a beginning may be made that would, in the long run, make India an industrially advanced country and radically change the character of her production and international trade.

These are some of the possible measures of defence. But what offensive measures can India take at the present moment? It is unfortunate that India can do very little in this respect. Without any navy worth the name it is not possible for her to give any very great assistance to Great Britain in enforcing the blockade. The nature of her production, again, makes her national demand generally inelastic thus placing her at a disadvantage in international trade—a disadvantage accentuated by the presence of large home charges. What she can utmost do is perhaps to help her allies and specially her neighbours by enabling them to maintain their economic position by taking up, as far as possible, their goods hitherto meant for Japan—the Dutch East Indies rubber and oil being two cases in point. She can again take an economic offensive, though in a very limited degree, by diverting the foreign trade of neighbouring neutrals from enemy territory. But as already mentioned, the scope of these operations is extremely limited and reveal once more the helpless situation India is in.

Finally, it is necessary to sound a note of warning. It is not impossible that these operations, defensive and offensive, may, in the long run, turn out to be of net disadvantage to India, for the danger is very real that India may be exploited economically on the plea of war effort. In fact, it is not wrong to presume, after the criminal indifference shown by the Government towards the establishment of the shipbuilding or the automobile industries in India, that India's fight on the economic front is, according to our rulers, nothing but unilateral sacrifice. It would indeed be a grievous mistake to treat India in this economic war only as a dumping ground for Empire goods and thus to try to keep up Empire trade at the cost of India; or again to let go this opportunity of establishing important basic industries and thus transform Indian economy from an agricultural to an industrial one. How great would have been the benefit not only to India but also to England and to her Empire, had this policy of large scale industrialisation been adopted long ago; for in that case, India would not only have been in a position now to fight successfully her enemies on the economic front but could also have armed her own army and supplied equipments that England badly needs. Unfortunately that policy has not been followed. Prejudices, we know, die hard. But it is time to take note from contemporary events where this bankruptcy of statesmanship would lead to.



THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT MALAISE

By RAM SWAROOP VYAS

THE present chaotic condition of the world is not the result of only political disharmony, but of other factors as well. The real causes are deeper. The war that is going on is no doubt a disease of the body politic, but body politic is a part of the larger social whole. The underlying cause of the present troubles is really socio-economic, and in order to assess its proper import, we have to look deeper than the immediate political causes. The war began not only because Hitler was bad, but because our world was out of joint, and this gave such an unscrupulous man as Hitler so much power as to terrify the whole world.

At a conference held some time ago in London, many thinkers assembled to diagnose the maladies of the present-day world. Their diagnosis presented the following case-sheet:

1. Man and his righs are disregarded.
2. Man because of his gregariousness follows blindly.
3. Wide divergence between the advance of physical and social sciences.
4. Lack of any true philosophy.
5. Loss of faith in Christian—or religious—values.
6. Desire to dominate over one's neighbour and exploit him.

Really speaking these causes are, to some extent, inter-dependent. The chief reasons are mainly two. One is the divergence between the advance of physical science and social sciences. Science, particularly physics and chemistry, has made such great progress during the last quarter of a century as to astound any one. As a result of this, innumerable devices and engines have been invented and brought into practical use. Primarily these engines are power-producing engines which perform most of our manufacturing work. The electric generator, the steam engine and the petrol-driven engine have put so much industrial power in man's hands, that they have almost become Alladin's Lamp. Man can ask almost anything from them and get it. This power can perform more wonderful tricks than the genie of the old fables. But man has not used this power for his good. He has used it in a limited way for his welfare, but mostly he has used it to suppress his neighbours and exploit them. With the weapons that science has placed in his hands, man has enslaved and mercilessly exploited his weaker and less advanced brethren. Almost three quarter of the world is at present under the domination of the white man, who first gained this knowledge and invented weapons. Africa and partly Asia and a number of other countries are groaning under this terrible agony of domination.

The power that science has placed in the hands of man is more than sufficient to perform all the tasks that are necessary for a civilized and co-operative life. The engines of science are powerful enough to perform all the drudgery. Previously the available sources of power were man and animals. In order to extract work from these, man tamed animals and enslaved his weaker fellow human beings. At that time, perhaps, it may have been necessary. But now that man and animals have been supplanted by other sources of power, it should not be necessary to enslave man still. But the old habit of domination still runs in the veins of those who were once addicted to it, and they are not willing to give it up. They still desire to dominate, not because it is necessary, but merely for the pleasure of it. The old habit which ought to have been replaced still guides their life.

This in short is the problem of modern industrialism. Because man still holds on to the primitive and semi-barbaric social values, and dominates his fellow-beings when it is no longer necessary, and because his concept of society has not been modified, our civilization is suffering at the hands of the few who dominate. The social values of society ought to have undergone such a change that it would have been anti-social and criminal to dominate and exploit anybody. But unfortunitely society has not advanced to that extent. Thus man is left un-controlled with primitive passions and barbaric prejudices.

Most people think that it is primarily the politician who is responsible for the world's ills, for in practice it is he who runs the show. But politicians are, more often than not, puppets in the hands of the capitalists. In fact the State is a machinery to protect the interests of the capitalists, and hence politicians are guided by that consideration. The State is not, as is supposed to be, for the protection of all, though

in theory it may be such. And the capitalists are not guided by sentiment of social welfare, but by profit motive. So the government in turn becomes a protector of the profits that accrue to the capitalists. When the interests of capitalists of different nations come into conflict, their respective states come forward to protect them, calling it their own interest. Thus a war often results.

That is why when any question of reforming the present system arises, the question of economics comes first. In an address over the radio, Sir Mohammad Zaffarulla Khan enunciated a few points which should form the basis of the future world order. The following few are some of the most important :

1. No interest should be given or taken on money.
2. Hoarding or accumulation of wealth should be discouraged.
3. Commerce should be based on barter.
4. Every government must accept obligation to provide food, shelter, clothing and education to its subjects.
5. Equality of human beings irrespective of colour and race should be guaranteed.

We do not wish to go into a discussion as to how far these are practical propositions, but we wish to point out that the programme is mainly economic. It is by means of interest that the capitalist gets most of his un-earned income. By this means he enables himself to secure wealth which entails him no labour. The same is the case with accumulated wealth, the investment of which gives one the right to have profit, the main-stay of the capitalistic system. Similarly trade is also a means of earning huge profits. Such are the means by which the capitalist ensures his station in life, at the cost of the rest of the society. Hence the necessity of abolishing these privileges, and creating a more equitable society.

The International Labour Office—which was previously situated at Geneva—has also issued a programme for world reconstruction after the War. The programme is social and economic, and is almost breath-taking in scope. International control of industries, a world-wide public works programme and the elimination of mass unemployment are some of the items advocated by it. The full programme consists of the following eleven points :

1. An International public works policy for the development of wo ld's resources.
2. The organisation of migration for employment and settlement under adequate guarantees for all concerned.
3. The collaboration of employers and workers in the initiation and application of economic and social measures.
4. The elimination of unemployment.
5. The establishment of machinery for placing, vocational training and retraining of workers.
6. The improvement of social insurance in all its fields and in particular its extension to all classes of workers.
7. The institution of a wage policy aimed at securing a just share of the fruits of progress for the worker.
8. A minimum living wage for those too weak to secure it for themselves.
9. Measures to promote better nutrition, and to provide adequate housing and facilities for recreation and culture.
10. Greater equality of occupational opportunity.
11. Improved conditions of work.

In putting forward the above programme, the Acting Director of the I. L. O., Mr. Phelan supports his programme in the following term :

"The new character and implications of war as we know it have made social policy a central pre-occupation both because of its immediate relevance to defence, and because it is ultimately at the core of the issues which the war will decide. We now recognise that social security is, like political security, indivisible and that the two are inseparable."

He stresses on a definite re-orientation of social relationships. His observations in this regard are not merely noteworthy, but they should be taken to heart by every social worker. The whole stress of Mr. Phelan's arguments lies on social security and we feel it desirable to quote him at length.

"This then can be taken as the starting point, that the future policy is to be directed to ensuring for the individual not only an improvement in the conditions of labour but economic security without which, it is now recognised, there can be no fully effective implementation of social justice.

"Economic security, however, is not to be interpreted narrowly, and all the pronouncements quoted above, if read in their full context, make it clear that economic security is not regarded as an end in itself but as the condition which enables man to build on a secure basis an assured standard of material well-being, a fuller, richer, and above all a freer life.

"Economic security for the individual in this sense implies more than the old slogans of 'the right to work' or 'work of relief.' It implies more even than 'the prevention of unemployment' by such economic measures and policies as may produce that result and thereby eliminate economic insecurity from the life of the average worker.

"It aims in addition at enabling him to secure, for himself and his family, all that is necessary to enable him in youth, through his working years, and in old age, to enjoy a place of dignity in the life of the community and to make to it whatever contribution his gifts and capabilities may render possible."

Thus in order to cure the present-day ills of the world we have also to think in terms other than of politics. We shall have to think in

terms of social and economic reconstruction of society in such a way that it provides man full economic security, as well as full chances for his cultural and spiritual development, for that and that alone will prevent the recurrence of future wars.

SRI C. VIJIARAGHAVACHARIAR

Sri C. Vijiaraghavachariar, upon whom the Degree of Doctor of Law (Honoris Causa) was conferred at the Special Convocation of the Benares Hindu University held on the 21st January, 1942, is the oldest living lawyer and statesman in India. Born in 1852 he has been in public life for well over 60 years during which he has rendered distinguished service in many fields of activity. He has stood loyally by the Indian National Congress ever since its inception and became its President in 1920. He was the President of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1931 and of the Unity Conference held at Allahabad in the following year, at which a great effort was made to find a solution for the Hindu-Muslim communal problem. An eminent constitutional lawyer, he has guided the Congress and the public on constitutional questions for several decades. As a member of the Madras and Imperial legislatures, he was well known for his wide information, unfailing accuracy, courage of conviction and great debating skill. Deeply learned in political and legal principles and a profound thinker, he has made a habit of studying public questions thoroughly and is giving the benefit of his great learning and experience to the furtherance of progressive movements. His patriotism, courage and independence have stood out as an example to many a younger publicist. He is a very religious and orthodox Hindu, but singularly free from prejudices of every kind. Even at his great age of ninety years, he continues to take a lively interest in public affairs and is never tired of insisting that a lasting Indo-British understanding upon free and equal terms is the only means of saving both the countries.



Dr. C. Vijiaraghabachariar

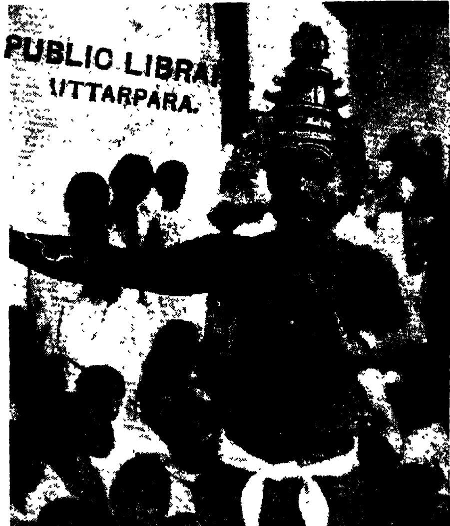
THULLAL

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY

The most popular and interesting kind of dramatic story-telling in Kerala is *Thullal*. It was originated by Kunchan Nambiyar (A.D. 1705-1770), one of the foremost poets of Kerala who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century and who composed more than sixty *Thullal* poems to be enacted for the delectation of the people. One of the many indigenous entertainments provided for the sight-seer, during the festival season in the temples in Travancore, is the *Thullal* which holds the audience spell-bound.

The circumstances which prompted Kunchan Nambiyar to invent the *Thullal* and perform it are intriguing. The time-honoured duty of persons belonging to the Nambiyar caste, was usually to play on the *mizhavu,* a kind of drum, in temples during the performance of *Chakyar koothu,* a form of indigenous dance-recital in which an actor of the Chakyar caste recites Puranic stories in Sanskrit, and explains them in Malayalam, enlivened with frequent sallies of wit and humour, most of them at the expense of the audience. On one occasion Kunchan Nambiyar was asked to play on the *mizhavu* for a *Chakyar koothu* scheduled to be performed in the *Koothambalam* (theatre hall) of the famous Sri Krishnaswami Temple at Ambalapuzha. Kunchan Nambiyar who was well-versed in Sanskrit, was at the time one of the many wits who had flocked to the court of the Raja of Ambalapuzha (the "porca" of the Portuguese and the Dutch writers) to seek their fortune and earn royal recognition. In the absence of the usual drummer, Kunchan Nambiyar had to officiate. Nambiyar who was not a master drummer, failed to accompany the Chakyar on the drum to his satisfaction. The Chakyar an accomplished actor of great fame, was greatly annoyed with Kunchan Nambiyar. The Chakyar in his uncontrollable wrath, ridiculed Nambiyar in the presence of the audience for his shabby performance on the drum. The critically-minded audience broke forth into peals of laughter, and made fun of Kunchan Nambiyar who had come to Ambalapuzha aspiring after honour. Kunchan Nambiyar who was put to shame, lost his temper and he took a vow that he would humble the proud Chakyar in a singular manner and thus wreak vengeance on him who had the audacity to insult and humiliate him in public.

Crest-fallen, and deeply worried, Kunchan Nambiyar, sneaked away into his residence and ensconced himself in a room. That night Nambiyar had no sleep. His capacious brain was busy. His fertile imagination came to his rescue, and he evolved a new form of story-telling that night. The next afternoon Kunchan Nambiyar went to the temple, and took his stand opposite to the performing Chakyar. The Chakyar was amazed to find a figure attired



Seethankan Thullal

in picturesque costume, challenging him with an entirely new and aggressively interesting type of dance-form. Nambiyar performed the *thullal* to the accompaniment of a drum, and a pair of cymbals. The appearance of Nambiyar in such strange costume, and the novelty of his performance, attracted the audience who were listening to the Chakyar to such an extent that they left the Chakyar to himself and gathered round Nambiyar. The Chakyar driven to the humiliation of facing an empty theatre hall, and the jeers of his rival performer, retreated in shame. Thus the intrepid Kunchan



Ottam Thullal

Nambiyar scored a victory over the Chakyar who had strongly reproved him the previous afternoon. This is the most popular version about the origin of the *Thullal.* The author of the *Kerala Natana Kala,* however, contends that Kunchan Nambiyar, a dependant of the Ambalapuzha Raja's family, composed *Thullals* for being sung by the artistes and combatants during the festival season in the temple at Takilyil, and that Nambiyar was asked to compose the *Thullal songs* by Mattur Panikkar, the Prime Minister of the Raja of Ambalapuzha. The author of the supplementary note—Malayalam Language and Literature—to the authoritative publication *History of Kerala,* considers this version to be "more plausible" than the first which says that the *thullal* form was the outcome of the indignation of Nambiyar.

The first *Thullal* composed and enacted by Kunchan Nambiyar, had as its theme the story *Kalyana Sougandhikam,* that colourful and intriguing episode in the *Mahabharata* wherein Bhima, at Droupadi's behest, wanders in search of the divine flower, and secures it after a series of thrilling adventures. This interesting story, Nambiyar recited in simple, sweet Malayalam verse, enlivened with frequent flashes of wit and humour, and illustrated with appropriate gestures. This new art-form, made a straight and powerful appeal to the mass mind and won great popularity. The language, humour and criticism of men and affairs, of Kunchan Nambiyar's first *Thullal,* disclose that he borrowed liberally from the literature of the *Chakyar koothu.* The quaint costume and the gestures employed by Nambiyar, were, no doubt borrowed from the technique of *Kathakali.* But, the art-form *Thullal* as a whole was entirely an original creation. The homely and beautiful language of the *Thullal,* its variety of vigorous and rapid metres, its many literary embellishments, its strong individuality, its flow and grace, and keen sarcasm, contributed to the popularity of the new dance-recital which for a time threw into the shade the *Chakyar Koothu.*

The *Thullal* is performed only during daytime. There is only a single performer who is called the *Thullakkaran.* He is assisted by two musicians, one who leads the song and plays on the cymbals, and the other who beats the *Maddalam,* a kind of drum, and keeps time. The actor sings as well as dance, making appropriate gestures to explain the meaning of the dance. The performance begins with invocations to the gods Ganesha and Saraswati, and



A Parayan Thullal actor

to the Gurus. The rectial of the story follows next. The *Thullakkaran* or the person who performs the *thullal* recites a few lines which are repeated by the drummer. The actor simultaneously with this, interprets the meaning of the lines repeated by the drummer, through suitable gestures. A typical *Thullal* performance would take two hours.

There are three distinct forms of *Thullal*, known by the names of *Ottam*, *Seethankan*, and *Parayan*. Of these *Ottam Thullal* is most popular, both because the majority of *thullals* are written in this form, and because of the variety and vigour of the metres employed in these literary pieces. An eminent scholar has said:

"The pure *Ottam* is more vigorous than the *Seethankan*, while the *Parayan* is best suited for the pathetic style."

A careful study of Kunchan Nambiyar's first *thullal*, the *Kalyana Sougandhikam*, reveals that he began with writing the *Seethankan* and *Ottam* style of *thullals* and finally took to writing *thullals* of the *Parayan* type. While the first two varieties of the *thullal* are over-burdened with literary embellishments, they are avowedly outstanding for their beauty of sound, sweet cadence, and uncontrolled outbrusts of caustic humour, and are mainly intended for attracting audiences, the *Parayan* style of the *thullal* excels in literary craftsmanship.

The costume and make-up of the *thullal* actors, especially of the performer who enacts the *Ottam* style, are picturesque. The *Ottam Thullal* actor's make-up is quite an elaborate affair, which takes nearly two hours. He wears a fan-shaped crown inlaid with tiny bits of coloured glass, and an exuberance of gilt work. A resplendent breast-plate embellished with multi-coloured spangles, shells and glass pieces hangs from his neck to the waist. Two wooden plaques similarly ornamented are tied to his shoulders. He paints his face light green and colours his eyelashes with collirium. Two long lines drawn from the corners of his eyes to the ears right across his temples, add to his dignified appearance. A vertical mark of sandalwood paste, is put on the actor's forehead. Bangles adorn his wrists. A scarlet skirt is worn around the waist. A number of four inches broad tapes of red and white cloth with loops at the bottom are tied above the skirt. Strings of tiny bells are tied around his legs. These tingle rhythmically when the actor dances.

The *Parayan Thullal* actor's make-up is simple. His head-gear is a fan-like crown made of young coconut fronds. He adorns his wrists

and biceps with coconut fronds, and attires himself in a short red skirt, with a large quantity of looped tape.

The actor who performs the *Seethankan* style of *thullal* wears a conical head dress, elaborately and exquisitely ornamented with coloured beads, shells and bits of glass. A number of garlands of multi-coloured beads adorns his bare chest. Decorated wooden plaques are tied to his wrists. He wears a scarlet



An Ottam Thullal actor

cloth around his waist reaching up to the foot below the ankles. A narrow strip of white cloth which serves the purpose of a belt is tied over the scarlet cloth. The white cloth has an elongated knot on either side.

The literary form of the *thullal* is Dravidian and the language is more popular than literary. The *thullals* are based on episodes in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The variety of rapid metres, eminently suited for narratives, the direct style and straight appeal to the mass mind, the rich cadence, sparkling humour, subtle nuances—these distinctive features of Kunchan Nambiyar's *thullals* have contributed to his greatness as the foremost literary man of his age, and as one of the two greatest writers, who, by the extent and quality of their literary activity, liberated the Malayalam language from the bonds of Sanskrit Literature and gave it her own soul. Kunchan Nambiyar is, by popular consent the foremost humorous writer in Malayalam. His *thullals* which are full of rhyme, rhythm, beauty of sound, and depth of thought, embody caustic criticisms of social conditions and outbursts of humour. This fearless poet has spared no community from his sallies of wit. He had made it clear that he is not prepared to please any one. His *thullals* abound in rich didacticism, and satire. With consummate dexterity this literary genius has discussed contemporary society in his poems by the clever use of scenes and situations. He has pictured the gluttony and exploitation of the Brahmins, the arrogance and intemperance of the Nairs, the suicidal schisms among chieftains, the cowardice of the military, the foolishness and temerity of physicians, the intrigues of courtiers, the silly pomp of the wealthy, the stupidity of the astrologers and many more.

An eminent scholar says of Kunchan Nambiyar :

"He was the censor of his age; he had a profound scorn for humbug and sham; and against all such things he has directed his acid epigrams. His allusive satire on popular morals and manners must have had its biting effect on the people beyond the power of rod or sermon. He loved Malayalis and, therefore, wished to direct them in the way they should go. Kunjan Nampyar was nothing if not humorous. His humour, warm and all-embracing, 'bathed his ideas in a genial and abiding light.'"



THE ART OF PARITOSH SEN

By H. B. RICHARDSON, A.B. (Princeton), M.A. (Hons.) Cantab.,

Principal of the Holkar College, Indore

MANY people despair of present-day Indian painting. They say that it is purely imitative and sentimental, or that it follows too much the tendencies of modern European painting. On the other hand there are many who praise everything that appears in an exhibition without any attempt to discriminate between good and bad art, and who maintain that a great renaissance of Indian art is taking place, so that every attempt at artistic production is inspired.



The Coconut Grove

Both these attitudes seem to me to be false, for in both there is an overt disregard of the facts, and the imaginative creation of a state of affairs that does not exist. I see no more reason to despair of present-day Indian art than I do of, say, American art—and no more reason to maintain that a great renaissance is taking place. That our art is in a state of flux and that good and bad are at pesent very much intermixed will be admitted by any impartial student. It is too soon to predict what will happen in the future. One very fortunate thing for India is that up to the present the greater number of cultured people, though they may have become materialistic, have not yet become disillusioned about life-in-general, as have their contemporaries in the Western world; though there can be no doubt that some of the extremists (largely Oxford and Cambridge products) have reached the last stage of decadent disillusion. In India there still remains some of the inspiration that found its expression in creative geniuses like Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose. And the very fact that at the present time, when brutality is the lord of more than



The Evening Lamp

half the world, Uday Shanker, that glorious exponent of the Indian art of dancing, with a slight European flavouring, has been able to maintain his culture centre at Almora is proof of the genuine creative spirit that still animates Indian culture. This spirit is capable of much greater expression and development. It is still inclined to be somewhat exclusive and aloof from the life of the ordinary educated man, but it is genuine and vital. What it needs is nurturing and cultivation by young men and women who are simple at heart and yet have come into intimate contact with modern 'international' culture.

The subject of this essay is a young painter who gives promise of making a real contribution to the development of this culture. He is Paritosh Sen, at present the art master at the Daly College, Indore. He has the glorious artistic tradition of modern Bengal in his blood and early environment, but he was wise enough to realize that this was not enough and so he went to Madras for his artistic education. It is true that his master was another Bengali, Devi Prasad Roy Choudhury, but by going to Madras he also came into contact with a different expression of Indian culture and for the first time came into contact with Western painting as well. These combined influences have shaped a painter who is different in some respects from almost all other young artists whose work is at all wellknown in this country.

The key-note of all Sen's work is its transparent simplicity and its complete ingenuousness. These are qualities whose possession cannot be over-estimated, for they mean that he really paints as he feels and that he approaches his art with a sense of reverence and without complexes of any kind. To those who are purists his work will not appeal, for it cannot be called pure in the traditional sense. On the contrary it is its reaching out to express itself in new forms that constitutes its greatest attraction. But that is not to say that his work is un-Indian. It is in fact more truly Indian than much of the so-called traditional painting, which is generally highly stylized and formalized, but it is inspired by peasant India, not by the India of the courts and cities. The paddy fields of Bengal may be said to constitute the primal source of Paritosh Sen's art, and not the philosophy of the Hindu scriptures or the chivalric and mythical traditions that have played and still play such an important part in Indian art. His work represents the charm and pathos of the ordinary life of India, the rural India that has always been subject to the whims and caprices of the rulers, whoever they might be, and the India that is slowly becoming cognizant of its tremendous latent power and ultimate importance. Not that his art is at all political! On the contrary, it is his complete freedom from having any 'axe to grind' that makes his appeal so great; but quite unconsciously he pleads a



The Picnic
(Mural panel in the dining hall of the Daly College, Indore)

cause, all the more eloquent because of its unself-consciousness.

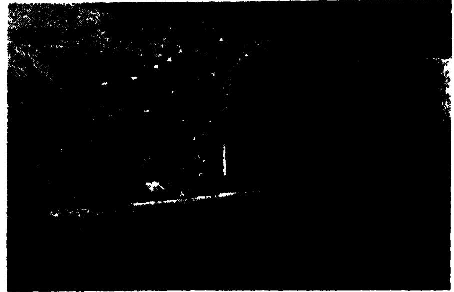
As yet one cannot say that any definite, unalterable style has emerged from Sen's painting. As I have already suggested he is still

experimenting with various modes of expression, and he has all the spontaneous joy of youth in trying one after another. He has experimented with the classical Hindu style, the modern Bengali style, the classical style of the Chinese landscape artists and the Impressionism of the late nineteenth century French school. But it cannot be said that he has adopted any one of these as his own. Unconsciously perhaps but none the less definitely he is feeling round for just that mode of expression which will enable him to say just what he wants to, and he shows signs of not being content till he has found it. Meanwhile like a young bull-calf he kicks up his heels at convention and flirts with the lotus in the village pond. No one should object to this : Shelley did the same thing, and so did Keats. And I believe that Sen has it in him to outgrow this stage as Keats did and as Shelley did not. His present 'style' then, may be said to consist in a combination of those styles, mentioned above, together with some ancient Egyptian influence, as can be seen in his startling water-colour on unbleached cocoon silk (*muga*), 'The Bird-seller.' Recently his work has gone through different phases, but it is already showing signs of settling down, and I have no doubt that he will soon evolve an original style that will be productive of art of a high standard.



Paritosh Sen

Among the paintings that this distinguished young artist has done so far a number deserve special mention. One, 'The Bird-seller,' I have already spoken of. Another in quite a different style is 'Monarch of the Lonely Spot,' in the collection of Mrs. Merchant of Indore. In this picture one looks through a forest of Himalayan evergreens to an open space where a tiny spotted deer stands gazing unafraid at one. It captures the imagination immediately, and uses a 'long shot' technique that is frequently employed by the cinema to create dramatic effect and at the same time give beautiful vistas, as in 'Gone with the Wind.' The style is naturalistic but not at all photographic. In 'The Palm Grove,' recently acquired by Mr. A. Zakariah, ex-Mayor of Calcutta, and reproduced in *The Modern Review* for June, 1940, we see a more civilized scene in which women and children are working and playing in a palm grove. This is done in mural style and is clearly influenced by the conscious *nature primitive* of Gauguin. 'Housetops' and 'The Evening Lamp' are interesting studies of village life done in *muga*, while 'Narbudda Ghats' and 'Blue Gum Trees' show a more advanced stage in the same attractive technique. They are all of the naturalistic type. 'Blue Gum Trees' deserves special mention as a really superbly imaginative creation of the most delicately sensuous type. It is not too much to say that this picture alone shows that the man who painted it has in him the makings of a great painter.



Watering the Tulasi Plant

In the dining hall of the Daly College Mr. Sen has painted two very colourful murals on white paper. 'The Picnic' is perhaps the more striking both in colour and design, but both show an originality of conception that I have not seen in any of the murals that have recently been painted in cinema theatres in some of the big cities. 'Indore Houses' and 'The Banyan Grove' illustrate the



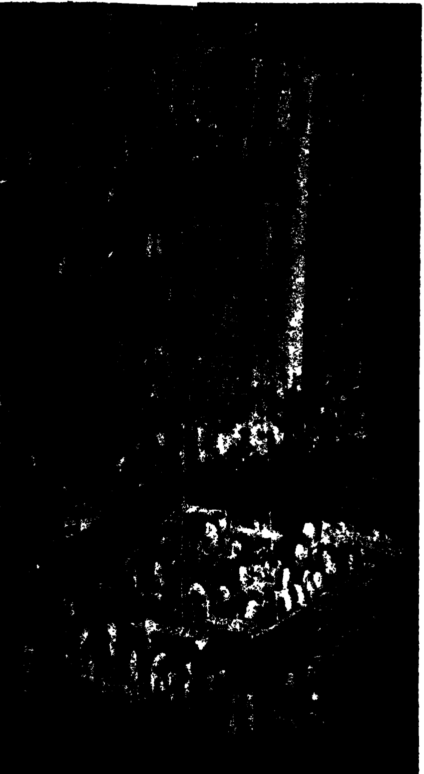
The House-tops

use of colour wash on white paper to achieve delightful effects of light and shade. They are somewhat undeveloped but show distinct promise. A picture painted some time ago 'Watering the Tulsi Plant,' a scene dear to every Hindu household, has caused a good deal of comment because of its originality of perspective. The artist looks down from the first floor through an opening in the roof to the courtyard below, where the tulsi plant is being watered by a young girl. This is the type of 'shot' much favoured by modern photography and it is the sort of thing that the seventeenth century Dutch painters also delighted in. But it deviates from Indian tradition, which, like early Flemish painting tends more to look up towards some raised place than down from a height.

Two more water-colours deserve mention. They are 'Banana Grove,' which one critic has said is 'unique in composition and colour' and 'Portrait of K. Goswami' which Sen's master said was one of the most powerful heads in water colour he had ever seen. The fact that this artist can paint really striking portraits in water colour, the time-honoured medium of Indian painting, is another proof of his versatility and promise. And that he can use the more pliable medium of oil paint as well is clear from his recent painting, 'The Reapers,' which is in Mrs. Merchant's collection. In this picture the figures in the foreground have something of the casual grotesqueness of much modern Western, especially American painting, while the background is executed very much in the style of Van Gogh and is really beautifully done. The foreground figures are women reaping, and in contrast to their lumbering activity the peace and serenity of the skyline are exhilarating and satisfying. In some ways it is the most ambitious picture Mr. Sen has yet attempted, and one awaits with interest further creations of a similar, though perhaps less grotesque kind.

With his many experiments both in form and colour as well as in medium Paritosh Sen symbolizes the efforts of the young people of India to find their feet and to express themselves in such a way as may bring a true renaissance of culture and national life. But he differs in one fundamental factor from most of the young leaders of culture—he has his roots in the soil. Though he is much interested in and influenced by foreign forms and ideas; though he reveres and is much beholden to classical Indian art; still he is expressing the hopes and dreams of the India of tomorrow, which will be the age-old mother in new dress. He wants to represent

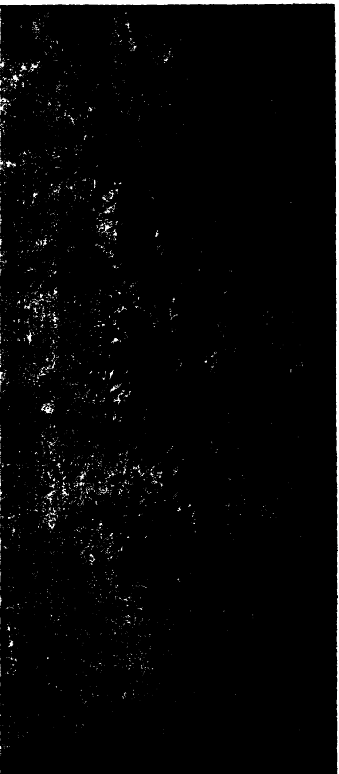
THE ART OF PARITOSH SEN



The Narbudda Ghats



The Bird-seller



Blue Gum Trees



Soviet posters urging workers

the beautiful wherever he sees it, without regard to any preconceived notions of any kind. He is completely devoted to his work, in the best tradition of Indian craftsmanship, and this shows itself in the great sense of purity and the unfailing sincerity that are apparent in all his works. His principles both of art and life are sound and there is no reason why he should not develop into a really excellent artist who will be able to make a distinctive contribution to Indian culture through the medium of his painting.

THE FOURTH ALL-KARNATAKA CHILDREN'S CONFERENCE

By KADUR SREEPADA RAO,

Secretary, Publicity Department, A. K. C. A.

THE fourth All-Karnataka Children's Conference was opened by the Dewan Bahadur Rajakaryaprasakta K. Ramaswamy, B.S.E., J.P., of Bombay and presided over by Master T. Hanumantha Rao of Bombay, a Kannadiga boy of eleven years. It came to a successful conclusion on the morning of the 30th April, last year.

A children's corner of about eight pages exclusively meant for the benefit of children was opened nearly fifteen years ago in the columns of the local Kannada monthly *Saraswati* by its editor Srimati R. Kalyanamma, the founder president of the present Association. In the year 1935, with the help of some friends she started an Association by name " Kannadigara Kanaja " for the benefit of children, Some children



Reception to the child president at the entrance of the conference grounds

members were enlisted under its banner and they were contributing matter useful to children to the above magazine. Encouraged by the progress shown in this direction an idea was formed to convene an All-Karnataka Children's Conference with the object of getting into touch with different associations serving children in different parts of the province and trying to co-ordinate the activities of all of them so that, they may work harmoniously as a single disciplined body. This idea fructified in the shape of the First All-Karnataka Children's Conference held in Bangalore in April 1938.

Representatives of children and elders who were interesting themselves in the cause of children in different parts of Karnataka, like Mangalore, Dharwar, Kokak, Coorg, Devangere and Mysore, attended the conference. It was opened by the First Princess of the Mysore Royal House, Kumari Sri Vijaya Laxmammanni Avaru, a sister of the present Maharaja of Mysore. The presence of a child member of the Mysore royal family infused great encouragement in the workers and enthusiasm and jubilation in the children that had assembled. This encouragement and enthusiasm gave ample scope to the organisation of the present All-Karnataka Children's Association.

Immediately after the First Conference the conveners and workers joined and discussed the ways and means to continue their service to children in a more organised and disciplined manner. As a result of their deliberations the All-Karnataka Children's Association was formed with a strong executive representing different parts of the province, with headquaters at Bangalore. They issued an appeal which contained their objects, like this :

" As a result of the deliberations of the 'All Karnataka Children's Conference' held in Bangalore, under the auspices of *Kannadigara Kanaja*, presided over by the Mysore Princess Sri Vijaya Laxmammanni Avaru, in the last week of April, 1938, we are contemplating to establish an 'All Karnataka Children's Association' with Bangalore as its headquarters, in view of its being the premier city and an important centre of all activities for the whole of Karnataka.

" There is a regular revolution in other advanced countries of the world for the wide awakening of their children population in view of building a strong, civilized and enlightened nation. A comparative study of Russia,

England, Germany and America, with that of our land, will reflect clearly India's low position in every aspect of life, particularly as regards the awakening of the future citizens of our land. Our position will be still



Procession of the new and retiring child presidents in the Bazar Streets of Bangalore City

worse if we neglect this duty of ours towards our children even at this late hour.

"In view of trying our best in the discharge of this duty we want earnestly to begin our service in the name of the 'All Karnataka Children's Association' and with the benevolent and necessary help of the cultured public who realise the spirit behind our object, in the following aspects :

1. Convening an 'All Karnataka Children's Conference' every year during the summer holidays.
2. Guiding or helping to guide the activities of the children's gatherings that are to be held in different parts of the province.
3. To publish in series children's literature written by eminent authors and children and to persuade authors to write more for children.
4. To try for the establishment of libraries for children in some of the important towns of the province.
5. To establish a central institution of the Association in Bangalore, equipped with a building, a library, a play-ground and if possible a nursery school.
6. To establish branch associations in different parts of the province.
7. To organise occasional trips for children to some of the places of interest.

"It goes without saying that financial resources are absolutely necessary for carrying out all our ambitions in an effective manner to bring about a real awakening among our children which every parent aspires. We are reminding them that it is equally their duty as it is ours.

"We humbly request dutiful parents and benevolent public to subscribe liberally for this service of the *Bala Gopala* of our land and come to our help in discharging the most important duty of ours at this stage of our national evolution."

A Memorandum of Association embodying the constitution was drawn up and subsequently, immediately after the second annual conference, the Association was registered in May, 1939, under the Mysore Society Regulation No. III, of 1904. The original executive body was to be in office for three years after which fresh election should take place for electing the new executive.

The object of the Association is disclosed in brief in their first appeal quoted above. Fully realising the defects of the modern system of education and the narrow scope in that system for the all-round development of a child the Association is formed to give all possible facilities for the all-round growth of children under the existing political, economic and social conditions. There is ample scope under the existing circumstances to reform many aspects of a child's education by real constructive workers under the banner of such associations as the A. K. C. A. They can easily get sufficient help from the government and also local bodies. Public support will automatically come when they show proper results of their service. This idea has become evident to the workers of the Association after having worked for the last three years purely with the support of the local bodies, the government and the benevolent public. That is the reason also why certain private educational institutions in India like the Gurukula, and some national educational institutions and movements like the Bratachari movement are working on such prosperous lines. Such associations and institutions can give proper physical and mental education to children under Indian environments for their real growth to become, in the words of Edmond Holmes, "perfect specimens of manhood."

Sufficient care is taken not to blindly imitate the West in every way but to help the



President and children delegates of the conference who took part in the discussion of resolutions

growth of love, selflessness, tolerance, non-violence and truthfulness that are the ancient rich heritage of Indians and at the same time development of scientific knowledge so that our future citizens may herald universal love and brotherhood and cause to establish permanent peace in the world. The caution sounded by that

famous educationalist, Bertrand Russel, in his book *On Education* that, "science wielded by love is to be enforced in education. Without science love is powerless. Without love science is destructive" (p. 185), guides at all times the activities of the workers.

Now, coming to the real activities of the Association, four annual conferences were held in Bangalore. Nearly a dozen branch associations were formed in different parts of the province and as much as 1000 children members are being enrolled in all the branches. Eight books of children's literature, two of them written by children themselves have come out in this series. Monthly entertainments by children are conducted both in Bangalore and in the branches. Competitions in recitation, story-telling, handwriting, embroidery, music, skipping and mass drill are held just before every annual conference and nearly 1500 children in Bangalore alone and 150 in the branches belonging in all to 68 schools took part in them during this Fourth Conference. Non-member children were also allowed in the competitions with an entrance fee of one anna. Prizes worth Rs. 400/- were distributed every year for the winners in these competitions. It is gratifying to note that children belonging to all communities including Christians and Mohammedans and



Another view of the child president's procession at the market circle of Bangalore City

some children belonging to villages around Bangalore got valuable prizes in the Fourth Conference. Children gathered at these annual conferences were taken on tours to see places of interest in and outside Bangalore and doubtless they were much benefited thereby. An art and a book exhibition are arranged during every annual conference where different works of art



Children delegates from Kolar with their teachers who escorted them to Bangalore

done by children themselves and books of children's literature both in the local vernacular and English were exhibited and prizes given for the best exhibits. Drawings, clay models, paper and card-board cuttings, models with playing cards and cigarette packets, embroidery, needle-work, fret work, spray work, weaving, were some of the attractive pieces of art exhibited in this year's exhibition. Some of them disclosed remarkable talent existing in our children. It is gratifying to note a marked superiority of girls in competition with boys in handwriting, recitation, music and in certain varieties of skipping. They showed their skill in variety embroidery and spray work also. The most unique feature of the conference is that it was presided over by a child and speeches were delivered by children in their own language and resolutions useful to their advancement were discussed and passed. This programme has brought about considerable development in the conception of parliamentary debates and helped children in boldly facing and speaking to vast audiences. A Children Poets' Conference would be held where children would recite poems and narrate stories—some written by themselves. Other deliberations of the conference include dramas, dances, fancy dress, dialogues, fun, recitation with action and some other entertainments. All these items are exclusively done by children themselves with the minimum aid of elders. Elders are careful to see that they do not obstruct children in their enjoyment by unnecessary intrusion. They only help to gather all children, provide them with every possible facility, cautiously guide them whenever asked for and allow free development of senses, ex-

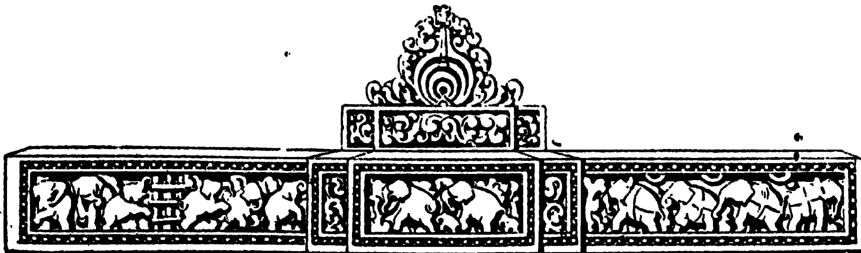
pression, knowledge, artistic talent, spontaneous activities, etc., in children giving them full freedom and reducing external discipline to a minimum. They have in view Dr. Maria Montessori's "pedagogical method of observation which has for its base the liberty of the child, where liberty is activity when discipline will come through liberty."


Other children delegates from different parts of the province

Through these activities we have observed marked improvement in some children who have continuously taken part in the activities of the Association from its inception. The three child presidents who presided over the last three conferences have developed their talents enormously. They were moderate students before. Now they have all passed their class and public examinations with credit. They are able to face any audience and speak extempore. In fact they are very helpful in the propaganda work of the Association and in establishing branch associations. Some other children also have developed markedly their power of speech, action, sportive habits, artistic talents, poetic temperament, etc. Above all a spirit of liberty and joy has enlivened the children of Bangalore and other spheres of its activity.

No doubt some of its activities are unsatisfactory, some showy, some slow and some handled by those who are ignorant of children's psychology and practical and scientific education. Some object to its protracted activity in Bangalore and adjacent places though having the name of an All-Karnataka Children's Association. But all these drawbacks can be easily rectified it proper talents in children's service—and the Karnataka country is not lacking in such talents—selflessly come forward with a true spirit of service, join the Association, purify it and build it on a strong foundation so that it may achieve wonderful results and bring a real and marked awakening in the children's movement of our land, through which our children may be properly benefited to become perfect specimens of manhood and form a strong and enlightened nation.

There is a dire necessaity for establishing such associations in all the provinces in India. There is already the All-India Children's Association working from its headquarters in Bombay under able management. It is necessary to establish similar organisations in different parts of India, co-ordinate the activities of all the provincial Associations and bring a wide awakening in the children of all India, with that great view of building a strong enlightened model Indian nation capable of reviving the forgotten ancient glory of our Mother Ind in all its splendour.





The Lady Amy Reid Hospital of the Assam Bengal Cement Co., Ltd. This little hospital is one of the best in Assam and is fitted with modern equipments

ASSAM'S NEW INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE

Portland Cement Factory at Chhatak

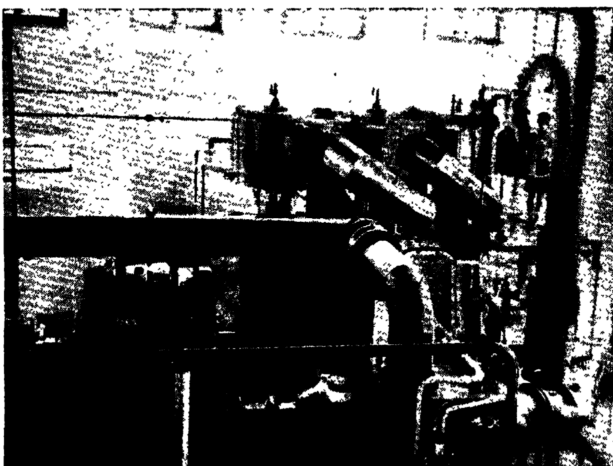
By S. K. MUKERJEE,
Member, Royal Photographic Society

On an invitation from a friend of mine, I took a trip to Chhatak late in August last. On my arrival at the new Cement Factory, I was received by the staff who explained to me in detail the intricacies of the machinery and the various processes of the manufacture of portland cement from limestone and clay.

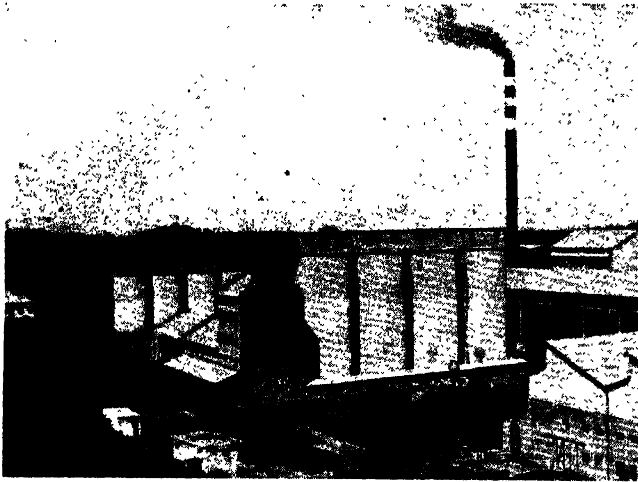
The factory of the Assam Bengal Cement Co., Ltd., as is the name of the new enterprise, is situated on the north bank of the river Surma opposite the town of Chhatak in the district of Sylhet.

Chhatak has a historic background. This part of the province possesses a very important port from where limestone, orange and other indigenous stuff are shipped for export to the other provinces of India. This port, which is known to have been in use since the 18th century, on the river Surma, is navigable throughout the year and is directly connected with the sea ports in the Bay of Bengal.

It is a great credit to the management of the company to have built the factory and gone into production within just over three years after the incorporation of the company, in spite of the fact that the whole world being at war many machinery parts could not be brought from foreign makers. In addition, there was great trouble in making the missing parts in India as the raw materials were not easily available. Transport from other parts of the world to this port is very slow, as the only means of transport is rivercraft, land traffic being impossible for the



A close-up photograph inside the Company's Power house. The picture shows the 600 k. w. auxiliary set



The Slurry and Cement silos and part of the factory and workshop of the Company is seen in this picture. The packing house is seen at the left of the nearer silos which contains finished cement

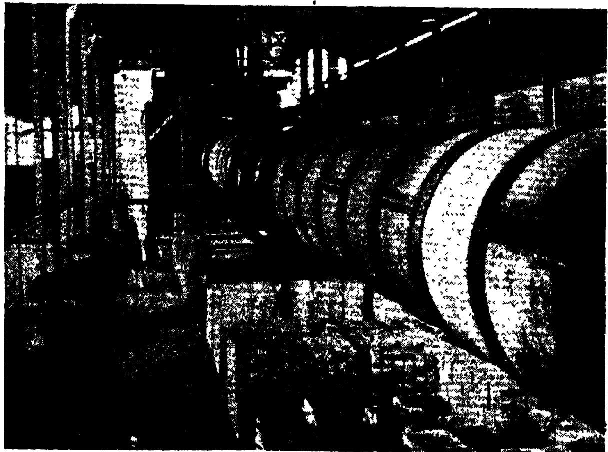
major part of the year due to the lowness of the surrounding country on which no permanent road could conveniently be built. In spite of all these inconveniences and in spite of the fact that the whole area of the factory was nothing but dense hilly forest-land full of wild animals, they have been able to turn the wilderness into a hive of industry within less than 28 months. For the people of Assam it is an unique affair, as this is the first major industrial plant to operate in this province, and it should set an example to industry-minded people to take to business in right manner. This company has also set an example in taking proper care of the health and comforts of its workers, as the residential quarters that have already been built for the workers are fitted with sanitary fittings and are roomy and airy as well.

The company's hospital is most modern though small in size, and is equipped with latest types of instruments and fittings.

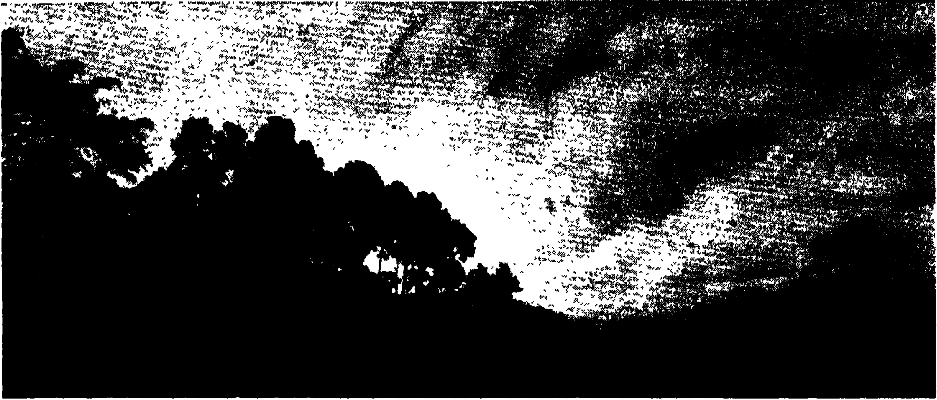
The limestone quarries of the company are situated at a place known as Komorrah which is about 40 miles from the factory and at present the limestone is brought to the factory by means of country boats. The company has already started construction of a ropeway line from the factory to the quarries which will be about 10 miles in length and by means of which limestones at the rate of 66 tons per hour will be transported to the factory when it is complete. The company has also been able to get mining lease for a large colliery at the foot of the Khasia and Jaintia Hills. The coal is said to be of a quality quite suitable for the kiln used for the manufacture of cement. The colliery is about 40 miles from the factory by river and it is a very pleasant boat trip.

The limestone is first brought to the Crushing Plant by means of trollies. From the trollies the automatic carrier carries the load into the actual crushing plant. The hammers beat the lumps to the size of walnuts and the crushed product is then automatically carried by means of air pressure to the storage hall.

The crushed material next enters the drawing pipe of the raw mill where the limestone is mixed and further crushed with clay. The mix-



This shows the 170 Rotary Kiln which produces 250 tons of clinkers per working day. The Rotary Kiln has a movement of 1 revolution per minute



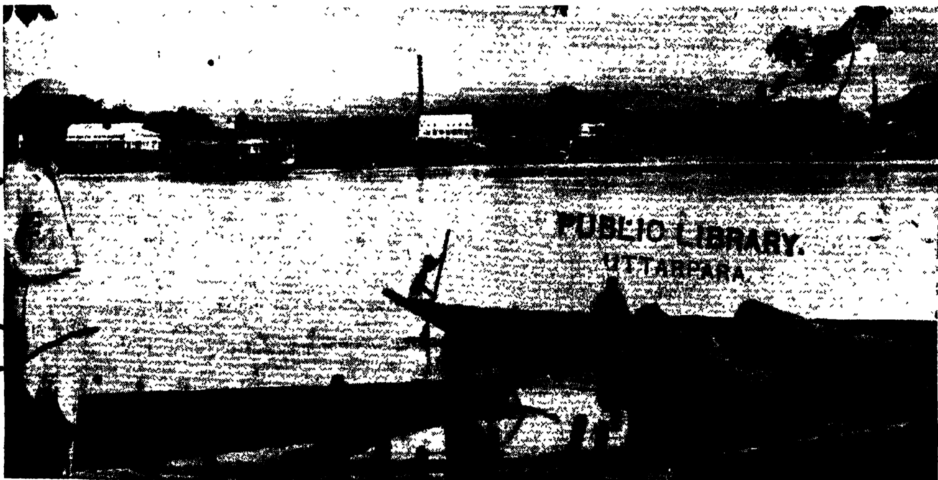
It was nothing but dense hilly forest-land where now stands the cement factory and workshop

ture, which contains a fixed proportion of limestone to washed clay is cement in the raw and is known technically as slurry.

Clay for the manufacture of cement is an important item and must be of a desired type. The clay of the surrounding hillocks and those in the area of Chhatak factory is quite suitable for the purpose. Clay is first mechanically washed in a special tank and cleaned and mixed with water to a desired proportion for the manufacture of cement.

After a specified time the slurry is carried to the drying plant by means of air pressure pipes and is heated in a plant which is a speciality of this factory and which helps to cut down the expenses considerably. In this process the slurry is heated and partly dried before entering the kiln. This means that the length and the diameter of the rotary kiln could be and has been reduced by a considerable size.

The slanting rotary-kiln of this factory is only 177′ in length and 10′ in diameter but due to the special drying arrangement as described above, it is sufficiently big to produce 250 tons of clinkers per working day. The dried slurry is exposed to 1,400 degree c.g. of heat inside the kiln which is brought about by coal-dust firing. The clinker coming out from the kiln is stored in one of the chambers of the large storage hall which is 730′ in length, 50′ in width and 30′ in depth and has 3 chambers for different materials to be stored.



A view of the factory area from the southern bank of the river Surma

Clinker is the unfinished state of cement and this has to go through the finishing or cement mill, where it is pulverised according to specifications. In the grinding process a certain percentage of gypsum is mixed with the clinkers to produce a specified quality of cement. The clinker is carried to the cement mill by pneumatic air pipes in the same manner as the crushed limestone. After the clinker is milled and pulverised, the finished cement is carried and deposited in the cement silos. From the cement silos the cement is carried to the packing plant where it is automatically packed in bags in correct measure. The bags are then stored in the storage house and from this place it is carried in trollies to the riverside godown, ready to be transported to all parts of the country.

I have given particulars of the new factory and let me tell the readers something more, which, I think, is worth knowing.

The Assam Bengal Cement Company is now manufacturing 250 tons of cement per working day. As far as I could gather from the reports, Eastern Bengal and Assam alone consume about 13,000 tons of cement per month and this figure is on the increase as the people have now learned about the advantages of the use of cement in buildings houses and for other purposes. This fact is also proved by the statistical figures given below. The figures are in tons only :

Year	Indian Manufacture	Foreign Import	Total Indian Consumption
1914	945	1,50,530	1,51,475
1915	38,672	80,543	1,19,215
1918	84,344	20,016	1,04,360
1920	91,253	1,18,507	2,09,760
1922	1,51,336	1,09,924	2,61,260
1924	2,63,746	88,416	3,52,162
1926	3,88,006	54,800	4,42,806
1927	4,77,742	69,000	5,46,742
1928	5,57,953	74,700	6,32,653
*1930	5,63,929	68,000	6,31,929
1930-31	5,70,180	64,000	6,34,180
1931-32	5,82,963	58,500	6,41,463
1932-33	5,85,923	60,800	6,46,723
1934-35	7,47,818	49,100	7,96,918
1935-36	8,86,267	42,900	9,29,167
1936-37	11,50,000	27,500	11,77,500

Before I conclude, let me thank my friend who invited me to Chhatak, the management of the Assam Bengal Cement Co., for showing and explaining the different plants and the Managing Director of the said company for furnishing materials for this article.

[Photographs copyright by the author]

*1930 saw the inception of the Cement Marketing Co. of India and this body helped to increase the consumption of cement in India by leaps and bounds. I could not get the later figures, but what I have given upto 1937 prompts me to say that there can still be about six new factories in addition to the ones already working. In modern warfare, cement-concrete is greatly employed in guarding against high-explosive bombs. Cement-concrete is capable of withstanding the effects of bombs, etc., to a greater extent than any other building material.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Dr. Miss Surama Mitra Shastri, M.A., Ph.D., is the daughter of the late Harendra Narayan Mitra, a distinguished Advocate of the High Court of Calcutta. She was the recipient of a Fifteen Rupees Government Scholarship in the Matriculation Examination which she passed from the Bethune College and she scored over 90% marks in Sanskrit and over 80% marks in the aggregate. In the Intermediate Examination, which she passed from the Bethune College, she secured a Government Scholarship of Rs. 20 and scored over 90% marks in Logic and over 80% marks in Sanskrit. From the same college she passed the B.A. Examination with Honours in Sanskrit and stood First in First Class and she was awarded the "Radha Kanta" Gold Medal and Post-Graduate Jubilee Scholarship of Rs. 32 a month. She passed her M.A. Examination from the University of Calcutta and obtained First Class and stood First among the students of all the groups of Sanskrit and was awarded "Hem Chandra Gossain" Gold Medal and Prize. She later on joined the Research Department of the Sanskrit College under Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, Principal. The subject of her thesis was "Here and Beyond," in which she collected and compiled and critically examined all available data of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain Scriptures on the subject of Karma and Rebirth and the nature of Indian Ethics and morality in its various aspects and in the various schools of thought. The thesis is a monument of industry and learning and it has filled 830 pages of closely typed foolscap paper. On the merit of her work she has been awarded the Ph.D. Degree by the Calcutta University. She happens to be the first recipient of the Ph.D. Degree of the Calcutta University among women. She is a professor of Sanskrit in the Ashutosh College. She obtained Sastri title from the Sanskrit College by submitting a thesis.



Miss Surama Mitra Shastri

THE ALTERNATIVE TO DEMOCRACY

By M. G. BAILUR

From the French Revolution onwards, the dominant political ideal of the western peoples, in spite of Hegel and Fichte in Germany and plutocrats in all countries, has been democracy. After the Great War, democracy came increasingly into bad odour both with those whose political bias tended to align them with Fascism and those who, because they genuinely valued democracy, thought that as an instrument of political action contemporary democracy had proved unequal.

The fact is that democracy lends itself to an unfortunate confusion of ends with means. It is an end because it is a way of life and has come to be accepted as such within its secular limits by vast sections of civilised peoples all over the world, even if, metaphysically speaking, it is not the ultimate end of life. But the means determines the end, and democracy as an end can only be consciously realised by employing the methods of democracy. To repudiate it as a means to the good life is to do violence to the good life whose values are significant only to the extent that democracy is consciously realised in practice.

There may be other patterns of the good life equally desirable, other designs for living equally attractive, but so long as democracy is accepted in theory, its achievement depends upon its being employed as a means. Those who have launched their broadside against democracy at its source have at least an arguable case, since the issue raised by them touches the whole realm of values and a wide context of possible means in consequence. The failure to perceive the distinction between these two different arguments against democracy is the source of their confusion with one another. In the result, they overlap and pass insensibly into platform pattern.

The reiterated insistence on our uniqueness as a people to whose peculiar genius democracy, we are told, is wholly unsuited, would be tiresome gibberish if it were not essentially mischievous. How much knowledge of history, of economics, of social psychology is there behind this sort of declamatory judgments with which politicians continue to delude the plain man?

The theme of this article is to maintain and argue the following set of propositions: (1) that democracy in practice broadly means the rule of the majority; (2) that the alternative to such a rule is the rule of a minority however disguised, whether it is a one man show or a closely packed oligarchy; (3) that the evils associated with democracy are evils against which no other system of government can offer conclusive guarantees. This bald statement leaves theory and academic discussion of values alone, and avoids as far as possible the perilous pitfalls of wishful thinking. It does not affirm that democracy is the best system; it merely says that it is the only alternative to the rule of a minority. It is true that majority rule may be fatal to the interests of a minority. But the converse is also true. Secondly, it states that in so far as democracy has this failing, it is one which it shares with every other system.

I believe that those who prate of our uniqueness and assure us that we deserve something unique in the techniques of political salvation are those who sub-consciously favour some form of reversion to political autocracy. There is little in the political tradition of our species to suggest that any alternative to democracy exists which is not a regression, overt or elaborately disguised, to some variant of minority rule. The plain fact is that the needs and hopes and the ends of life are everywhere broadly the same for adult mankind. A certain degree of diffused happiness for the community and the means which makes for conscious self-direction are ends which are to be desired as much for the Indian as for the Englishman, the Chinaman and the Eskimo. To the extent that our innate incapacities prevent us from realising them in our individual and corporate life, they are a misfortune to be deplored, not a singularity to be cherished. Politics divorced from this context and hitched on to introspective reveries of self-commiseration becomes a nightmare to which no rational solution is possible. Departures from the norm of the conduct and values of life which require institutional treatment are matters for social pathology, not for serious politics. A criminal tribe may be quarantined in a settlement, the lunatic is sent to the nearest asylum, and a whole deluded people may fall a luckless victim to the drill-book and the *dishclout.*

If, then, we agree as to the ends, it becomes possible for us to argue whether democracy is adequate to them, to enquire what are its faults and what the compensations which offset them and, lastly, to compare it with other systems in the light of those ends. But all along, we constantly refer back to our common ends. It would not do to state your means and let your ends hang limply about for polemical guesswork. If you have a different set of ends from those at which democracy aims, it is plain your means must differ and that the democratic method is a misfit so far as you are concerned. The whole mystery of your position lies in the implied claim that you share the same ends as those implied by democracy, but have, nevertheless, something different up your sleeve by which to encompass them.

Now Hitler and Mussolini, though dishonest and mendacious about most other things, were quite simply honest about the ends implied in their creed. Freedom for the individual they dismissed as so much rubbish. The individual, they said, was merely a nameless cypher subsumed in the colossal reality which was the State. On the other hand they promised glory which is often as attractive as freedom and helps for the moment to endure its loss, and has, up to the present moment, stalled the inevitable relapse of the people into boredom and self-pity by a succession of circuses.

In the modern world at all events, there is an extraordinary crop of the ends which men will collectively pursue, all remarkable for the fact that they are perpetually at war with one another. At their crudest, they are as many as there are national sovereignties. In a world community, properly organised, the pursuit of the good, the true and the beautiful, need be the only end for man individually and in the mass. It is in the amazing multiplicity of the ends which men, communities, sects and philosophies pursue, that the modern antinomy between behaviour and values, between advancing knowledge and the strange paralysis of wisdom is to be found.

In the democratic view, the individual is an end in himself, and his integrity and free development are of paramount importance. The practical implications of this is that, in the words of Prof. C. E. M. Joad:

"The beginning and end of the State's function is to give individuals, the equipment, the scope and the leisure to develop the best that is in them. The democrat does not, at any rate in the 20th century, regard democracy as the ideal form of Government, but as the least objectionable form of Government that is practicable."

And the only way in which those ends can be realised, as Prof. Laski says,

"is to associate him with the process of authority. The democratic notion accepts the old claim that exclusion from a share in power is also an exclusion from a share in benefit. It regards the rights of men to share in the results of social life as broadly equal, and it regards differences of treatment as justified only in so far as they can be shown to be directly relevant to the common good."

It not only believes that the object of government is the good of the governed, but also that that good is to be found in the happiness of the governed. And though happiness need not be the sole end of life, it regards it as the only one of which government is justified in taking cognisance. In the realm of political action, it believes that the states of consciousness of individual men and women are alone worthy to be taken into account.

The practical consequences which flow from this view seemed to suggest to Locke that sovereignty should reside in the majority. It could not reside in a minority without defeating those ends, and to assume that it could reside in the whole people would be flying in the face of the obvious fact of active dissent between sections of the community. And yet this raises great difficulties. A majority may easily become tyrannical. Man is by nature various, and his heterodoxy has been one of the conditions of progress. On the other hand, man in the mass does not take kindly to novel opinions whose free and open ventilation alone can restore some measure of public verifiability to the views held by the majority. Mill in his famous essay on liberty says:

"There is the greatest difference between presuming an opinion to be true because with every opportunity for contesting it, it has not been refuted, and assuming its truth for the purpose of not permitting its refutation. Complete liberty of contradicting and disproving an opinion is the very condition which justifies us in assuming its truth for purposes of action, and on no other terms can a being with human faculties have any rational assurance of being right."

Mill is full of the dangers which the unconditional enthronement of the majority may mean to a minority. The whole case for freedom of expression arises firstly from the view which regards the individual as an end in himself and, therefore, entitled to full self-development and secondly from the appreciation of the manifest danger of the persecution of minority opinion to which an entrenched majority is likely to be disposed.

The principle of democracy as a political instrument which ensues, namely, that men cannot be trusted with unchecked powers over the lives and destinies of other men, and that those

who obey the laws must also be those who decide what laws they are to obey, is one which, in the context of the ends desired, has not been bettered by any other formulation, ancient or modern. It follows from the recognition that, though men's capacities may be unequal, as ends in themselves men are equal, that, though they may be inexpert and uninstructed in the affairs of the state, their participation in them is the only salutary condition that their interests will be respected, that, though the expert may be clever, he need not be wise, that, though some men may be superior and some inferior, there is no objective method of deciding which is which except the simple one of self-assertion, in which case there will be no deciding until the one or the other has won by force, fraud or intimidation, that men may be good in intention but disastrous in action, that men are prone to folly, stupidity and malevolence, and that, therefore, the nearest approach to a safeguard against all this proving fatal to the ends which should inform all good government, lies in individual freedom, freedom of expression and the widest possible representation for the multitude in the making of laws.

There have been numerous attempts since Karl Marx to discover the laws of social causation. The present tendency seems to be to restore to human nature itself its due share in the scheme. Except Spengler who twisted his own sombre calvinism into social morphology and, by sleights of erudition, cast the horoscope of the megalopolitan man inevitably coming to grief in the coming sixty years, social thought has veered round to the subjective nature of the individual. Freud and his contemporaries were probably the first, and Bertrand Russel who depicts social development in terms of power as analogous to energy in physics, with a great wealth of interesting detail (*Power: A New Social Analysis*), is the latest. It is an interesting development and compensates the one-sided economic preoccupation of the Marxian socialist.

It is possible to conceive the individual without the state, but to conceive the state without the individual is only a metaphysical abstraction. The individual has an incurable tendency to intrude himself into whatever philosophical construction you make. You cannot ignore him and lay him aside, as the anarchist can ignore the state and calmly contemplate its disappearance. He has got to be fitted into the scheme somehow. And the moment you cease to regard him as an end in himself, your choice is reduced to the simple alternative of regarding him as a means. But so deceptive is the choice that even Hegel, who denied the individual both reality and value except as part of the state, drives himself to the desperate expedient of incorporating all his values in his scheme, such as freedom and self-development.

Since the state makes it possible for the individual, as part of itself, to live his own life, true freedom according to him consists in obeying the dictates of the state. In so far as he is part of the state, he enjoys freedom, and "nothing short of the state is the actualisation of freedom." In obeying the policeman he is obeying himself, since he is part of the state and the state pays the policeman. It would seem to follow that, while Germans are free because they are involuntary citizens of Germany by a happy accident of birth, they are freest in the concentration camps. Unfortunately for him, Hegel died in comparative bondage long before he could see the application of his doctrine with such practical success in the liberation of vast sections in mid-western Europe.

The idealistic theory of the state which, in opposition to the democratic view, regards the state as the highest reality and as being, in the words of Mussolini, "in its origin and development, a manifestation of the spirit which, transcending the brief limits of the individual life, represents the immanent spirit of the nation," owes itself to a generic conception of the state in terms of the organism. Many different philosophers have had a share in it, but nowhere does it reach so throughgoing an anthropomorphism as in Hegel. He makes it a monstrous absurdity. He endows it with consciousness and personality. He makes it "a self-conscious ethical substance" and "a self-knowing and self-actualising individual." Finally, he makes it a huckstering patriot. Almost any doctrine which stands in opposition to democracy presently finds itself paying homage to the state as the All-Highest. It may be the fatherland or Imperial Rome, the Corporate State or the Proletariat, or the Republic of Plato. It has always seemed to me extraordinary that, with so much candour in the world, no philosopher of any considerable worth has made it possible for a class or a leader to shine in comparison. The exception seems to me to be Nietzsche. He idealised the Superman. But then, since all Germans are Supermen, the point had interest only to neighbouring countries. Plato had his guardians and his philosopher-king, but they were his instruments for the greater glory of the state. Nazis, Fascists and Bolsheviks alike invoke loyalty and blind worship for the state. In effect, it is worship and loyalty to themselves. Hegel being a mere philosopher deceived himself, but politicians, being hardheaded persons,

have a sober apprehension of the practical merits of the theory.

The theory consists in recognising

"power, and not wealth and happiness, as the true end of human endeavour; secondly, in the glorification of the will in those who would realise this end; and thirdly, in the application to human nature of a principle of qualitative selection, as a result of which some are designated as noble, namely, the holders of power, the rest as raw material to be manipulated by and to serve the noble." (*Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics* by Prof. C. E. M. Joad).

Another theory is that of Plato. For Plato, the end is the well-being of the community. Well-being, according to him, cosists of wisdom for the few and justice for the many. Fascism and Nazism regard the wise man as one who is a member of the dominant party. The test is the pragmatic one of accomplished fact. Plato on the other hand regarded knowledge and wisdom as commensurable quantities which education and training would enable men unerringly to apprehend in those who possessed them. These were to be his Guardians. But since this is based on good intentions but bad psychology, the practical consequences in both cases are the same.

There is one argument in the idealistic theory which is noteworthy because, with transparent disingenuousness, it advances the same line of reasoning as does the democratic theory, but in a wholly different context. It is the attribution to the individual of a real will in so far as it is in consonance with the general will. This remarkable piece of dialectic is reached in the following manner. Since the state is a merger of individuals, its will represents the collective will of the individuals, so that what the state wills is by inference what the individual wills. Arbitrary and tyrannical acts of the state are apparently to be regarded as a piece of masochism on the part of individuals.

In a democracy, the general will comes nearest to representing the will of the individual, and what the state does may broadly be identified with the individual will. Yet the margin of fallibility is serious enough to be a source of obvious abuses and constitutes probably one of the strongest arguments for safeguards in favour of individuals and minorities. It is precisely this representative principle which achieves, in the precious prodigality of its idealist transition, something of the comically naive effect of bathos.

The ends of a democratic ethic are happiness and well-being. The ends of an undemocratic ethic are power and glory. The condition of success in the one is consent and goodwill; in the other, it is constraint and fear. All other ends of civilised life naturally flow from the first, since they are wholly unintelligible apart from this context. To discover radium to alleviate human distress is progress; to discover radio-active substances for the purpose of blowing up men to pieces is monstrous atavism. In either case, the ends of life reside in individuals, not in the state.

"For my part," says Bertrand Russell, "I consider that whatever is good or bad is embodied in individuals, not primarily in communities. Some philosophies which could be used to support the Corporative State—notably the philosophy of Hegel—attribute ethical qualities to communities as such, so that a State may be admirable, though most of its citizens are wretched. I think that such philosophies are tricks for justifying the privileges of the holders of power and that, whatever our politics may be, there can be no valid argument for an undemocratic ethic." (*Power : A New Social Analysis*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.).

We have examined in turn the idealistic theory of the state and the Platonic ideal, the one with different ends and, therefore, involving different means, the other with the same ends as, but proposing different means from, those of democracy. And we find that, having started from two different theoretical stand-points, they converge at the end. We do not think it expedient to consider the claims of communism, for like monarchy it can be shown to share the protean eccentricities of the individiul exponent. As a theoretical structure of beliefs, there is little in it to which the democrat can take exception in so far as it implies the extension of the democratic principle into the economic region. But a point of great practical importance which the democrat notes is the distressing contradiction between its professions and its practices. The communist points to the shining reality of democracy in the Russian constitution; the democrat, who knows that it results in regular purges and liquidations, is driven to conclude that it is somewhat lacking in lustre. It is impossible to assess the merits of the communist doctrine without enquiring into the means by which that doctrine can be translated into practice which, in the case of Russia, seems to lead precisely to those results which profoundly disillusion the democrat.

One of the most persistent charges against democracy is its slowness and inefficiency as an instrument of political action. There can be no doubt that one of the conditions of its survival in modern conditions is its ability to match the momentum of its ponderous deliberative machinery to the vastly accelerated tempo of the contemporary world. But it may be questioned whether on the balance it is more desirable that a state should reach quick decisions on complex and intricate questions, than

that it should make it possible for an issue to be freely ventilated, argued and threshed out in public, so that a decision is reached in the chastening and salutary light of public gaze. It is true that many complicated questions of social organization are matters for the expert. But only to the extent that such questions are made the object of wide, sustained and public criticism can it ensure that other experts too can have a share in their solution.

Truth is many-sided and complex, and experts possess no miraculous powers of apprehending it in esoteric privacy. The chance of any proposition being objectively true is in exact proportion to the measure of public verifiability which it attains. Scientific thought has advanced most when it has been free and public; not when it was pursued by ancient alchemists in an atmosphere of hush charged with sacrificial rites and chant and strange litany. Action presupposes reflection, and action without thought is dangerous, while thought without action may merely be pointless. A state, which takes its public freely into its confidence, in which all the problems and needs of statecraft are an open book, is less likely to be overtaken by sudden emergencies and better equipped to meet them when they come, than a state in which public matters are reserved for the expert and the plain man is kept edged up to alarms and excursions by actions which he can no more understand when they are taken than he can anticipate them when they are in the offing.

The engaging game of shying bricks at democracy was a cathartic release during the economic depression of the early thirties to a generation which had endured a decade of democratic boredom, after having been taught to believe that a world war was worth fighting to preserve the heritage. But the fact is that democracies were in no worse plight than either Italy or Germany. Germany, it is true, had not gone Nazi yet. But she was careering indecisively along the last declivities of her republican regime. On the other hand, the National Recovery Administration of President Roosevelt with his New Deal was energetically setting the pace towards recovery, and the ferment of ideas and critical enquiry evoked by the Depression in England was astonishingly rich in liveliness and constructive originality. The P.E.P. (short for Political and Economic Planning) was only one of the organised essayings which sought to shape something intelligible out of the current mess.

I believe that, if men's minds had not been increasingly preoccupied with the gathering shadow of war during the last five years, the critical slant given by the Depression would have won us some measure of rational co-ordination in social technique. For the first time, scientists had begun to line up for the fray, and the active permeation into public affairs of a certain temper of mind and methodology which we associate with pure science was foreshadowed in the institution by the London University of a chair called social biology and the growing vogue of ideas like planned economy and human ecology.

Democracy in exposition shares most of the disadvantages of Liberalism. It is extraordinarily vague as a structure of beliefs. It is not so much a creed as an optimum cohesion of free wills in meditation. It is so vague indeed that any criticism of a particular parliamentary institution becomes by implication an attack upon democracy. The permanent redress of the grievances of minorities is one which behoves every genuine democrat actively to support and work for. To effectively silence dissent is not the same thing as removing the causes which make such dissent possible. No non-democratic state has solved the minority problem; it has merely clamped the lid on it and sat tight on it for such time, as, by its own internal combustion, it generated enough force to solve itself by blowing up the whole preposterous illusion. It is true that what democracy provides by way of a solution is a negative one. It does not prevent you from stating your grievances, real or fancied, freely, and will only attend to them in so far as it is possible without violating democratic principles. If your grievance is primarily directed against your being a minority, against your having to accept the decisions of the majority, the only solution that can satisfy you is by putting the power of government and law-making into your hands and, in effect, destroying democracy. No other grievance of a minority ought to be insoluble within the frame-work of democratic methods than that which does violence to them, for it is impossible to imagine any other grievance which a majority would be united enough and interested enough to keep alive to fester and poison, except that which demands its self-destruction.

On the economic side, things appear to be in a state of tremendous flux, to which modern industrial communities find it extremely difficult to match political action along accustomed lines. Some sort of central economic planning will become inevitable in the future. Planning ultimately means centralised control of the economic activities of the community, and control entails some diminution in the field of free initiative for the individual. This has been

indicated as a reason why democracy is to be regarded as having proved unequal to the strain of its internal economy. On the contrary, the whole case for planned economy seems to me to arise from the necessity to preserve free initiative. Free initiative can choose its activities, but cannot control their consequences to the community as a whole. And it is, in part at least, because the consequences of such activities are likely to be the opposite of those intended, that planning would seem to be indicated. The run on a bank has frequently been cited as an example. Or take for instance the postal system. You are free to write to whom you please and send your letters across whatever distance you desire. Without it, you could do this by engaging a messenger at great expense, or by trusting to any private agency which was shrewd enough to profit by your needs. This is where planning comes in. The state steps in to do all this for you, leaves you your freedom to write and send your letters to whom and where you please (except in war time when Dora and the Censor sit magisterially athwart to sift and check), all at a negligible cost, but it deprives you of your precious freedom to go to expensive private shifts.

So far from running counter to free initiative, planning is only intelligible in terms of individual needs, and is more likely truly to minister to them in a democracy, where it is the result of the free inter-play of free minds, than in a non-democratic state where it is the result of a momentary whim of a dominant party. It is true that planning savours of regimentation, and has many associations which are distasteful to the democrat. But this is because people fail to appreciate its complete ethical neutrality. Planning is good if directed to good ends and bad if directed to evil ends. On the whole, planning is more likely to be good when the people whom it affects agree that it is good, than when only the state wills that it is good for the people.

THE WORKING OF THE LOCAL BODIES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

By SUSHIL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.,
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THREE can be no doubt about the fact that the present age is an era of specialization and is more concerned with efficiency in every department of human activity. There was a time when decentralization worked well and served its purpose. But even then the successful results were obtained not on account of efficiency in the scheme of decentralization but mainly due to the absence of disturbed and hostile conditions. Everywhere central democracy has passed through the initial stages of local self-government. Barring a few exceptions, the results have been the same everywhere. Wherever local self-government institutions have been tried, they have proved a miserable failure. England and Switzerland are exceptions. The citizens of these two countries have a high sense of constitutional propriety and public decency and always work with a common consciousness of common interests. They appreciate the value of public service and take keen interest in it. They consider the welfare of the general body of citizens as their own and are always ready to sacrifice their precious time for it. On the other hand, our city fathers consider it a burden to attend the meetings of the local bodies and it is not a rare phenomenon to see weekly meetings adjourned for want of quorum. A recent Government Resolution on the subject says:

> "The number of members in almost every board, who did not attend a single meeting for months together, was by no means, few. The total number of meetings adjourned for want of *quorum* increased in several boards. The Gonda District Board had the largest number of such meetings in both years, being 18 out of a total of 20 in the first year. The number of such members must be large. The failure to carry out their duties means that there are frequent adjournments for want of a *quorum;* this not only causes much inconvenience to other members but also results in serious delays over the transaction of business."

Under such circumstances local institutions become a farce and wastage of public money. It is better for all concerned if they are eliminated for ever.

It has now almost become traditional, nay conventional, to speak highly of local self-government. Lord Bryce's estimate of local self-government institutions has become classical and is quoted in books on political science

with great dignity and authority. Speaking on the subject, he says:

"It creates among the citizens a sense of their common interest in common affairs, and of their individual as well as common duty to take care that those affairs are efficiently and honestly administered. Secondly, local institutions train men not only to work for others but also to work effectively with others. They develop common sense, reasonableness, judgment, sociability . . . . seeing the working, on a small scale of the principle of responsibility to the public for powers conferred by them, he is better fitted to understand its application in affairs of larger scope." (*Modern Democracies*, Vol. 1).

The learned Viscount went to the length of asserting that

"The best school of Democracy and the best guarantee of its success, is the practice of local Self-Government."

These brilliant statements might apply to the conditions prevailing in English counties but are far from correct when speaking of other lands. These institutions will give local citizens a sense of narrowness of outlook. They will always look to their selfish interests. Lord Bryce did admit this fact.

"Criticisms are often passed on the narrowness of mind and the spirit of parsimony which are visible in rural local authorities and those who elect them. These defects are, however, a natural product of the conditions of local life. The narrowness would be there in any case." (*Modern Democracies*).

Tammany Hall has been the result everywhere. A group of persons manages the whole show in its own interest and public interest suffers.

We see similar results in the United Provinces. There is hardly any municipal or district board which has carried out its duties fully well. In his welcome address to the United Provinces District Boards Conference, held recently in Lucknow, Ch. Triloki Singh, Chairman, Reception Committee, remarked:

"But unfortunately in this country we have a different picture to see and a pathetic tale to tell. Permit me to say that the man in the street has no confidence in the working of the local bodies."

Almost every month we see embezzlement cases. The whole system centres round the chairman, secretary or the executive officer. The factions in the boards are a direct result of the tussle for posts. Every party tries to appoint its own nominees. Thus efficiency is sacrificed for selfishness. Months after months are wasted on appointments. There is hardly any month without a no-confidence motion against the chairman. Thus persons without education have been elected Chairman of Education Committees in the U. P. We want to copy English institutions without being Englishmen. Again,

"elected persons are not whole time salaried officers of the local body. They are raw and inexperienced and work falls into arrears. The office is practically run by the head clerk or the manager."

The Chairmen of the boards

"are not professional administrators and in some cases they may be altogether new to their jobs. Their position in office is most insecure. A mere majority vote of the board can at any time throw them out of office. They have to keep the members satisfied" (Rani Phul Kumari of Sherkot).

The result of the whole system is party feeling, nepotism and corruption with loss of economy and efficiency. The U. P. Government has superseded four boards during the current financial year and warnings and notices have been given to many others. Bribery cases are pending against members of several boards and Chairmen of many district and municipal boards have been removed from office by the Government as they used unfair means in the execution of their public duties. The servants of the board too are not immune from the party politics of the board. They take advantage of their relations with the members and try to bring undue pressure upon them. In most cases members have to yield and sometimes they do employ the servants of the boards as their agents in Board elections. Nothing could be worse than this. This militates against the essential principles of local Self-Government and vitiates the entire spirit of public administration.

"Both the members and the officers form a vicious circle. They are the victims of their circumstances. The employees very often interest themselves in elections and involve themselves in the party politics of the board."

"'Attend to the members first and to the work afterwards'—seem to be the motto of some of the most successful officers of the boards." (The Rani of Sherkot).

All these factors account for the existence of jobbery, nepotism and corruption in local bodies and these in cumulative effect contribute to the inefficiency of the staff employed. The U. P. Local Self-Government Committee draws a correct picture when it says:

"There is a general feeling of growing dissatisfaction with the existing conditions of service under the local boards. We have received numerous complaints that under the present system nepotism, jobbery and favouritism are frequently practised in making appointments and promotions and little or no regard is paid to merit and fitness of candidates. There is also the complaint that the powers of boards in respect of dismissal of the servants are too often abused by them. In local boards where there are party factions and these are not few many servants have been forced to take part in intrigues and personal bickerings of members to get themselves in the good books of the party in power. All this has caused incalculable harm to the public interest and it has brought about insecurity and inefficiency of the service as a whole."

The recent Government Report on the working of the District Boards for the years 1938-39 and 1939-40 is most illuminating. It gives a correct analysis of the inner working of the Boards. We quote a few general remarks of this U. P. Government Report for the sake of illustration:

"The stalemate is frequently prolonged by the stratagems practised by the Chairman, resulting almost in a paralysis of administration for several months. At the end of this, most often than not the Chairman has to make his exit merely because the bare majority, which brought him to power, has turned against him not owing to differences over policy, but because of petty personal controversies. The Chairman's existence thus tends to become as precarious as walking on a tight rope. But ultimately it is the spirit which infuses a democratic body that matters more than its constitution. It is in this that so many of our local bodies fall short. Factions and personalities too often override the public good. Well thought-out policies and schemes are genrally conspicuous by their absence, and there is often an unhealthy and excessive interest in the details of administration and in the question of appointment and contract. They are the rocks on which many a board founders. It is only when there is no other alternative left that Government steps in, much against its will, to try salvage operations by means of supersession. But as a Commissioner has aptly remarked: 'It teaches nothing and merely means that at the end of 3 years, the prodigal returns from the wilderness and is presented with a fatted calf.' The real remedy can be found only when enlightened public opinion so asserts itself as to inspire and reward those, who labour for the public good and provide a nemesis, sure and swift, for those who make their public position a lever of personal interest."

These conditions are prevalent not only here but everywhere.*

In spite of past experience, it is really regrettable that responsible public men of India still think of delegating more powers to the local bodies. The provisions of the new constitution with regard to Provincial Autonomy must have brought it to our notice that the provincial government, if it is run in ordinary course, is to be democratic. Therefore, there is no reason why provincial government should not be the sole directing agency for the administration of local bodies. Besides, the work performed by the provincial government would be more efficient and there would be less chances for corruption. Personal bickerings would be stopped altogether.

The general rule of local administration is: the smaller the size of a local body and the poorer its resources the more serious are the defects. Therefore the local government would be better fitted to administer the local bodies than local bodies themselves. The local government is equipped with more funds and has greater resources at its disposal. It can enhance its income in more ways than one. Besides, the local government has wider area and thus sectional feelings would not find much province. The local government would serve the interests of the whole province and nothing will be done which may injure the interest of any particular class, community or area. Moreover, in a district or municipal board, where the number of members is limited, a group of persons, say of four and five, can change the entire administration of a local body at any time. On the other hand in a local provincial government such abrupt changes of administration would not be possible. The local government will generally follow a continuous policy for some years at least and changes in policy can be expected only at the time of general elections when new government may be formed.

This being the situation, it is the duty of the proper authorities to curtail the powers of the local bodies as far as possible and to make them, if possible, advisory bodies. The recent amendments in the constitution of the U. P. Boards have considerably enhanced the power of the local government. The position of the deputy inspector of schools has been made more secure and now it is no longer possible for a district board to turn him out at any moment. However the finncial provisions of the new proposed amendments are wholly unnecessary. They will not serve the end in view. If the Government considers that a particular chairman or member has misused the money of a particular board, it is its express duty to take immediate action then and there and not to postpone it for a period when the person concerned may not be holding that office. The proposed rules, instead of checking corruption, will prevent public-spirited persons from holding office in the local or district boards. If the Government thinks that the local people are unfit for government, it is better to take the administration in its own hands. Devising roundabout methods for a straight remedy is no part of statesmanship.

Control of larger cities, towns and boards

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* The administration report of the Lahore Municipality for the year 1940-41 adds, "It can hardly be denied that Local Self-Government in the Punjab is a failure, mainly because the wrong type of person is elected on the Committees. In the average town in the Punjab large sums of money are spent by candidates on the elections and they feel if they are successful, that they should get this money back with interest. Nepotism becomes rampant when municipal posts are filled, leading inevitably both to inefficiency among the staff and quarrels among individual members of the Committee which eventually becomes completely moribund." (*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 7th September, 1941).

should be vested in the hands of persons directly appointed by the central or local government. The resolutions passed by the All-India-Burma-Ceylon Mayor's Conferences have pointed out the necessity of transferring the policing of the cities to the hands of Mayors. The recent Colombo Conference also advocated the drawing up of a Mayor's Charter giving greater authority to the Mayors. All these recommendations fail to see the spirit of the times. In the age of centralization they still think of decentralization. The abnormal conditions of the modern world make it essential that whatever deals with the maintenance of public peace and security should be vested in the hands of the central or provincial government. It would, therefore, be hazardous to give police powers to the Mayors. The internal security of towns is the function not of the mayors but of the central or provincial government.

Primary education should be taken out of their hands and should be entrusted to the Central Government. The appointment of secretaries and executive officers should be made by the Public Service Commission. To quote Professor M. Venkatarangaiya of the Andhra University :

"One system of competitive examinations, one method of recruitment, a single Public Service Commission, a single set of rules regulating emoluments, promotions and discipline and tenure . . . . this will work out most satisfactorily."

The Government should start local-self-government diploma courses and training must be given in the art of administration. Only those possessing the government diploma should be eligible for appointment to the higher posts in local bodies. In this way a higher standard of administration would be maintained resulting in greater efficiency in the working of the local bodies. The government should take strong measures against those who habitually neglect their duties. The districts boards have failed to move in this direction. We entirely agree with the suggestion of a Commissioner that if a certain member is continually absent for a certain period he should be automatically removed from the membership of the board unless he is specially exempted by the order of the local government. The chairman, once elected should remain in office for three years in spite of adverse votes. The Government should take prompt action when it finds any tampering with the finances of the board. Whenever the Government finds any evidence of communal factions or dirty politics in the boards, they should be at once superseded. No latitude should be shown towards boards which habitually neglect their duty. On the other hand, extended powers should be conferred on those boards which maintain a high standard of administration.

In short, efficiency should never be sacrificed in the false name of civic rights. Democracy becomes an illusion if it does not pay due regard to the welfare of the citizens. The interests of the citizens should be paramount and no consideration whatsoever should be allowed to change this fundamental order. If the local institutions instead of serving the cause of the people, become arena of party politics, it is the express duty of the Government to take drastic steps against them. The Government should not tolerate any interference, internal or external, in the affairs of the boards. Only then there is any hope of the successful working of local bodies.



RABINDRANATH AS MAN AND POET

By CHUNILAL MUKERJI

II

I BELIEVE you expect me to say something about Rabindranath as a poet. But this is a subject which I, of all people present here, am least competent to do justice to. Many of you are better acquainted with Rabindra-literature than I am, and possess also a better literary judgment. So it is with utmost diffidence that I now proceed to deal with Rabindranath as poet. Literature is not my subject; I study it only by way of recreation. So you, who are more learned than I am, will please judge me charitably.

A day or two after Rabindranath's death, the following thought came to me which I put down on a piece of paper. I wrote:

"If I were asked to say what makes the merit of Rabindranath's songs and poems in one simple word, I should immediately answer 'their freedom.' This freedom, which I find in Rabindranath, always accompanies true genius. It exists abundantly in the plays of Shakespeare. There is no force on earth which fetters Shakespeare's mind. No experience comes to him amiss. He is fully at home with all things, and travels everywhere, unchecked and unafraid. Rabindranath's songs range over a wide area. The manifold experiences, which compose human life as a whole, find an exquisite expression in Tagore. I wonder if any other poet of the world has so magnificently shared our joys and sorrows, our elations and depressions. Rabindranath is great, since he is a co-sharer with us of the diversities of human lot. And he is a co-sharer, because he has a marvellously free mind. Such freedom is found in the Greek poets also. The Greek genius is a most astonishing thing, and it is partially reflected in Greek literature. The reason why the renaissance was greeted with such exuberant enthusiasm was, that it brought freedom to the European intellect. The European intellect, which had lain long under the incubus of hard religious dogmatism, rose into fresh vigor when the Renaissance made its appearance like a glorious burst of light. An inordinate passion for dogmatic theology had invaded almost every sphere of European life, and it was the study of Greek and Latin literatures which effected the emancipation. This revival of classical learning is known in history as the Renaissance. The Renaissance, though it undermined the basis of religious life in Europe, represented intellectual freedom; for the Greek poets were an eminently free race of men. If I have at all understood Rabindranath, he was Greek in temperament. His songs, so singularly unimpeachable in their execution, recall the Greek style of writing. But our Poet's sense of the vast Unknown whom we call God is something very original and very wonderful. His mysticism cannot be put under an exclusive category. It is neither Upanishadic nor Vaishnavic, neither Indian nor European. It is altogether a new thing, and the time has not arrived to appraise its merits. I had the privilege to live with this remarkable man for more than four years. I thank God for it."

I wrote this short note, as I have already told you, a day or two after the Poet's death.

The Indian Renaissance commenced with the introduction of English education. Like the European Renaissance, it, too, had its face averted from religion. The distinguished literary scholar Captain Richardson and the talented Eurasian schoolmaster DeRozio represented a subversive type of intellectualism. But, thank God, the profound wisdom of Raja Rammohun Roy and the earnest religious zeal of Dr. Duff and of the Serampore Christian missionaries saved the situation. So the introduction of Western education ushered in an era of mental activity. The greatest Indian of modern times, Raja Rammohun Roy, appreciated, as none of his contemporaries did, the immense importance of Western culture. The Raja may be taken as the embodiment of the Indian Renaissance. Endowed with superb moral and mental qualities, Rammohun declared, in unmistakable language, the value of the individual as such. Ladies and gentlemen, some slanderers have acquired cheap notoriety by belittling the Raja's greatness. Sir, I think of all men the slanderer should be most thankful to the great men of the world. Be that as it may, the Indian Renaissance was a remarkable thing. The stream of intellectual life set going never stopped, but went forward quite vigorously. Next appeared on the scene a magnificent literary artist who, by his unequalled genius, raised our language to a noble height. Indeed, our debt to Bankim Chandra Chatterji is incalculable. Michael Madhusudan Dutt wrote, too, his immortal poem *Meghnadbadh Kavya*. Nor did the religious life of Bengal remain untouched. Under the leadership of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen the

Brahmo Somaj was at the height of its power and activity. As Shakespeare cannot be understood apart from the Elizabethan period, so Rabindranath cannot be regarded as a sudden apparition in the intellectual life of Bengal. Rabindranath is the marvellous poetic embodiment of the great forces that were let loose by Western education, and hence his poetry has such a surprisingly wide range.

But here I am reminded of another moral movement which swept over the country like a mighty flood four hundred years ago. It is the wonderful Vaishnav movement. And in speaking of Rabindranath's poetry one cannot but take a glance at it. The Vaishnav movement made its way to the lowest strata of Bengali society, and produced a literature of matchless beauty. Vaishnav songs and poetry are a remarkable thing. The whole Vaishnav literature is an unparalleled romance. It can never grow old or antiquated so long as man loves woman and woman loves man. There is a mysticism in Vaishnav literature—a tender, pathetic mysticism born of Radha's ineffable longing for Krishna and Krishna's gallant surrender to beauteous Radha. But it is a human love not purged of human weakness. If Rabindranath has any rival to contend with, that rival is Vaishnav literature. Time alone can assign the palm to the victor, whoever that be. But it would be really an extraordinary contest. It would be a contest between the natural and that which transcends the natural. For Rabindranath's songs and poetry glorify the natural by linking it up with that which lies beyond the natural. Our Poet's mysticism is quite an original thing, and its appreciation is very much dependent upon a thorough refinement of the national taste. But the human element in Vaishnav literature is so magnificently well-represented—such matchless language and incomparable tenderness —that it is not safe to pronounce on the issue of the conflict. Vaishnavism has the double advantage of being a religious cult centring upon Krishna as God himself,* and also of being an unrivalled romantic story. Vaishnavism holds the field with unexampled energy. Jayadev, Vidyapati, Chandidas and a numerous race of minor poets—the race is not yet extinct—have all the same theme, and they present a united front. Writing about Dante's peculiar genius in his excellent book on the great Italian poet, R. W. Church (better known as Dean Church) makes the following wise remark:

"And his (Dante's) greatness was more than that of power. That reach and play of sympathy ministered to a noble wisdom, which used it thoughtfully and consciously for a purpose to which great poetry had never yet been applied, except in the mouth of prophets. Dante was a stern man and more than stern among his fellows. But he has left to those who never saw his face an inheritance the most precious; he has left them that which, reflecting and interpreting their minds, does so, not to amuse, not to bewilder, not to warp, not to turn them in upon themselves in distress or gloom or selfishness; not merely to hold up a mirror to nature; but to make them true and make them helpful." (*Dante* by R. W. Church, p. 188).

The sense of this quotation is, that the poet comes short of true perfections, if he only gives enjoyment. Poetry to be perfect has many sides. Judged by this standard, Rabindranath is one of the great poets of the world. It would be nothing short of a tragedy, if a mellifluous sentimentalism is allowed to stand in his way.

The most remarkable element in Tagore's poetry is its prophetic spirit. Rabindranath is a prophet, and a prophet in Indian literature is not a quite common sight. A fair measure of it (I mean the prophetic spirit) may be found in the Sikh Gurus who were doubtless remarkable men. But I wonder if it is much in evidence in pure Sanskrit literature. One or two Upanishads, Isha and Kena, for example, may have got it to some extent, but the rest are innocent of it. It was the Hebrew race which gave birth to prophets of an outstanding character, and they have not their equals in any other part of the globe. The question arises: What is a prophet? The standard Greek dictionary by Liddell and Scott says (for it is a Greek word), 'a prophet is the interpreter of the will of a god'; *Dios prophētēs esti Loxias patros.* Loxias is the interpreter of his father Jove; poets are called *Mousōn prophētai*, that is to say, interpreters of the Muses. So the prophet is one who interprets the will of God. The Hebrew Prophets had a double function. They were intensely political and also supremely universal. They denounced the aberrations of the priestly order and the wickednesses of the kings; they found fault with the rich who were grinding the faces of the poor. The luxurious who were defrauding the indigent, 'the wealthy people who made friends with and imitated the splendours and vices of foreigners' were sternly rebuked. Learned Christian divines have bestowed unstinted praise upon the Hebrew Prophets. But I shall quote the opinion of one who has repudiated Christianity, I mean H. G. Wells.

"These propdets," says Wells, "mark the appearance of new and remarkable forces in the steady development of human society."

Again he observes:

"They (the prophets) carried the common man past priest and temple, past court and king and brought him

* कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम्

face to face with the Rule of Righteousness. That is their supreme importance in the history of mankind. In the great utterances of Isaiah the prophetic voice rises to a pitch of splendid anticipation and foreshadows the whole earth united and at peace under one God. Therein the Jewish prophecies culminate."

Mr. Wells then goes on to say :

"Nevertheless, it is the Hebrew Prophets of the period round and about the Babylonian captivity which mark the appearance of a new power in the world, the power of individual moral appeal, of an appeal to the free conscience of mankind against the fetish sacrifices and slavish loyalties that had hitherto bridled and harnessed our race."—*A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells, p. 105. (Collins' Edition).

Our Poet Rabindranath is a prophet, and a prophet of no mean order. The sight of evil fills him with rage. His emotion then breaks out into fierce reprobation, into terrific vituperation and sarcasm which throw their withering light upon the cherished follies of our race. एबार फिराओ मोरे is a poem of this nature. In another noble poem he rises to the height of intense prophetic fervour at the sight of the world's injustices and vehemently invokes God's vengeance.

He who does wrong or suffers (that is, tolerates) wrong, may Thy wrath consume them both as hay or stubble.*

Indeed, Rabindranath's prophetic character places him at once on a universal height; he then belongs not to Bengal or India alone, but to humanity at large. He abhors exclusive nationalism for which Europe is now suffering so terribly. Nationalism, which made its appearance on the dissolution of the Roman Empire and at the emergence of Luther's grossly misguided movement (though Luther had meant well) known as the Reformation, is a comparatively new thing in European history. The transition from mediaeval to modern age is marked by the rise of predatory nationalism—a hypertrophied, to quote Dean Inge, and perverted instinct of territorial aggrandisement. And Tagore's language betrayed utmost hatred of such organised brigandage. Rabindranath always stood aloof from current politics, but his entire spirit rose in revolt when a wrong was perpetrated. Hence he renounced his knighthood after the Jalianwala massacre, hence, only a few weeks before his death, he vehemently exposed the British policy of exploitation in answer to an open letter by a British woman of some position. But his protest and denunciation had a dignity and earnestness to which the average politician is a stranger. He spoke like a prophet. He never hated the English people; for he had many English friends. But if any Englishman thinks that Dr. Tagore's condemnation of British policy in India was prompted by hatred, he is greatly mistaken. He was a wise man, and he would not depose the English and enthrone the Nazis or the Fascists or the Bolshevists. He had no wish to be a king-maker that way. He was a wise man, and he never believed that the political problem of India could be solved by making friends with Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy or Bolshevist Russia. He knew too well that foreign domination is foreign domination after all and that to look to any new race of aliens as the likely deliverer of the Indian people is the height of stupidity. So he was never impatient of British rule as such. All that he wished to see is, that India should be governed on more righteous principles, and I don't think any true Britisher would find fault with him for it. He was too dignified to expect or ask for any political boons from the powers that be, and he did not believe that our national redemption lay only in the achievement of political victories in our tussle with the Government. So he shunned the noisier path of current politics, and devoted his energies and his resources to the development of silent, constructive work. But he always cherished sincere regard for those who were actively associated with politics and who bore many privations. But his hatred of imperialism was none the less acute for his apparent dissociation from politics. He denounced imperialism, whether it was white or yellow.

Imagine the boldness of the man that, though the Japanese Government had given him an ovation equal in grandeur to the ovation accorded to the Crown Prince of Russia a few years earlier, and that, though for mile upon mile vast crowds of Japanese men and women had left their homes to catch a glimpse of the Indian Tagore as the train went past them, yet he exposed Japanese imperialism in a series of lectures which were afterwards published in bookform. This very much antagonised the public of Japan, and Rabindranath, as far as I know, left the shores of that country as an ordinary, obscure individual. Nor was his boldness confined to the political sphere only, where boldness invariably has its reward. Tagore took an active part in the Swadeshi movement when it was first started. But in 1907 or 1908, I think, when Bal Gangadhar Tilak visited Calcutta and when the Swadeshists were having a Hindu Puja as a visible symbol of the invisible Swadeshi spirit, Rabindranath was invited to join it. But

* अन्याय ये करे, आर अन्याय ये सहे,
तब घृणा येन तारे तृण सम दहे।

he wrote back to say that, as a son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, he had nothing to do with idolatrous ceremonies. This made him very unpopular for some time. To come back to politics. So again when Japan, with a view to obtaining hegemony in Asia, invaded China more than five years ago, this valiant man expressed his warmest sympathy with the suffering Chinese nation. And it is no wonder that, when war broke out afresh in Europe after a false lull of twenty-one years, his great heart was flung into an agony of sorrow and despair. In fact, the agony of his mind exceeded the agony of his body. He himself was in the throes of death, but the thought of so much unholy waste of all that is fine and good in human nature drove him into an ecstasy of anguish, an ecstasy of bewildered rage. But the politicians of the world—that undying race of Machiavellis who, in every age and country, impose upon mankind by sinister ingenuity of phrases—would say that the poet is a soft, lackadaisical creature who must not be taken seriously. But, ladies and gentlemen, it is an historical truth that all great civilisations—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Greece, Rome, Carthage, etc.—fell by war. And by war, too, fell India, our own country. There had been almost incessant fighting in India before the deadly conflict of Kurus and Pandavas took place on the field of Kurukshetra. Rabindranath detested imperialism, since it not only exploits, but is a direct cause of all ruinous dissensions. And, as a humble follower of the Prince of Peace, I believe that Christianity and imperialism cannot abide together. Nothing so badly damages the cause of a religion as its sympathy, open or understood, with imperialistic ambitions.

I have detained you long, ladies and gentlemen, but I shall finish in a few more minutes. The poet's life is a life of joy. But Tagore's joy was somewhat of a peculiar character. It was what I may call the joy of humanity. Shakespeare excepted, there is only one poet so far as my limited knowledge of literature goes, in whom this joy is abundantly found, and he is Walt Whitman of America. Walt Whitman had a joy which is, indeed, the joy and vision of humanity. He had a vast outlook upon human life as a whole. This mysterious joy manifests itself in some of Rabindranath's shorter poems, and I am not going to take up your time with their enumeration. But I shall mention only two poems, the like of which I have not come across anywhere else. They are निर्झरेर स्वप्नभङ्ग and प्रभात उत्सव. These two poems are the classic expression of Tagore's deepest craving to mingle into the life of mankind. He would not remain separate or aloof, but would be thoroughly assimilated, thoroughly fitted into the larger humanity. These two poems represent the height of poetic inspiration, and their language gleefully moves forward like a stream newly released from its rocky prison.

But, sir, I think our Poet's broad passion for the whole of the human race reaches its acme in that remarkable song जनगण मन अधिनायक जय हे भारत भाग्य-विधाता. God is viewed in this song as the Ruler of human destinies. Tagore's universalism is no longer merely the poet's ardent desire for concord and harmony, but it is ennobled and sanctified by a deep faith in Him who is Maker and Lord of the universe. The glorious panorama of an endless humanity is in sight. The pathways of the human race, rendered harsh by the vicissitudes of rise and fall, resound with the Deliverer's chariot-wheels and forth peals his noble *shankha* amid dire strife and revolution. Rabindranath has evidently attained a higher stature. Whitman, from the high pinnacle of poetic genius, views the thronging masses of mankind with a joy that has no parallel in English literature. Rabindranath proceeds further and triumphantly sings halleluiahs to the God of humanity. Rabindranath is the High Priest of humanity.

But I cannot let you go, ladies and gentlemen, without telling you that Tagore had a most hidden spring of joy within himself. I have seen few men with such determined power of self-restraint. He held his feelings in complete subjection. He was always cheerful and humorous, as I have already told you, but never emotional. Emotionalism is a thing he utterly hated. But one day a pupil of ours (I suppose it was Sudhi Ranjan Das, now a barrister of repute in this city) told me that he had seen a wonderful thing a few nights before. He had come out for some special purpose when it was 2 o'clock in the morning. Suddenly he saw, to his great astonishment, Rabindranath rapturously dancing and singing his own remarkable song महाराज, एकि साजे, एले हृदयपुर माझे. A mystic drunk with joy, magnifying Nature and Nature's Lord in immaculate moonlight was a sight which, I believe, sincerely believe, the angels in heaven rejoiced to see, as the angels are now verily weeping over the abomination of desolations in Europe.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen and our good Chinese friends who have graced the meeting by their presence, for the patient hearing you have given me. Good night.

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL ART CONFERENCE

By O. C. GANGOLY

The First Provincial Art Conference was held at Bombay on the 24th and 25th January, 1942, under the auspices of the Art Society of India (Bombay). Many years ago Mr. N. C. Mehta had suggested plans for periodical Art Conferences in India, but nothing practical was done. The credit of planning and organizing the First Art Conference in India must belong to Bombay and its Art Society of India, and, all lovers of the future of Art in the coming "new order" of things in India must be grateful to the Bombay Art Society and its energetic Secretary Mr. V. P. Karmarkar and its Chairman Mr. Kelkar for giving the first lead in the matter,—a lead which it is hoped will be followed in other provinces by cultured persons interested in the development of Art in India and of Indian Art. Before the Conference was actually held, some preliminary spade work was done by a series of lectures by N. M. Kelkar, Chairman of the Art Society, *e.g.*, his lecture on *A Plea for Reorganizing the Art Affairs in the Presidency*. The Conference has been the outcome of a general feeling of discontent against the existing state of Art teaching in the Presidency and particularly against the inadequacy and narrow outlook of the system perpetuated in the Provincial Art Institution, *viz.*, Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, and for the urgent necessity of developing its scope, function and ideals. Indeed, the object of the Art Conference was not merely to offer criticisms for remodelling the great and ancient Institute for Art teaching associated with the name of the late Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, one of the great citizens of Bombay, but "to help in creating the right kind of consciousness in art affairs of the Presidency" which has developed many new and intricate problems in matters affecting Art, Culture, and Industry, and, which, many right-thinking men believe, cannot be solved by the stereotyped programme of the Jeejeebhoy Institution. That institution has bravely attempted for many years to tackle the Art needs of the Presidency by its two arms—the Art School, training students in the practice of the Fine Arts, and the Victoria Technical Institute (Reay Art Workshop), which offers technical training for the application of Art to Industry. In its first branch, it has confined itself to imparting instructions in European art, ideas, and methods chiefly of the "naturalistic" brand and of realistic technique of portrait painting imported from the West, and in doing so, it had, until recently, systematically neglected the ideals and methods of Indian Art and the great traditions of ancient Indian Art bequeathed to us in its great surviving masterpieces, many of which exist and are easily accessible in the Bombay Presidency itself, demanding the care of the archaeologist and exciting the interest of the antiquarians—but ignored and neglected by artists and educationists in art.

This attitude of a deliberate neglect of the masterpieces of Indian National Art, and of ignoring the indigenous native expression of a national and spiritual urge in the peculiar language of Indian Plastic Art, by the great Bombay Institution, has invited the most bitter criticism of its utility and its futility to strike the national chord in reviving a National Art. The point has been very happily dealt with by Mr. V. P. Karmarkar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech from which we make the following extracts:

"Our Province possesses the rich heritage of Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta to inspire us with a national outlook, but we begin our early lessons in Art with Greek and Roman models and the European influence completely destroys our appreciation of Indian tradition. We are rudely awakened when it is too late to correct the harm done and we ever remain benumbed slaves of Western imitation. In spite of our rich tradition of immortal Art, when we seek in the foreign country a so-called higher education, we become subjects of ridicule to the Western Schools. But unfortunately these admirers of Eastern Art in the West are not in the least aware of systematic blindness to indigenous Art imposed on us. Government might plead that they also teach Indian Art in the School. But do they realize that after how many years since the establishment of the School, the study of Indian Art was introduced, and, that, too, if submitted to a searching enquiry by experts, may prove absolutely unsatisfactory. The Government has never cared for proper advice on matters of art and we again bring to its notice its grievous blunders."

It is not known to many that the Congress Ministers of Bombay, headed by Mr. B. G. Kher during his short-lived regime (on the basis of the Thomas Committee's Report), had plans for scrapping altogether the Sir J. J. School programme and for replacing it by a programme for the study of Indian Art, but reactionary and vested interests prevailed and the Jeejeebhoy programme continued its Western ideals and methods, so unsuitable to the Indian genius in Art. Exception was also taken to the system of autocracy involved in the practice of the Government in regarding the Principal of the Sir J. J. School as the sole adviser and referee in all matters affecting Art and Art education.

"In the absence of sympathy for Art, Government is throughly satisfied, on the advice of a single foreigner,

with spending a certain amount per year on Art Education. And its responsibility ends there. It can be seen from my further remarks how this sole authority of a single individual in Art Education and Art affairs of the Presidency has totally ruined the cause of Art."

"We have no grudge against foreign competent artists, in fact we have every respect for them. But we refuse to suffer the insult of having a foreigner as the head of Indian Art Education and the sole Arbitrator when there is enough of competent Indian talent in the Province. It is a matter of great regret that an institution like Sir J. J. School of Art established 85 years ago could not be Indianised and come under the control of Indians till today, when there are scores of Indians with foreign qualifications to shoulder the responsibility."

In the address (from which partial extracts have been given) the Sir J. J. School was not the only target of criticism. The Bombay University also came in for its share of castigation, for having excluded Art from its curriculum. Mr. Karmarkar was not probably aware(in details) what the Calcutta University has done to bring Art into the heart of the University, an example which can be usefully followed by the Bombay University as well as the various other Universities of India, claiming to cater for higher education. A "higher education" which excludes Art from its curriculum is an education with a "lower" standard.

Mr. Karmarkar also referred in his speech to the unsatisfactory economic condition of Artists in his Province, (a condition perhaps not worse than that of his brethren in other provinces).

"The number of Artists in the world is extremely small. This number, though larger in cities like Bombay, when compared to their vast population, reduces to a very insignificant ratio. In spite of this small number, their economic and social status is very unsatisfactory. This state of things can only be changed when Government, Public bodies, Universities, and the public give full recognition to Art and the Artists. In every enlightened country, the Government, Universities and Public bodies extend their full patronage to the Art community. In our country. the result of this disregard for the Artist by these institutions is that they have totally failed to recognise Art as an intellectual and national activity. The only way to solve that problem lies in the united and co-operative efforts of all Artists. Every district in every province must recognize its Art centre with a view to establish an All-India body."

Mr. Karmarkar in a plain, simple, but, sincere speech, unadorned with rhetoric or flourish, has touched upon the leading problems of Art in India, today, and, everybody interested in the cultural regeneration of India will echo the pious wish of Mr. Karmarkar :

"I am confident that in the new order that is to come in the world, Art will also have to undergo a revolutionary change. It rests with us to use the opportunity to our best advantage."

The speech that was delivered by the President of the conference, Mr. Ravishankar Rawal, a well-known and picturesque personality in the Art-world of the Presidency, was also in many ways stimulating, though tempered in a milder key than the truculent speech of Mr. Karmarkar. Mr. Rawal, a practising artist and editor of the Art journal *Kumar* (Ahmedabad) laid great stress on the function of Art and Artists :

"Art creates, improves and unites, it even sublimates and ennobles thoughts and deeds of men. It is not a negative state but a positive reality in which one human heart reaches another in perfect sympathy, far above material gains. Art must raise a man who practices it and also him who adores it. To an Artist Art must be a religion of life for the salvation of mankind."

In drawing attention to the source of danger to the Art community which lies in the denial of our rich heritage of Indian Art and Culture, Mr. Rawal said :

"No Artist is justified in offering adoration and submission to foreign Art until he first felt the true spirit and message of the Art of his soil. No national-minded parents would like to teach a foreign tongue to their children before they could speak and understand their mother-tongue. I hope some of you remember what Sir Cowasjee Jehangir said the other day at the opening of the Bombay Art Society's exhibition : 'I am personally eager to see the great wealth of Sculpture—the Art heritage of India—which lies as only relics of the past in museums—to be explored and studied by the young artist as a great tradition of cultural India.' Unfortunately such pious and truthful attitude is not maintained in the making of young Artists of Bombay. The latter have been taught to look upon the Art of their mother-country with a stranger's eye. I myself have wasted a number of my precious years undergoing the tyranny of swallowing and mastering methods which had hardly any appeal to my cultural, literary or artistic self. It took equally the same period to find for myself the right way to approach the bed-rock of Art—my land—my people, their heritage of thousands of years. The only Art School in the whole of the Bombay Presidency is hardly better than a secondary school of Art as compared with any suburban Art school in England. The pictures we see each year at the Exhibitions rise no higher than ordinary illustrations or sketches appearing in American or European journals. This condition can be corrected if there be more specialists in the school, and the school be governed by a Board formed by the Academicians, scholars and the senior Artists. If the school is raised to a college status, the University which has so far excluded Art as an untouchable will be pursuaded to grant degrees to deserving candidates. An easy solution would be to recommend small mofussil schools organized and governed by the local bodies according to the plans of the proposed Board of Art Education at Bombay....Along and above all this planning, is the importance of nationalising the methods and course of Art training. You cannot expect to get cow's milk by milking a wolf. The Roman and Greek antiques have never served any purpose to formulate Indian themes. The right and stiff plaster-nudes should be replaced by acknowledged masterpieces of Indian Art so that the expressive lyrical lines should form the true basis of Art-study for an Indian student...If the possibilities and potentialities of the same (Indian Masterpieces) can be explored, enlarged and utilized, I am sure we can offer the world some greater contributions than rather a second-

rate imitations....In Bombay, we have some connoisseurs of Indian Art, private rich collections, and a public museum, but we have no able exponent of its practice. I wonder why Elephanta, Ellora, Ajanta and various centres of ancient Art nearer Bombay have not inspired our Artists and sculptors to achieve that grand style of execution. In this matter I offer my homage to the great Artist-Philosopher Srijut Abanindranath Tagore of Bengal who still remains unrivalled at the age of 71 for his poetical and original works in Indian style. I must deplore that Bombay has not yet cared to study the whole course of the New Movement, the Tagore brothers started, to release Art in India from the bondage of Western canons of slavishness to models. Please allow me to summarise my suggestions to this conference for your consideration and confirmation :

1. Improve the outlook towards Art in conformity with Indian ideals and Indian demands.
2. Raise the standard and status of Art Education by personal and collective organization.
3. Approach the University to create a Chair for Art-study; a post-graduate course so that we may have talented scholars to advocate the cause of Indian Art and of Artists.
4. Educate the public patrons through Art journals, practical demonstrations, exhibitions and genuine publications. Help to open big or small Art schools or studios and create study-circles of Art-lovers.
5. Be united to guard the interest of Indian Art community and form a front to secure preference in positions and patronage in our own country for our deserving Indian Artists, just as British Artists have done in their own country.
6. Enlarge and extend individual sympathy to fellow-artists and help the juniors to the betterment of their work and career.
7. Organize funds for the poor Artists of various occupations, their families and the poor Art students.
8. Co-operate with all sorts of cultural and artistic activities to form a closer contact with the people and their sentiments."

All lovers of Indian culture will cordially echo this clarion-call to gather under the banner of Indian Art and help to foster a comprehensive and nation-wide movement for resuscitating the study of India's national Art and to help to train and educate, on right lines, a new generation of Indian Artists to interpret and express the spiritual message of Indian culture in the New Art of Today and the Newer Art of Tomorrow.

Mr. Rawal's suggestion for a net-work of Primary Art Schools in the provincial cities and villages to be affiliated to the central School of Art in the capital cities (which should be raised to the status of a first grade Art college—of the same status as the Royal College of Art in London but fundamentally based on a programme of studies of Indian Art) is a very valuable one. It may be impossible to carry it out without adequate grants from the Education Department. But a beginning may be made by voluntary and honorary efforts by introducing "Picture Hours" in the existing schools of every village and cities with the help of inexpensive tools and apparatus —in the shape of post cards, colour reproductions, photographs and slides through which contacts could be made with the best masterpieces of Indian Art for the youngest students at the very beginning of their educational career, so that a taste for Indian Art may be created at the earliest stage of impressionable childhood, before the natural aesthetic powers of a child are obliterated and killed by a too literary education.

THE KERALA TAGORE ACADEMY

Library and Study-Room opened. Trivandrum

"Of perhaps only half a dozen names of the greatest men in the modern world which will remain imperishable in history, that of Rabindranath Tagore will be among the most luminous. The marvellous legacies he has left in poetry, in thought and action will remain as long as beauty and truth are cherished by the human mind." said Mahakavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer on the occasion of the opening of the Tagore Library and Study-room of the Kerala Tagore Academy, in Trivandrum on 6-2-1942. A select and devout gathering of the lovers and students of Tagore's mind and writings was present. Mr. G. Ramachandran, General Secretary of the Kerala Tagore Academy, welcomed the gathering. He announced the donation of Rs. 500/- from Mr. G. D. Birla and two other donations of Rs. 100/- each from Messrs. T. V. Krishna Iyer and S. Chattanatha Karayalar, Deputy President of the Sri Mulam Assembly, besides several other amounts. He expressed the hope that Library and reading-room would become the centre of a close and thorough study of all Tagore literature leading to vital inspiration for the future of the culture of Kerala. Prof. T. M. Krishnamachari, M.A., unveiled a portrait of Tagore. In his thought-provoking speech he said that it was necessary these days to study not only Tagore the poet, but Tagore the prophet who was a magnificent rebel who pointed way to a new world of reconciliation and love and justice. Prof. S. Satyavageeswara Iyer, M.A., in moving a vote of thanks appealed to the students to join the Academy in increasing numbers, and to make the fullest use of the facilities provided by the Academy and he expressed the hope that the small seed thus sown will grow into a mighty tree of cultural progress in Kerala.

G. Ramchandran,
General Secretary



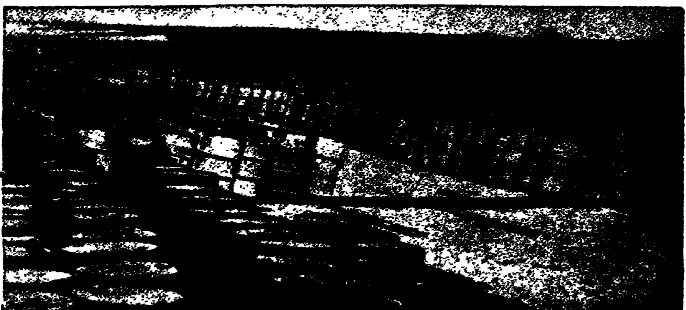
Guam. The southermost island of the Japanese Mariana group is in sight from here



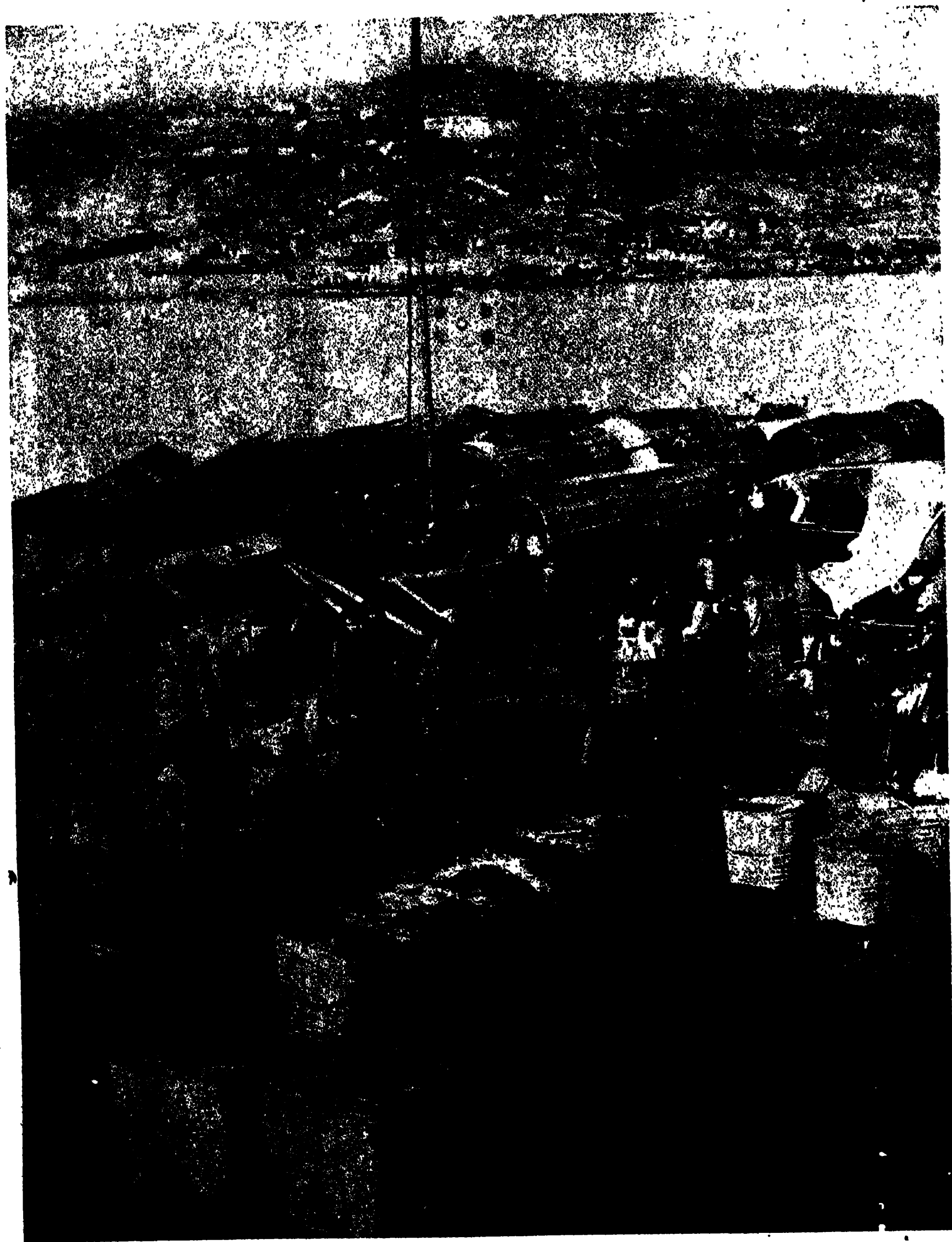
Midway, where the clippers come winging out of the blue to settle on the smooth lagoon. It has a small population consisting of airport and hotel staffs



Wake is actually three islands which give it the horse-shoe shape. Supplies for the islands are distributed by a small train and by barge



Canton Island is an important refueling station for trans-Pacific planes



Chungking from the sea



Howland Island. The American flag flies in the "plaza" before its unpretentious Government House

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

Events of the last month have had—and are still having—their effect on the position of the Allies *vis-a-vis* the Axis. There has not yet been any significant change in the situation either way. Allied unpreparedness—the Australian broadcasts are using stronger expressions—has culminated in the disaster at Singapore and the losses in Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea and Sumatra. As previously indicated in these columns the attack on Dutch East Indies is following as a logical sequence of the fall of Singapore. Resistance has stiffened somewhat in the Java seas, where the Japanese naval units have experienced fierce fighting by sea and by air, but as yet there is no sign of a definite aggressive effort by the A. B. D. A. forces. The naval and air forces of the Japanese still possess the initiative to a very pronounced degree and apart from vague promises there is no definite sign of any active movement in the Pacific Councils.

The threat to Burma is still there in all its serious aspects and the potential threat to India is on the increase. It has been stressed from all informed quarters that the "war-effort" in India must be increased immediately to a far larger extent if the Allies mean to offer any real challenge to the Japanese, but the inevitable preliminaries that have to be settled before any substantial increase can take place have not yet been even touched. The atmosphere of unreality is permeating the activities in India and at Whitehall as before although the rude shocks in Malaya and Burma has made a few of the Rip Van Winkles of the powers that be stir uneasily in their sleep.

The profiteers and plutocrats that hailed this war with joy, also decided that as this war was their war, they were entitled to make a very good thing out of it. The hewing of wood and the drawing of water—to say nothing of fighting and finding the means wherewith to pay the costs—was none of their business. Some considerable time back it was reported that a meeting of bankers had taken place in England where it had been decided that as the war loans did not offer sufficiently lucrative returns, the bag-barons would look for investment elsewhere. They have been chastened considerably since then in all probability but as yet there are sufficient signs that in U. S. A. and in England—to a lesser degree—war means swollen profits to a very large section of the people who are engaged in the production of the vital essentials of war. But there are signs that the latest happenings in the Pacific may result in these gentry being roughly handled in the future.

In India the "safeguards-wallahs" are still fondly hugging their Box-o'-Dreams. Great consolation is found in the broadcasts given of astronomical figures in dollars and pounds sterling of the war-effort in munitions production. Less happy and complacent people are prone to contrast these millions of dollars with the tens

of thousands of bullets and bomb and shell fragments that the Axis is spraying over the four-quarters of the earth. The allied broadcasting corporations should have the story of King Midas and his Golden touch framed in every studio. This might have a dampening effect on the exasperating talks about thousands of billions that are going to produce fabulous quantities of munitions about three years after the period when they were most urgently needed.



Filipino soldiers crossing a river

Why talk of what is going to be done when the opponents are doing it now? To the best of our knowledge no army or navy was ever frightened of the bags of gold its opponents possessed. To us in India, we mean the vast majority of daily bread-winners, such talk seems blatant in the extreme, ground down as we are by rampant and unchecked profiteering from all sides.

* * *

In Russia, the snow and sleet on the rolling plains before Smolensk and Leningrad are still a bigger handicap than ever to the Nazi forces. The progress of the Soviet troops has been steadily maintained though it is still very slow. But all the same, given the same duration of winter as in average years, the relief of Leningrad is no longer an improbability, and Smolensk may yet be back in Russian hands. In the South, where the thaw sets in early, the armies of Timoschenko cannot hope to liberate Ukraine before the spring, unless there is a sudden breakdown in the German resistance of which no signs have been noticed so far. In the Crimea, the Russians have re-established a foothold in that extremely strategically important sector, which is all to the good.

Germany's preparations for the spring offensive have been given prominence in the news for some days past. There can be no doubt that the Nazi war machine will make an all-out effort to obtain a favourable decision before the next winter sets in. This year, 1942, is the last year in which the Axis powers can hope to obtain a knock-out decision. After this year would come long years of protracted warfare for which the Axis does not seem to be particularly well-placed, although the consolidation of its major gains, if accomplished within 1942, would undoubtedly increase its potentialities to a considerable extent. But consolidation of conquered territories by a nation engaged in a life and death struggle is not a very good proposition under the best of circumstances.

Would the Soviets be able to withstand the colossal thrust at her vitals that is going to be launched in the spring? Frankly we consider that there is no prophet who can foretell the results when the basic facts guiding such a prophecy are shrouded in mystery. There are certain points, however, which may be put forward in order to obtain as balanced a judgment as possible under the circumstances.

Firstly, the element of surprise has gone, which is distinctly in favour of the Russians. It may be that the Germanic forces may wrest the initiative from the Russian forces in one lightning thrust delivered with the titanic weight of monster panzer columns supported by thousands of fighter and bomber aircraft. But even then, the Soviet high command knows by now, by the grim process of trial and error in field warfare, what has proved effective in checking a rout in a large scale retreat. They further know by now the maximum fighting capacity of the various Nazi arms of war. And most of all, by now, they know the capacity of their own forces to the fullest extent. They know what has proved effective in checking the onrush of the Nazi forces and they know what moves have resulted in disaster to their own forces. On these counts alone, a catastrophic defeat of the Soviets' fighting forces is not probable although a loss in territory greater than before may be possible.

Secondly, comes the question of armament and equipment of the opposing forces. Here the Germans are in a distinctly more favourable



Chinese artillerymen with a heavy calibre gun

position as compared to the Russians. The vast armament factories of the Axis powers are intact and the latest production drive is likely to outstrip even the effort of 1940-41, although the margin of production yet to be attained cannot be very great, considering the high pressure programme initiated in them since the beginning of the war. On the other hand there is no doubt that a great deal of reserve material has been consumed in war-wastage and the winter-campaign of the Russians may have retarded the replacement of these reserves to some extent. Taking everything into account, the Nazis are likely to be superior to the Russians in quality and scale of armament to a greater degree than they were at the start of the war last year. The Russian losses have been immense, and further a very substantial part of their armament production centres have been lost, which makes the problem of re-equipment and re-armament exceedingly problematical as the Russians are now perforce obliged to depend on supplies from U. S. A. and Britair. British and American aid to Russia has the added disadvantage of very long haulage and carriage on land and sea routes. Thus the extent of this aid to Russia can neither be estimated nor can it be regarded as certain and secure. And so in this matter of re-armament and re-equipment, the Soviets' forces are likely to be at a disadvantage when the campaign opens. Later on, if they can hold on to the routes of supply, their replacements are likely to be on a far bigger scale, both from home sources and foreign, specially in the latter part of summer.

Thirdly comes the factor of defence arrangements. Russia had virtually made up her mind to abandon the territories lying to the west of the Volga, when the Germanic thrust against Moscow was at its peak. What arrangements were made in a hurry at that time must have been elaborated by now, as must have been the defences to the Caucasus. These defensive arrangements depend a great deal on an adequate supply of artillery aircraft and heavy mechanised equipment. It is to be hoped that such armament and equipment has reached the Russians in sufficient quantity. In any case the plans for defence must be ready. The position of Russia for a prolonged resistance should thus be better now than before.

Lastly comes the vital question of the will of the people and their leaders to fight to a decision. In this matter there can be no doubt that the Soviets' and their Supreme Command hold to their inflexible determination to fight to a

finish. Here lies the maximum strength of the Russians and this is the most formidable barrier before the Nazi forces. If the Russians prove as indomitable as the Chinese under Marshal Chiang Kai-shek then the conquest of Russia would be beyond the powers of the Axis, outside aid or no outside aid. Winter will follow summer, and in winter the poorly equipped Russian will prove to be as formidable a foe to the fully equipped Nazi as he has done in this winter.

The question of a rot setting in the Nazi morale and a Russian march into Germany need not be discussed as it reeks of wishful thinking on the part of the democracies. Nothing is impossible in a world-war of this type, not even a miracle, but it is too much to expect that it would come just when it is needed most by a group of unprepared peoples led by men whose mode of doing things is far from being efficient and orderly.

* * * * *

The aftermath of the Malayan muddle is still continuing. Long time plans are being made by the same group of people who made the wonderful arrangement for the supply of the sinews of war to the gallant and devoted soldiers, sailors and airmen, on whom the defence of Malaya depended. India was to have her planes and light naval craft made in Australia, pig-iron was to be shipped to England for the making of steel for the Indian defence, Hongkong was to supply some other essentials and so on and so forth. And we have wiseacres declaring in the Houses of Paliament to the effect that the ignorant Indian is still unfit to plan and strive for the defence of his homeland !

In Burma it is evident that the Japanese forces are as yet manœuvring for position and the main thrust is yet to come. Japan with her limited resources has flung her forces over an area far wider than she could have been prepared for at such an early stage of her campaign. The main thrust seems to be developing around Java. The Netherlands East Indies Archipelago has to be consolidated by Japan against an Allied thrust developing across the Indian Ocean, before she can turn either to India or to Australia for a major conquest of territory or again to China to liquidate the most formidable barrier to her greater East Asia plans. For the time being her objective in Burma seems to be the breaking up of the supply route to China. If she succeeds in doing this she will most probably turn her attention to the isolating of India by breaking up the sea-routes and to the spread of panic and disorganisation of munition productions by sporadic air-raids and even by raids by seaborne commandos. A major campaign against India does not seem to be in the immediate offing but who can tell how soon it will develop ? Japan has shown that she is incredibly quick in taking advantage of any windfall that may come through her opponent's unpreparedness, and no one ever doubted the daring and ruthlessness of her military commanders.

The stand made by General McArthur and his heroic warriors has been recently quoted as an example to the Allied forces by a distinguished speaker in the Dutch East Indies. Without discounting in the least the gallantry and courage of the defenders of the Philippines and their indomitable commander, one has to add just one comment. Just as in China and in Russia it has been proved that the forces of free people are capable of performing deeds of valour, unheard of before, against the superior might of aggression, so are the freed people of the Philippines making a heroic stand—that will compare in history with the stand at Thermopylæ—against desperate odds and with all the advantages in the hands of the aggressor.

In India, the call has come for preparedness in just over two years and six months *after* the time when it should have been made. And as yet the call comes from just the same group of persons who fought tooth and nail to prevent Indian enterprise from entering the major spheres of war industry, such as aircraft production, shipbuilding and the manufacture of automobile traction of all kinds, needed for mechanisation.

The position of the democracies will continue to be desperate until they can devise drastic measures for preventing profiteers from considering the death agony of nations as a golden opportunity for the amassing of ill-gotten wealth.





Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

PENGUIN BOOKS, 1941 : *He Laughed at Murder by Richard Keverne, Murder of my Patient by M. G. Eberhart, Oil Paint and Grease Paint. Autobiography of Laura Knight. First Volume and The Penguin New Writing, 7. Edited by John Lehmann.*

It is encouraging to find that Penguin books are still coming to India and have lost none of their old appeal. This time there are two detective stories, one biography, and one collection of essays, short-stories and poems.

Murder of my Patient is the rather gruesome story of several murders told by a nurse and signifying nothing. It all centres around a semi-aristocratic family which is subjected to a series of deplorable misfortunes in the course of a few days. The story, I'm afraid, will leave the reader cold; the characterisation of the various participants in this domestic tragedy is, however, not without significance. For even those who are "not guilty" of any of these murders do not precisely belong to that species of humanity one would like to be intimate with This seems to be, indeed, the guiding principle of most of contemporary detective story writing : imagine a house full of crooks who hide their criminal tendencies under a veil of social conventions, family-honour, and Victorian affability; a murder is committed; there is one gentleman crook less on earth, and the reader's imagination will be kept in suspense for another 100 pages or so by the lurid and rather superfluous description of crooks cross-examining each other in a drawing-room, drinking whisky and losing their temper from time to time.

He Laughed at Murder belongs to the same "literary" tradition. A man (otherwise, we are given to understand, quite a gentleman) is hunting after some hidden treasure in an out-of-the-way place in England. He is very well aware of the fact that this treasure once belonged to a man who was devoid even of the most rudimentary social or moral scruples. This, however, does not prevent him from hunting after it, nor does it prevent a number of other "gentlemen" (they also have their drawing-rooms and play violin before going to bed) from hunting after him armed with daggers, revolvers, and guns. It is rather depressing to find that apart from some minor characters, all the rest are well-to-do criminals, anti-social in outlook, brutal, callous, and greedy. One might conceivably ask what purpose such stories can possibly serve. They are lacking in human interest and are thoroughly devoid of any sense of humour, and last but not least of all, they are not even good "thrillers." Of course, they are not sentimental: and yet this complete lack of any emotion whatsoever both on the part of the killer and the killed is, perhaps, the most disconcerting element in these stories. Such stories are obviously written, not because the writers had something to say, but because there is a definite demand for second-rate detective-novels (and we are glad to remind ourselves that Penguin has, after all, published some exceedingly thrilling and amusing stories of this kind). It all throws, however, a rather grim light on the kind of mental food which millions of civilized people seem to relish.

The autobiography of Laura Knight (1st Volume) is interesting both as regards the personal reminiscences of the writer and as an introduction to the artistic life in London and in Paris before the last war. It is well written, and a number of good illustrations helps the reader to visualise the artist's achievements.

The last volume under review, *The Penguin New Writing, 7* includes short-stories by V. S. Pritchett, Jean Paul Sartre, V. Fanfallo, Philip Jordan, Christopher Isherwood, and Mikhail Zoshenko. Most of them deal with the war and the way it affects human life in various countries. There is England and its admirable People's Army; there is the Civil War in Spain as seen through the eyes of an intelligent Frenchman in the International Brigade (a thoroughly enjoyable story); pre-war Germany in all her sordidness and squalor; there is a guerilla-corps fighting in China and the Housing Crisis in Russia. In addition there are poems by C. Day Lewis, David Gascoyne, W. H. Auden and Edart Milne, and articles by Stephen Spender, Rosamond Lehmann and others. This is a very lively volume which should be read by anyone interested in contemporary literature. The short stories particularly deserve high praise; for though the life they depict is grim, though their humour is often harsh, and the sensibility of the writers is frequently exposed to violent shocks from outside, they do not try to deceive us or themselves : their frankness and almost childlike acquiescence in the inevitable is pathetic and moving. and, indeed, not without a deeper significance. And sometimes one is led to wonder why Indian Universities do not select such a book as a text-book in English; it would teach Indian students far better than Gibbon and Thackeray ever could in the present condition of the world, the *reality* and tremendous impetus of the struggle of all freedom-loving people for a saner and better world.

A. ARONSON

THE DUKE'S CHILDREN, Vols. I and II (The World's Classics): *By Anthony Trollope. Oxford University Press. Price 2s. each.*

In a world of stress and incertitude it is a joy to dwell, for the brief space of a story, in the solid tranquillity of Trollope's universe. This may be escapism, but not more so than indulgence in many a modern novel which also give us a remote air of freedom and contact with friendly men and women. Literature, of such types, will stay, along with others, and Trollope who was no genius, will yet provide rest and homely concourse to lovers of the unexciting but genuinely companionable novel. Much wisdom, ingenious conversation and well-constructed plots are to be found in Trollope at his best, and this political novel is surely a fine achievement. Young adventurers into English literature—especially the student of Victorian literature —will be grateful to the Oxford University Press for including it in their famous "World's Classics" series.

A SYMPHONY OF PEACE: *By Baldoon Dhingra.*

Professor Dhingra has won for himself a gracious, tree-shaded corner in that select garden of literature which has been slowly built up by Indian writers of English verse. This garden, it must be admitted, will remain as an exotic annexe to creative literature and its rusty gates will be rarely opened by visitors. But the adventurous reader will be rewarded if, one idle noon, he strays into the golden air of these lyrics; there is much thought and enchantment in them and promise of greater fulfilment. From an author who can give us so much, even in an alien tongue, we can expect lasting contributions, if he would turn to the language which is the medium of his subconscious, the language he learnt at his mother's knee. With this proviso, which is, we believe, legitimate criticism, we turn to commend this volume, written in sensitive and vigorous language, to all those who care for modern poetry.

Amiya Chakravarty

EL'FIDERO: *By I. V. Rangacharya. Published by Messrs. A. H. Stockwell, Ltd., London.*

Political verse, with an element of satire and a thin veneer which soon wears off, representing the case of modern India in the welter of politics. The country unexpectedly regains its freedom, through the help of Providence, overnight, and the book concludes with a doleful account of erstwhile toadies.

The "poet" has taken to the Greek drama for his model, with the chorus as the Interpreter, but the diction is *at times* unsuitable and the ring false, thus causing a loss of dignity which is disastrous. There is no difficulty, however, in understanding the idea and pursuing it through the volume.

The "advertisement" bears the stamp of a "poet-like" effrontery.

INTO THE SANCTUARY (from the Treasures, Reverently Garnered, of Brahmarshi Venkata Ratnam's Utterances): *By C. Sita Ramamurti, M.A. George Press, Cocanada.*

Six discourses, varying in time from 1910 to 1935, but unified through language, spirit and outlook—they are a series of addresses (some whole, some fragmentary) on various topics. They all bear eloquent testimony to the character, vision and the pious cast of the mind of the "Brahmarshi." The strong emphasis of language ever sounds false, and general statements are made lively by the tincture of stories and scriptural references. The liberalness of the mind is always attended by a strict enjoinment on practice.

Embodying the thoughts and utterances of a sincere and dedicated soul, the book is indeed a heritage to be valued, and it should be cherished by all serious men.

A STRANGE LANGUAGE: *By Pundit Acharya. Published by Yoga Research School, New York City. 1939.*

A volume of religious, philosophical poetry—in prose but with the conviction of having realised the truth of life. There is a sort of elemental grandeur in the lines, and the Pundit combines the findings of science with the fine frenzy of prophets, the bases of material life with the highest aspirations of the spiritual.

If brevity is the soul of wit, the Pundit has it in full measure,—"over-full," some will say. "Volition, motor impulse, Thyroid and adrenal drunkenness. Decrease of sodium bicarbonate in the blood. Poisoning of carbon dioxide in veinous blood. More nitrogen explosion in the protoplasm, Long wavelengths, More oxidation, radiation, tension, fatigue point, exhaustion, death": Does this sound like poetry, or its very negation?

The writer does not strain after poetry, it comes natural to him, but he prefaces his book with these words:

I am not writing grammar or idiom,
I write these pages with the crimson blood of my heart.

Yet, both in structure and in rhythmic poise, the utterances observe the swing of poetry, and "a strange language" will commend itself to the reader who can tune himself to it. That implies not only freedom from prejudices, but also the ability to sift chaff from grain.

P. R. Sen

THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS—Proceedings of the First Conference: *Published by the Co-operators' Book Depot, Bakehouse Lane, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 5.*

The Third Conference of this Society was held recently at Poona under the Chairmanship of Sir Manilal Nanavathi, and a review of the First Conference's Proceedings is rather belated; but the volume under review was issued rather late. The first thought that strikes any student of Economics is—is there really room enough for so many separatist activities in this country—the *Indian Journal of Social Work* issued by the Graduate School of Social Work founded by the Tatas, the *Indian Journal of Economics* issued by the Allahabad University for the Indian Economic Association, the annual volume issued by the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, and the Statistical Section of the Indian Science Congress? All these cover a great deal of common ground, but many an ardent student cannot benefit by attending *all* these meetings or getting *all* these publications for considerations of cost. Could not something be done to correlate these as in the case of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in which there are Sections for Economics and Agriculture?

Sir Malcolm L. Darling, one of the earliest pioneers in the *field* of Agricultural Economics in this country, has been the soul of this Society and he has had worthy successors in Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya and Sir Manilal Nanavathi, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, just retired. In his Presidential Address, "The Peasant and Politics," Sir M. L. Darling has made a very analytical survey of recent developments in Indian politics and economics (the two could never be separated), and he has sounded a very frank and timely

note of warning against an ultra-urbanisation of Indian economics: He says, "That is the crux of the matter. We must feel for the peasant, for without feeling there can be no understanding, and if we do not understand him, we shall certainly mislead him and also ourselves." It is indeed tragic that such a sentiment should be emphasised by an English worker in India at the tail-end of his long and meritorious career, and *Indian* economists should go on woolgathering by quoting without end Ricardo and Zimmerman and in the year of grace 1941 sing the glories of industrialisation and mourn the "backwardness" of agriculture. Sir Malcolm is a realist, and he has not been sparing in pointing out that the State in India should take to a more reasonable policy in the matter of literacy and distribution. For unless these fundamental things are properly secured, any progress through "co-operation" and other channels could not be possible.

It is disappointing that many papers, really valuable in themselves, have been given only in summary. One wishes very much that *all* the Papers had been printed fully. The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics deserves to be heartily congratulated on the spade work that it has been turning out, and it is to be ardently hoped that although Sir Malcolm has left India for good, the high standard and status secured for the Society by him, will be maintained by other workers in this country. That Dr. B. K. Madan, Research Director in the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India, has been elected Secretary for the current year augurs very well: of late, agricultural finance and the Reserve Bank of India have been having a leap-frog, and there could be no more appropriate link between the two than Dr. Madan.

S. Kesava Iyengar

THE AMERICAN SPEECHES OF LORD LOTHIAN: *Published by Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 144+xlvii. Price 7/6 net.*

The book contains nineteen speeches which Lord Lothian delivered in the United States of America during his tenure of office in that country as the Ambassador of His Britannic Majesty. It also contains a speech which he made at a Farewell Dinner in London. The speeches are introduced to the public by Lord Halifax who was, during Lord Lothian's tenure of office as British Ambassador in the United States. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and succeeded him on his lamented death to the embassy at Washington. The utility of the collection has been very largely enhanced by the incorporation in the book of the informative memoir of Lord Lothian by Sir Edward Grigg. This memoir had been published earlier in the Round Table. But its republication in this edition has, it may be repeated, made it more interesting. It is not necessary in this short notice to refer to the contents of the speeches. Without reading them through one may get only a misleading impression from brief references. It may, however, be emphasised that no choice was better and more apposite than that of Lord Lothian as the interpretor of British ideals and principles to the intellectual elements of the New World.

Naresh Chandra Roy

HUMAN NATURE: *By Arthur Robson. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 352. Postage extra. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The book analyses almost all human emotions and instinctive tendencies and attempts to discover their origin. It establishes the conclusion that the habits that were developed in the earlier forms of life have in most cases persisted in their human descendants. The book also discusses the law of Karma in its various aspects and emphatically declares that it is fallacious to hold that evil can be overcome through opposing or resisting it. "Hatred does not cease by hatred: hatred ceases by love"—this saying of Lord Buddha is favourably quoted by the author. The usefulness of the portion of the book which it claims to be original is doubtful. The good counsels in the book are found in almost all theosophical works.

N. K. Brahma

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA: *By Prof. Indra, M.A., Lahore. Phblished by Minerva Bookshop, Anarkali, Lahore. 1940.*

Prof. Indra deals in the present work with the Social, Religious, Political and Legal Position of Women in Ancient India in the first four sections and with women under Buddhism in the fifth. The author has tried to establish that women held a better status in Ancient India than in modern times. The evidence adduced is mostly from well-known Smriti texts, such as Manu, Yajnavalkya, etc., with but a few casual references to the Vedic Literature. The work, therefore, does not truly represent Ancient India of the Vedic Ages. The author's object in writing the book, *viz.*, helping the modern educated girls in their struggle for emancipation is, indeed, laudable. Unfortunately, however, the treatment is sketchy and the information supplied not exhaustive. Further, there are some mis-statements here and there, *e.g.*, it is not right to state that "Except in the time of Upanishadas, we do not much hear about the existence of lady-Rishis in any other period," as so many Women Seers are mentioned not only in the Rig-veda itself, but also in the Sutra Literature. Again, the author says in p. 124, "Therefore, the remarriage of widows though not sanctioned by the Vedas," etc., which is just the reverse of truth. There cannot be any vestige of doubt that widow-marriage was sanctioned by the Vedas. The work abounds in misprints; thus, kuluka (p. 54) for kulluka, Zimar ((p. 22) for Zimmer, Amuja (p. 51) for Amaju, etc., etc., are indeed irritating as well as misleading. References like simply "Shanka" (p. 143) "Harita" (p. 143) are quite insufficient. We hope that all these deficiencies will be rectified in the subsequent edition of the book which, otherwise, makes quite an interesting reading. The work, no doubt, reveals the sustained capacity of the author in undertaking vitally important and arduous tasks. By writing this work, he has done a distinct service to the cause of Indian Womanhood.

Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri

ANECDOTES OF HAZRAT MOHAMMAD: *By Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Published by the Noor Library, 12/1, Saicpg Lane, Calcutta. Price annas eight.*

The title of the book is somewhat of a misnomer as it contains a graphic account of the life history of the Prophet of Islam and a resume of his teachings and is by no means a collection of anecdotes. The author tells us in the title page, that his book is an "adaptation" from the works of Sir Syed Ahmed, Right Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali and other distinguished scholars. Be that as it may, Mr. Rezaul Karim has succeeded in compiling a very readable account of the great Founder of Islam and of the tenets of his faith in this short book. The lanuage is racy, the events have been well-described, and the "anecdotes" have been well told. One rises from a perusal of this little volume with a vivid mental picture of the great Founder of a great faith. The book contains a few illustrations but the general get-up leaves

much to be desired. This perhaps was inevitable in view of the low price fixed by the Publishers. The book is well worth a perusal by the general reader.

S. WAJID ALI

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA: *By V. G. Krishnamurti. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay. 1941. Price Rs. 2 net.*

Sir M. Visvesvaraya believes in the industrialisation of India. The future of this country, which has never lacked in men and materials, lies in the full-fledged development of her industries and, therefore, India must *industrialise or perish*. In his industrial philosophy there is no half-way house nor any compromise in the essentials of his convictions. Large scale industries must be established in India, and she can ill afford to be anchored to the tradition of being the land of cottage and small industries only. Her industrial structure must be as complete and comprehensive as of any other country of the West and Sir Visvesvaraya does not hesitate to attribute motives of vested interests to those who would have it hammered on us that making of aeroplanes and automobiles is beyond practical possibilities in India. This is how he views the India of to-morrow and for the attainment of this ideal no sacrifice is too great, none too costly for him. Such a personality deserves to be adored by the nation and the country loves, indeed, this grand old man who has given young India a daring industrial outlook.

It is time that a critical biography of this eminent Indian were written, for, no history of Industrial India would be complete without a reference to his work. The publication under review gives an idea about this great Indian, although the author could have as well said in fewer words what he wanted to express and a little more restraint here and there would have lent grace to it. But the author himself admits that the book is the "result of mental holiday free from all conventional procedure" and, therefore, presumably hopes to be spared of critical comments.

MUKUL GUPTA

INSIDE KASHMIR: *By Prem Nath Bazaz. Published by the Kashmir Publishing Co., Srinagar. 1941. Pp. ii+412. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Sjt. Premnath Bazaz presents in this book of four hundred pages a detailed account of the different political forces operating in the State of Kashmir. The people are mainly agricultural; but the State is administered more for the benefit of the ruling and the middle classes than for the tillers of the soil. Sjt. Bazaz has carefully traced the growth of political movements in recent times, and also shown how many of them were side-tracked by middle class people for serving their own selfish ends. His account is well-documented, and his analysis of situations carries conviction. Throughout the book, the author has succeeded in maintaining a refreshing sense of fairness and justice; and this is remarkable in one who has personally participated in a struggle.

We believe the book would have gained by a certain amount of condensation. The book, however, can be freely recommended to all who are interested in the internal condition of the Native States of India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MY MISSION, PART ONE: *By Haranath. Published by the Haranath Mission, 361, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 55. Price annas six only.*

A not unfriendly critic of Hinduism once remarked to us that the Hindu mind easily turns to religion because religion is the least troublesome thing to follow in modern conditions of life. That even ambitious I. C. S. or I. P. S. men when deprived of their jobs suddenly discover spiritual lights and, for their dissemination, start an *asrama*, proves how easy it is to become religious. The remark may sound harsh; but if we look to the ever rising flood of so-called spiritual literature in the country, can we seriously challenge it?

The world has undoubtedly need of the recognition of spiritual values. But a truth does not become twice true by being uttered by a man whom we adore.

In the book before us, we have an array of moral precepts which do not acquire double value, simply because they once came out of the mouth of one whom so many have chosen as their spiritual leader. For instance, is there anything new in the commandment of *Saviour* Haranath: "Never use unfair means to make money" (p. 9)? If not how could Haranath become a *Saviour* by uttering this or similar precepts?

That Haranath was adored by many is apparent from the fact of this publication. We can also understand that he influenced the life of many, though we do not know exactly how. But there is no sense in parading time-worn moral maxims as new and startling spiritual discoveries. Beyond that we have little else in this book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

FADED ROSES: *By A. K. Mohamadu, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.). Published by Messrs. A. H. Stockwell, Ltd., 29, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4. Price Rs. 4.*

The author of *Reveries* has presented to the reading public another volume of his delightful and refreshing poems. In spite of the diversity of subjects of his poems, the poet forces the reader into the realm of true poetry, and the poetic atmosphere is never wholly lost to the reader while he is engaged in going through the comparatively big volume from cover to cover. In many of the poems there is the freshness and sweetness of full-blown roses while not a few remind the reader of the insatiated yearning for beauty the *Faded Roses* leave behind.

One word of criticism. Out of regard for good taste, which is manifest in many of the poems of *Faded Roses*, the poet might have resisted the temptation of decorating his book with his own photograph.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

ABOUT OIL: *Burmah-Shell Educational Booklet. Published by Messrs. Burmah-Shell Oil Storage and Distributing Co. of India, Ltd. Pp. 37. Price annas eight.*

"Fill it up, Sir?"

"Yes, ... and check the Oil!"

Behind this succinct dialogue which today is a commonplace along motorised highways all over the world, there lies a story—a story of sustained effort and organised team work for which there are few parallels. The booklet under review is an admirable attempt at relating this story for the non-technical reader. It begins with the story of the use of asphalt as a cementing material by the Chaldees and Sumerians and ends with the great and varied services of mineral oil to man today. In between it explains the origin and nature of crude oils, describes the arduous tastes of geologists hunting for new oilfields, discusses how oil wells are drilled and pipe lines are laid, surveys the processes which the crude oil undergoes in the refineries and enumerates some of the products from crude oil and petroleum gases in every day uses whose humble origin is least suspected.

Admirably written as the monograph is its educational value as a source of useful information would

have been further augmented had the story related in it been lengthened to include a brief reference to polymerization, an outline of the geographical distribution of the principal oilfields and a short statistical account of the produce and consumption of the various substances obtained from crude oil and petroleum gases.

From the point of view of the excellence of its illustrations and the wealth of information it contains the booklet is an extremely good value for the price at which it has been offered.

S. C. DUTT

THE INDIAN EPHEMERIES FOR 1942 A.D.—OF PLANETS' POSITIONS ACCORDING TO THE NIRAYANA OR INDIAN SYSTEM : *By Nirmal Chandra Lahiri, M.A. Published from the Indian Research Institute, 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta. Price annas twelve only.*

A very valuable publication containing the expansions of the star-table, tables of Nirayana ascendant, table of solar days, tithis, nakshatras, sunrise, sunset, etc., etc., tables of aspects, phenomena, position of fixed stars have also been annexed to the end. Mr. Lahiri has spared no pains to make this book replete with all data that are needed for astrological calculations.

HOW TO JUDGE A HOROSCOPE, PART I : *By B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S., First Edition. Published by Raman Publications, P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Pp. 118. Price Rs. 3 and Foreign 6s. or $1.00.*

Mr. Raman explains in the present work the ancient aphorisms relating to the interpretations of the first three Bhabas with relevant illustrations. This book will be welcomed by the students as Bhaba Vichara is the most difficult part of astrology.

It is unfortunate, however, that there have crept some mistakes. In Chart No. 8 for example, Saturn is not malefic but is benefic being the lord of the 9th and 10th houses. The ascendant in that chart is not aspected by Saturn, it is the ascendant lord which is aspected by Saturn. There are many printing mistakes too, which, it is hoped, will be corrected in the next edition.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

MEHROTRA BANKING DIRECTORY : *Edited by R. S. Mehrotra. Published by the Manager, Shiam Bhawan, Khattrana Street, Farrukhabad (U. P.). 1940-41. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1-8.*

The publication under notice is a laudable attempt to compile a list of all existing Banks in India—scheduled banks, non-scheduled banks having branches, non-scheduled local banks, provincial co-operative banks, district, central, urban co-operative banks, state banks, etc. A list of authorised dealers in foreign exchange in India as on February 1, 1941 is also given. Anyone connected with the business world, specially those dealing in Hoondies and Bills will find the publication useful. Too many printing mistakes and indiscriminate inclusion of coloured advertisements have diminished to some extent the importance of the publication.

SOUREN DE

SANSKRIT

PRAKRIYASARVASVA (TADDHITA) : *By Narayana Bhatta. Edited by C. Kunhan Raja, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 15.*

This contains an edition of the Taddhita portion of *Prakriyasarvasva*, a little-known and perhaps the latest—though for that reason not less interesting recast of the Sutras of Panini with the author's own gloss thereon. Narayana of Kerala, author of the work, seems to have been a junior contemporary of Bhattoji Diksita whose *Siddhantakaumudi* is the most popular of the several recasts of Panini. The present author was a polymath. A number of his works including the first four sections of the work under review, which may have enjoyed some popularity in Southern India, has already been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. It is gratifying to note that the University of Madras has taken upon itself the task of supplementing the work undertaken by the latter in respect of the *Prakriyasarvasva*. In fact, two sections of the work have been issued in the Madras University Sanskrit Series: the Unadi section appeared some years back and the Taddhita section is contained in the volume under review. The get-up of the present publication like that of its predecessors in the series is highly attractive and there is an abundance of accessory materials in the form of indices and appendices which are of immense help in using the book. It seems it would have been more useful if the identifications of the quotations embodied in one of the sections entitled Notes were indicated in the body of the text. One would be eager to see the work in a complete form and preferably in one volume. It will not be too much to hope that Dr. Raja who has studied the entire work and has the manuscript material at his disposal will satisfy this eagerness by bringing out the work in a complete form.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RAJAMALA : *By Bhupendra Chandra Chakravarti, M.A., Agartala. Tripura State.*

I am delighted with the book—I should say I feel quite enthusiastic about it. This is just the sort of book to place in the hands of our children, and we grown-up people too will read it with pleasure and profit. I finished it at one sitting yesterday, and I feel very pleased with both the style in which the work is written, with its general spirit, and with the fine way in which the book has been illustrated. I am a great admirer of Mr. Ramendra Nath Chakravorti's art, and I like very much his beautiful line drawings with the local atmosphere well-preserved illustrating the romantic history of Tripura. Such a successful co-operation between the author and artist as in Mr. Chakravarti's *Rajamala* is rare in our country. It was indeed a very happy thought to get this work prepared by Mr. Chakravarti and published under State patronage. The author evidently is well-qualified to do proper justice to his subject, as he is a specialist in Indian history. He has made a laudable attempt to relegate the legendary and traditional beginnings of the history of Tripura to their proper place as a part of Indian and Bengal history. There will be a difference of opinion about events and dates and about the racial and cultural background of very ancient Indian and Hindu history, including that of Tripura as one of the easternmost outposts of Indian Hindudom, but there cannot be any difference of opinion about the authority of a work like the original *Rajamala* for the late medieval history of an Indian State like Tripura. The author has shown himself to be a true literary artist in narrating his story and the undercurrents of nationalism and deep religious feeling form not the least important features of his style. I wish our educational authorities in Bengal and other Indian provinces could inspire similar history books for our children. I received as a gift from Tripura State the two big volumes of the annotated *Rajamala* (I wonder whether anything more has subsequently been published), and Mr. Chakravarti's book will be of the nature of an excellent resume for the bigger work, giving within one

small volume all the romance of history in Tripura—a theme which inspired even Rabindranath Tagore to write one novel, two dramas, and a charming romantic tale.

The book will be very suitable for school prize, and I think it should be in all collections of Bengali books, whether for children and school and college students, or for the general public.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

MONOBIJNAN O SISHU-SIKSHA : *By the late Mrs. Renuka Bose, M.A., formerly Lecturer, Calcutta Corporation Teacher's Training College. Publishers : Ganadipayan, Sr ekail, Comilla. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1.*

The treatise is the posthumous publication of the notes written by one who had been till recently a distinguished member of the teaching profession and closely connected with the task of educating children by the modern scientific methods. The dearth of Bengali books dealing with the science of education is keenly felt by those who are actually engaged in the task of educating children. The writer here has tried to explain many psychological laws and recent findings. As stated by Prof. Maiti in the Introduction, the book may be broadly divided into 3 parts. The first part deals with a brief survey of the field of application of these principles. In the second part the writer has described the special characteristics of the child mind. This forms the most important part of the book In addition to the theoretical aspects, practical hints have throughout been given which are calculated to prove helpful. The third part discusses the general methods and technique of teaching and the range of applicability of these methods. At the end of this part samples of lesson notes for some of the common school subjects have been added and these will no doubt help those who actually teach these subjects. The book as a whole is well written though the language in places has become a little stiff. The price has been so fixed that it is within easy reach of those for whom it is specially meant. We trust that efforts would be made to make the language of the text simpler and to avoid technicalities as far possible when time comes for bringing about a second edition.

S. C. Mitra

HINDI

DARSHAN KA PRAYOJAN : *By Dr. Bhagavan Das. Published by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, U. P. Pp. 178. Price Rs. 2.*

This is an enlarged version of the two lectures which the learned author delivered in January, 1930, at the invitation of the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, on the subject of Philosophy Its publications was delayed so long; first, on account of the writer's indifferent health, and, secondly, owing to his preoccupation with public activities of various kinds during the intervening years.

Dr. Bhagavan Das defines Philosophy as that science "which shows the path to the attainment of the highest material as well as spiritual good." With a wealth of references, drawn from both ancient and modern systems and literature, eastern and western, he proves that the above is basically the aim of the science of the self or being. For, when he is confronted and confused by the multiplicity of things and experiences in which he finds himself, man cries out, "Why is all this ? " It is then that Philosophy comes to his rescue by explaining to him the why and wherefore of the many-faceted existence, thus enabling him to acquire a vantage-ground from where he can watch the procession and pageantry of life. The result of his having discovered a centre in the circle of *samsara* is peace. And peace is the mother of true happiness, which is the *summun bonum* of human existence.

The book is divided into four chapters which deal with the chief purpose of Philosophy, its auxiliary advantages, its social value and an elaborate examination and analysis of the term Philosophy, respectively. In this connection he has pressed into his service all the well-known sciences of the East and West, shown their relative usefulness in social organisation, and by focussing the attention of the Indian administrators and organisers of the social life of the people on the fundamental principles and practices as laid down by the Wise Men of the East, rendered help to them in their outlook, ideals and activities. Thus, *Darshan ka Prayojan* will be found inspiring not only by students of Philosophy, but also by the lay reader. All will look forward to the second part of the book which the author has planned giving a bird's-eye view of the "world's various philosophies to bring home to us the truth that all of them had only one objective at heart," namely, to help man in leading his life well and wisely and to imbue him with the peace of the Eternal.

G. M.

TELUGU

NAVANADHACHARITRA : *Edited by K. Rama Krishnaiya, M.A., Head of the Telugu Department, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 3.*

The abovenamed book contains the famous classical poem in Dvipada metre composed by Gauranamatya, a versatile poet of the 15th century. It is essentially a Saivite work describing the adventures of nine Nadhas or Yogic Siddhas, the principal among them being Meenanadha, who is said to be the son of Siva and Parvarti, sent to this world for the propagation of Saivite religion and faith. The characteristic Dvipada metre has been adopted in order to popularise its appeal among the mass s. The first two chapters while describing the adventures of Meenanadha strike at the well-known story of Sarangadhara. The remaining three chapters further deal with the wanderings of Meenanadha and his pupils.

The whole work is marked for its simplicity of style, its lucid expression and balance. The present edition is worked out with the help of three manuscripts available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The book is an invaluable asset to the Telugu literature.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

MARATHI

BHARATIYA SAMGIT (YASHODA-CHINTAMANI TRUST SERIES, VOL. X) : *By Prof. Krishnarao Ganesh Mulay, Poona. Published by the author at Vina-Vadan Samgit Vidyalaya, Portuguese Church Road, Dadar, Bombay. Pp. 260. Crown size. Price Rs. 2.*

The science and the art of music can be traced in India, to the ancient times of the Vedas, as shown by the emergence of the Sama-Veda as a distinct Veda. The latter is indeed nothing else than the greater part of the Rig-veda set to tunes. Later on Bharat, the composer of the Natya-shastra developed the subject in about the third century B.C. The next important stage is marked by the Samgit-Ratnakar of Sharangadhara and after that Indian music passed through the various stages of the North Indian School, the Dravidiyan School, the Deccan School, etc., down to its present state. The author has taken only the first stage of it—from the Vedas to the Natya-Shastra for treatment in this volume and has endeavoured to show in it that

during this period alone the real values in music were properly understood. After that according to the author, Indian music deteriorated in the hands of the later artists and scholars into mere mathematical tables of integral and fractional equivalents. The *swaras*, the *gramas*, the *murchhanas* which give to the music its melody and symmetry were in later times, according to the author's opinion so completely disregarded that the art fell on evil times. The author has developed his treatment in great detail, giving illustrations and charts to elucidate it. Nevertheless, it must be said that it is only the connoisseurs who can understand or appreciate it properly.

D. N. Apte

SINDHI

SUFIANA KALAM: *Compiled by V. I. Jagtiani. Published by the Theosophical Society, Hyderabad, Sindh. Pp. 136. Price Re. 1.*

This is a collection of over one hundred and thirty *Kafis* of Sindhi poets and mystics, from Shah Latif downwards, which has been compiled from the note-books of the late Kaka Mangharam, of Hyderabad, Sindh,—one of the sweetest singers of Sindh in recent times. He sang these *Kafis* with the infectious devotion of a God-intoxicated soul, and not only held spell-bound large audiences but through the ministry of his melody, brought consolation and comfort to many who had been bereaved or battered in the struggle for life. There is also a short biographical sketch of the Kaka. *Sufiana Kalam* gives one a glimpse of the soul of Sindh.

G. M.

MALAYALAM

SHEBA RAJNI (The Queen of Sheba) : *By P. O. Matthai. Foreword by Mr. M. P. Job, Editor, "Arunodayam," Kottayam. Publishers: Messrs. C. C. and Brothers, Edathua, Travancore. Royal 8vo. Pp. i—xii+156. Tiruvalla, Travancore, 1941. ..Price Re. 1.*

Sheba Rajni is a notable book in more respects than one. It has partly the character of a historical romance inasmuch as it deals with the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon of Jerusalem in her quest for wisdom, a story that is found in the historical books of the Old Testament, but that is embellished by fancy and legend in the ancient literature of the Arabs and the Abyssinians. The latter believe that their kings (represented by the brave but tragic figure of Haile Selassie in modern times) are descended from Solomon through his union with the Queen of Sheba and they are proud of this connection between their royal family and that of the "House of David." Secondly, the book is interesting and valuable for the sidelight it throws on the customs and manners, beliefs and practices of the Abyssinians, for the Abyssinian people and the church to this day are somewhat of an enigma to the rest of Christendom. The Abyssinian Christians, for instance, observe the Jewish Sabbath as well as the Christian Sunday. They encourage Nazarite vows among adults, while infants are circumcised before they are baptized. From the point of view of a study of the interaction of Christianity and other faiths, Mr. Matthai's book should prove of considerable interest to students of comparative religion. Thirdly, the book will serve the purpose not only of imparting information to its readers, but also of inspiring them with some of the highest ideals of morality and religion. On this account we have no hesitation in recommending it as a book which may be prescribed for study by Malayali students in schools and colleges in India. The book is written in an easy and graceful style, and there are several passages in it which bear testimony to the author's skill in description.

We congratulate Mr. Matthai on this excellent addition to Malayalam prose literature and hope that he will continue to enrich her by similar contributions in future.

Rev. C. E. Abraham

GUJARATI

HRIDAY VIBHUTI : *By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1941. Cloth bound. Pp. 295+60. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In different parts of India, there are several aboriginal tribes, who are known as Criminal Tribes, and Government has enacted legislation to regulate their movements and life. There are four such tribes in Gujarat, and their members are hereditary thieves and robbers. This work of Mr. Desai is divided into two parts, one consists of his observations, gathered during an active official life, of the mode of life of these tribes and their good and bad qualities and the other of a story based on them. The part consisting of observations is very important from an anthropological point of view, and so simple and plainly written that it would be found as interesting as the story. The story itself is both entertaining and instructive. It shows that even in the life of these aborigines, who believe in witchcraft, noble feelings and sentiments like love in its various forms, find place, and the love of Mansing and Tejal, and the part played by a so-called witch Mangi, who tries her best to bring the lovers together and her perpetual waiting for their reappearance on the bank of the river where they have found a watery grave, lend a colour of romance to an ordinary escapade. Mangi's broken heart, even though burnt, leaves no ashes: in fact no broken heart does.

KSHITIJ, Part II : *By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1941. Cloth bound. Pp. 318. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the last part of a story of the same name published about a couple of years ago. It portrays in the form of a novel, the valour, the culture, the civilisation and the extensive communication existing between ancient India and different countries of the world, the result of a deep study of the subject. A map illustrates the age in which the story is placed and its sphere of action and it shows how mighty old India was, in those days. As a historical romance in Gujarati it will take a high place.

AMARA GURUDEV : *By Sushil. Printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1941. Thick card bound. Pp. 215. Price Re. 1-4.*

The late Vijayadharma Suriji, a Jain Sadhu of modern times, had a constructive genius and a great tolerance. He was able to gather round him a large number of pupils and followers, who in their turn have distinguished themselves, *i.e.*, the writer of these memoirs and Muni Shri Vidya Vijayji, who wherever he goes leaves a mark of something good achieved for the uplift of Jain and non-Jain society. The incidents in the life of the "Gurudev" narrated in the book show the great strength of Suriji's character and his strong will-power.

K. M. J.

AKBAR HYDARI—THE MAN

By Professor S. KESAVA IYENGAR

As Finance Member and later as President of the Executive Council, H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, the late Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari has been associated with many credits and several blemishes by his sycophant admirers and jealous opponents respectively. Now that he is no more, the public have a right to be presented a true picture of Akbar Hydari —the man as he actually lived and worked, succeeded sometimes, failed at others (and not the official—made up for the studio). "The Great Men of India" published by the Times of India Press, includes Sir Akbar, and although many might disagree on the selection made of "greatness" by those publishers, few would grudge the inclusion of the late Sir Akbar Hydari. The very first sketch of his then career was put up by me in 1923 when he was honoured with the title of "Nawab" by His Exalted Highness The Nizam, and here is one written nearly twenty years later. In between, several reviews of his work were published by me from time to time.

Loyalty: Not Luck

A biographical sketch is not intended here: suffice it to say that he was born and educated at Bombay and entered the Indian Financial Service early. Some believe that he was lucky in taking up Hyderabad Service, but the probabilities were that if he had continued in British Indian Service, he should have risen certainly to posts higher than that of the Information Member of the Viceroy's Council: the Mahomedan Accountant General of Bombay in 1920 should have in the usual course been at least the second Indian Governor of a Province for his full term before his death.

His virtue lay in his simple life, his wisdom in his compromising attitude to life's problems. Many others like Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Alma Latifi, Mr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali and Mr. B.A. Collins came to Hyderabad but they went away before they could mature their plans for reform, mainly because they could not "give and take." Sir Akbar had, in his long years of service in Hyderabad, not a few humiliations and unpleasantnesses, but he stayed. It would be wrong to say that he stayed for his benefit: in British India he should have fared much better whether in office or in public life, but his predominant idea was "to see it through" in Hyderabad.

He was simple as a child in his private life, and a powerful cause for his death in January last was the melancholy loneliness to which Lady Hydari left him less than two years before. Lady Hydari's prolonged illness led him to a close personal friendship with Sri Shankaracharya of Puri. He had the warmest corner of his heart for one of his sons and it was this which developed his devotion to Sri Aurobindo Ashram at Pondicherry. He was a pious Mahomedan, but he was by no means a bigot, and his admiration almost verging on adoration —for the *bodhisattva* in the Ajanta Caves was responsible for the immortality Sir Akbar won by conserving the archaeological glories of Ajanta and Ellora. It would be no exaggeration at all to say that but for him, the hand of time must have ruined those shrines beyond the possibility of preservation.

Sir Akbar had the knack for creating beneficial social contacts. His numerous Hindu subordinates did no mean work for his achievements, and his very friendly relations with Britishers enabled him to achieve the Hyderabad Railway Purchase in 1930 (which was much more a political in addition to a financial score), the rendition of the "Residency" bazaars in 1936, the Berar Agreement (later in the same year) which Sir Ali Imam could not see through in spite of long efforts and heavy expenditure, and the approaching retrocession of the civil areas of Secunderabad.

Educational Reform

The Osmania University, for the launching of which he was mostly responsible (his was the first Note, he financed it, he nurtured it), has been criticised by many as a mere imitation of the British in India: the latter organised English education to suit their own needs, Sir Akbar (they said) organised the Osmania University to suit the needs of administration in Hyderabad in the hands of Muslims: the Osmania University has been interpreted as the guarantor of the perpetuation of Moghul administration in Hyderabad. It has been contended that the old claim of relieving the student from the burden of thinking and expres-

sing through a foreign language has not been realised—firstly because English is the compulsory second language in the Osmania University, and secondly because to the majority of youths that must be expected to go to the University, Urdu is a foreign tongue: at any rate, not the mother tongue. A further defect logically insisted on is that even eternal translation cannot keep the Osmania University publications up-to-date, and, in the University stage, up-to-dateness is an important requirement. If the argument should be that students were expected to study books in English, the very bottom would be knocked out of the tub: there could be no justification for making an innovation by using Urdu as the medium of instruction. When an ignorance of German and French proves a handicap to a student of the sciences, what about the student who is not expected to (be able to) study publications in English? If over a century of "English" education and missionary effort costing hundreds of millions of pounds in British India, has utterly failed in stifling indigenous cultures, the chances for the "new culture" in Hyderabad under the auspices of the Osmania University are held as much smaller in succeeding to wipe out age-long cultures which constitute integral parts of the strength of the State. It is about a quarter of a century this University began work, and it is too soon to tell what the fruit will be like, sweet or sour: there has been a robust growth, no doubt.

But few could deny the credit to the Osmania University of having developed at least *one* Indian language to the status of a University language—whatever the cost, and however many the defects. The development of similar Universities in *other* Indian languages would be highly desirable, but funds are lacking, and courage of conviction and driving power are lacking still more. In their absence, India is under a foreign cultural yoke: *to some extent* the Osmania University has established its freedom from the yoke. The question has been asked: Why not similar Osmania Universities in Telugu, Mahrathi and Kannada? The answer is known to all: Charity begins at home. Even Dr. Johnson did not believe in absolute levelling—for which the physical eye has not come across any instance in this imperfect world.

Sir Akbar was original in the Lutheran sense not only in conceiving of the Osmania University, but also in expounding a re-organisation of education into three grades—essential, vocational and University—each complete by itself for such of the students who dropped off, and each serving respectively a definite purpose: in his Convocation Address to the University of the Punjab in 1925, he held up the ideal of University education as

"research and specialisation, and also the investigation, consideration and solution of the educational and cognate problems which from time to time arise in every civilised country."

He did succeed in pushing through this educational scheme in Hyderabad, a long way.

Financial Conservatism

His first love was Finance, and his scheme of Departmentalisation of Finances has un-



Sir Akbar Hydari

doubtedly raised Hyderabad finances from leanness to strength and steadiness. Some of his financial tenets might look old-fashioned, but results have proved that *in the circumstances*, his was the wiser policy. He believed in "cutting the coat according to the cloth" and not "cutting the coat according to size," and what has been the result? Over twenty years of surplus budgets, the purchase of the Hyderabad Railway twenty months before the expiry of the lease, the expansion of the humanitarian departmental activities—and all this without resort to much new taxation: there is still no income tax in Hyderabad: it is bound to come, but it is still a reserve asset. The following table shows the rate of expansion in expenditure on some of the humanitarian departments of Government:

STATEMENT OF ACTUAL EXPENDITURE

(Lakhs of Hyderabad Rs. Hyderabad Rs. 7=British Indian Rs. 6)

Department		1922-23	1939-40
Education	..	59·33	101·40
Agriculture	..	0·79	7·23
Medicine and Sanitation	..	15·79	32·37
Veterinary	..	2·65	5·25
Co-operation	..	2·00	3·49

Nor did Sir Akbar believe in a public works programme based on loan funds. Roosevelt did this and Hitler, too. But within the boundaries of limited resources and powers, his policy was "hasten slowly." There is not much theatrical about Hyderabad capital programme, but the redeeming feature of steadiness cannot be ignored even by the most unfriendly critic. In his own words :

"The benefits of modern civilisation have been purchased at a comparatively cheaper price than what has been paid them in other markets, for the reason that we have picked and chosen only such as we wanted. Our main sources of taxation are land revenue, customs and excise with which the people have been familiar for generations past, and these have remained at the lowest possible level compatible with good administration and the maintenance of essential social services. Speaking generally, our customs duties have never exceeded a bare five per cent., land revenue assessment on the basis of a regular survey and settlement has always been moderate, and the increase in land revenue in the past twenty-five years, not due so much to increase in assessment but to the increase in the area of cultivation and the development of irrigation, is roughly twenty per cent., and is infinitesimal in comparison with the enhancement in expenditure on nation-building departments which is over four hundred per cent of the figure in 1911. Income tax and other duties that figure so prominently in revenue returns of other nations are non-existent in our revenue statements. Nevertheless, our treasury has accumulated about 20 crores by way of Paper Currency, Currency Stabilisation, Debt Redemption Sinking Fund, Industrial Trust Fund and Famine Reserves. This is due to the proper exploitation of the natural resources of the country and a system of financing and administration, known as "Departmentalisation," which subjects each department to the expenditure of a specified amount under a triennial contract at the end of which half the savings remain to the credit of the department and the other half lapses to the General Revenues, but is again utilised for works of public welfare. Out of the surpluses, productive funds such as the Famine Fund and the Industrial Trust Fund, have been gradually built up and an extensive railway system has been purchased without any dislocation to the State's Finances."

In Railway policy also, Sir Akbar paid less attention to "what the traffic could bear" and more to "what the service could afford." Even in a decade of proprietary management, he as Railway Member was not able to "Indianise" the Nizam's State Railway on national scales (for fear of loss of efficiency), although more was saved from parsimony otherwise. On numerous issues like the cession of civil and criminal jurisdiction in Railway areas, the inter-relations as amongst the British Indian and Hyderabad Post Offices and the employment of Europeans in Hyderabad non-Railway Service, Sir Akbar kept the interests of the Hyderabad State as an Institution in the forefront, and his was no small contribution (for good or evil) in postponing the application of the Government of India Act (1935) to Indian States—till the present war broke out.

COMMUNAL HARMONY

His counsel for the divided India of today should have been most healing, if only remembered : he was out and out for communal harmony and a cultivation of mutual regard and respect as amongst the different communities. He was definitely against pan-Islamism and the Pakistan movement. He said, presiding at the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference at Calcutta :

"It will not be the growth but the death of Indian Nationalism if the Muslims of India fail to be impressed by the greatness of Asoka, Chandragupta, or filled with pride and joy at the immortal frescoes of Ajanta and the sculptured monuments of Ellora, or fail to derive fresh inspiration from the glorious songs of Jayadev and Tukaram, or find food for deep and satisfying thought in the discourses of Sri Krishna and Gautama the Buddha. It will not be the growth but the death of Indian nationalism if the Hindus are not filled with pride at the architectural splendours of the Moghuls and the Adil Shahis, at the political achievements of great rulers like Sher Shah and Akbar, at the fine heroism of noble Queens like Chand Bibi and Noor Jahan, at the liberal statesmanship of devoted ministers like Mahmood Gawan and Abul Fazl, at the wide learning of scholars like Al Beruni and Faizi or at the inspiration of poets like Amir Khusru and Ghalib. It will be a sad day indeed if the minds of Hindu and Muslim alike are not stirred with the high and noble aims of the Viceroys like Mayo and Ripon, of administrators like Munroe and Elphinstone, of friends of India like Fawcett and Bright, or missionaries like Hare* and Miller. For, all these, and many more, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, loved India and worked for her."

It was this same anxiety for social concord that made him oppose tooth and nail all institutions like communal hostels and communal games : he laid stress on this in his Address to the Hyderabad Teachers' Conference in 1926. He said :

"I make bold to assert that if the canker of communalism had not entered into our educational institutions, this problem would not have been presented to us in such an acute form as we find it today. Everywhere for years past, we have been seeing the starting of schools, scholarships, libraries, even tournaments, exclusively for particular communities, particular creeds, particular castes and particular aims and pupils instead of starting life in an atmosphere absolutely free from

* David Hare was not a missionary.—ED., *M. R.*

communalism, have these distinctions implanted in them from the very beginning. So alive was the great Sir Syed to this danger that he tried his best to have a very large proportion of Hindu pupils in the Aligarh College so long as he was at the head of its affairs."

He hesitated to become a member of the Muslim Hall at Dacca but agreed only after finding the name of Rabindranath Tagore on the list. With a tight fist, he forbade Government servants in Hyderabad from joining communal associations (including European and Muslim Associations).

He often pictured to himself the evolution of a national culture independent of language and religion: no one could dissent on the nobility of the ideal : he did not live to see the impracticability of his dream, but he did realise the serious difficulties in the way at later stages of his life. He said :

"With our size, our potentialities and our accumulated experience of administration, with the form and substance of the State's sovereignty and our heritage of tradition and culture, the influence of Hyderabad will in many ways be unique. In the clash of ideals between the West and the East, between the old and new, and amid the conflicting claims of the diverse races and cultures that exist in India, the example above all of cultural unity which we have set in the Deccan will, I feel sure, prove to be a most valuable asset of the future. . . . A peculiar feature of this spirit of reform is the fact that in almost all spheres of public activity with which the State is concerned, a thoughtful synthesis has been effected by selection of the best features of the present age and a judicious weeding out of the anachronisms of the past, creating thereby a certain degree of originality which avoids both the beaten path of old endeavour and the barren track of imitation."

Opportunity Makes The Man

Many another of his fond and worthy ideas he could not give full play to in Hyderabad on account of the environment, and thus the loss to British India was greater than the gain to Hyderabad. Sir Akbar accepted service in Hyderabad on condition that Lady Hydari would be free from *purdah* restrictions, but she could not lead a social reform campaign in Hyderabad as she should have wished to. The compliment Sir Akbar paid to Hyderabad women was rather wishful thinking :

"The women of Hyderabad are at once the custodians of our older social virtues and the exponents of a judicious assimilation of all that is refined in the more modern modes and manners. Their social and educational work, accomplished through excellently organised clubs, societies and associations, schools, infant welfare centres and funds in aid of the deserving, as well as their door to door work of relief during flood, famine and epidemic, have forced on conventional habits of thinking a recognition of the great place they have in our society and the refining and elevating influence they can wield on our social and moral progress."

A staunch democrat by birth and breeding, he had to encounter strong aristocratic elements —specially in his Presidential days. A champion of Hindu-Muslim concord, he could not satisfactorily rationalise the policy of recruitment to Government employ, possessed of a rare business acumen, he could not banish the drain from Hyderabad, nor could he stem successfully the spread into Hyderabad of the contagion of the fast-worsening communal tension in British India.

In Hyderabad itself, he has been widely acclaimed as the *Maker of Modern Hyderabad.* This might be all right as personal panegyrics, but Sir Akbar the man could never agree that Hyderabad had as yet become *really* "modern." It would be a greater but a truer honour to him to say that he made us in Hyderabad capable of higher standards of judgment on ourselves, thus enabling us to see our shortcomings clearly, admit them frankly, and strive for their removal perseveringly. Judged absolutely, he possessed the persuasiveness of M. Venizelos of the Pre-Treaty of Varseilles days, the sagacity of M. Poincare in his Presidential days, and the magnetic personality of Mr. Lloyd George in his Prime Ministerial days ; if his lot had been thrown in British Indian public life, he should have certainly been able to achieve no less than Sri C. Rajagopalachariar in leadership and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan in war effort.

Hard Nuts

Sir Akbar has left in Hyderabad some problems behind—the nuts were too hard for him to crack, and he had not sufficient time to chew them; namely, the appointment of a public service commission, the pulling up of *jagirs* to the *diwani* level in matters of administrative efficiency and social amenities, the establishment of an economic board to correlate the work of different departments and to lay down an economic policy, in definite and bold outline, the elimination of the perpetuation clause relating to the fifty per cent reservation for Muslims in the proposed reforms, rural revivification with an adequate programme, personnel and finance, and the conservation of indigenous cultures of the Andhras, the Maharashtras and the Kannadigas against the flooding tides of "modern" culture reinforced by the steel-frame of a *laissez faire* policy. His sympathies were not against any of these, but the tactful politician that he was, he did not see good auspices for any of these. It was not his fault that these were not solved in his period of office: the opposing elements were much too strong for him. But it may not be public knowledge that it was he who was largely responsible for the Turkish marriages (of the Two Princes), the appoint-

ment of Dr. MacKenzie as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, of Dewan Bahadur Sri Aravamudu Aiyangar as President of the Hyderabad Reforms Committee, of Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao as the Nizam's first Agent for Berar at Nagpur, of several Indians of outstanding ability to address the Osmania University Convocations and extension lecture series. His was a democratic attitude to life: if his spirit were to look at these lines, it would certainly exclaim: "Perfectly so, but what could I do in the face of heavy odds? What was humanly possible was done by me." In Volume XLIII, page 60 of this Journal, I said about Sir Akbar in 1928:

> "The burden of the past woes of Hyderabad is still hanging heavy on the State, and if in several respects Hyderabad is much behind British India, this is due to factors which lie far beyond the reach of the Finance Member, and it would be the 'unkindest cut' to blame him on that score: it would amount to the argument of the wolf to the lamb in the fable."

Twelve years was too small a period for him to change the position materially. It is too early to expect a general dispassionate appreciation of his work: the personal element will die out gradually. But as time goes on, history will recognise that he has to his credit solid and enduring work which must find a prominent and immortal place for him in the galaxy of great men of Hyderabad, of India and of the British Empire. If he could not complete the pinnacles, it was because the foundations were laid deep and true, it was because the structure planned was magnificent, it was because the very process of building required *time* to dry into solidity. On that account, his greatness is none the smaller: he has left a plan put through in most essentials. What is further required is a few touches here and there, and of all people, his successor in Hyderabad in national engineering should be the person most impressed with the permanent value of Sir Akbar's conquests, and the magnitude of the centrifugal factors that have been responsible for their limitations. Sir Akbar's greatness is the more fascinating on account of its humanness.

WHAT DO THEY WANT TO DO WITH INDIA?

By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D

Every thinking Indian is asking today the question which is set as the title of this article. He wants to know definitely without equivocation as to what policy the British Government will adopt towards Indian aspirations for equality of status with other free countries of the world. This is a matter which has been hanging fire far too long already. The reply to the question should be given, in the interests as much of the Indians as of the Britishers themselves, without delay.

It may, of course, be pointed out that the spokesmen of His Majesty's Government have, on more than one occasion during the last two years, given replies in their own way to the demand for Swaraj in this country. Mr. Amery has made nearly half a dozen statements during his career of twenty-two months as Secretary of State for India and has iterated and reiterated in them the same attitude of nothing doing till the impossible condition of mixing oil with water is fulfilled in India. The Indian National Congress and the Moslem League are political organisations not only without a common platform, but with definitely conflicting and directly opposing principles and ideals. The one stands for maintaining and strengthening the unity of the country, the other for dividing it. The one has for its ideal and policy the vindication of the honour and interests of the nation with all its component units and groups, the other can thrive and grow only by pitting the interests of a particular community against those of the nation itself and of other communities and groups. But Mr. Amery tells us that he will recommend to Parliament the grant of self-rule to us only on the condition that these two organisations must join their palms and approach him in that posture for our freedom. He might have said as well that India would certainly be granted Dominion Status as soon as the Ganges will take its source in the Bay of Bengal and flow into the Himalays. Not only has Mr. Amery emphasised this impossible condition with irritating and even nauseating repetition but recently his understudy, the Duke of Devonshire, tried to out-Herod Herod in a singularly indiscreet speech in the House of Lords. The present writer has had no opportunity of knowing the grounds of appointing this Duke as the Under-Secretary of State for India. But if one of the grounds was to impress the Indian people with his noble title, we may only pity his chief. Anyhow the fact remains that not only is it not the policy of the present Government of Britain to do anything positive by way of meeting our

political aspirations and demands, but what is more Mr. Churchill who opened his mouth only once regarding India observed very pointedly on that occasion that the Atlantic Charter would not apply to India. In other words, not only nothing would be done for making India a free and autonomous country so long as the War would last but even when it would have a victorious end India would not have the status of those countries which would be liberated partly at least through her efforts.

So we have already received not once but many times an answer to our question regarding British policy in this country. Why then do we ask it again? It is not because we have any illusion as to the attitude in this mater of the present Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet. It is because many persons in India have still some illusion about the attitude of the British intellectuals and about the reaction of that attitude upon British public opinion. Recently one of these British intellectuals visited different places of this country. I am referring to Professor Reginald Coupland of the University of Oxford. He told an audience in Calcutta that he had been sent to India by his University to study Indian political conditions and make a report to that body. He gave his audience to understand, that apart from the Prime Minister himself there was hardly in England today a political figure who did not want some satisfactory settlement of the Indian tangle. He emphasised it particularly that intellectuals in England were in a body in favour of India being raised without delay to the status of equality with other members of the British Commonwealth.

The published opinions of many of these intellectuals, however, make only sorry reading and do not represent this attitude. C. K. Streit is an American journalist. He published a book in 1939, entitled *Union Now*. I am referring to it only because it became immensely popular among British intellectuals and stimulated in England the growth of the Federal Union movement whose object is to study the possibilities of a federal union among different countries and to create an atmosphere for the reception of a suitable scheme of such union. Now what is the attitude of Mr. Streit towards India ? It should be known that he was writing enthusiastically about world federation. But when he approaches this country, he stumbles. "Whatever we may wish," he observes, "we must recognize that India's politically inexperienced millions cannot at first be included in this Union on the same population basis as the western democracies." By reading this statement some of the readers may think that possibly Mr. Streit was in favour of admitting India to the Union with more restricted representation. No, not even that. India would have no *locus standi* in the Union. "It would seem now practically necessary," Streit continues, "to distinguish in the Union territory between the parts which are already fully self-governing and those which are not, and restrict the right to vote in Union elections and to hold elective Union office to those born or naturalised citizens of the former." (p. 249)

Mr. Streit, as I have pointed out above, is an American and his opinion is important to us only so far as it influences British opinion. But what was the reaction of Streit's views in English intellectual circles ? It may safely be pointed out that most of these intellectuals agree with him for one reason or another. Let me refer first of all to Dr. Ivor Jennings. I give him the place of honour because he is not only a prominent intellectual but an enthusiastic leftist. He is the Reader in English Law in the University of London and is the author of a number of books on the English Constitution. Both as a leftist and as a constitutional expert and federal enthusiast his opinion should have value. What does he say about India ? In 1940 he wrote a small book entitled *A Federation For Western Europe* with the intention of popularising the federal idea among English-speaking people. Although he writes for a federal union among West-European countries, he pleads for the entry of the British Dominions into this union. But when he comes to India, he accepts the views of Mr. Streit. He refers to general illiteracy and low standard of living in this country and takes them as valid reasons for not admitting it into the union. (p. 43) It is to remain a British Dependency for some unknown period.

H. G. Wells is another great intellectual of Britain. He calls himself a socialist and a humanitarian. He has re-stated the rights of man. But what is his attitude towards Indian political aspirations ? This has been brought out into clear relief in the recent controversy into which he entered with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. While he concedes the right of the Indians to a status of equality in the new world that will emerge out of the present war, he tries at the same time to knock the bottom out of the Indian demand for self-rule by emphasising, as not even the Duke of Devonshire could emphasise, the separatist forces in this country. Indian unity is to him a misnomer. He is unwilling to probe into the causes which keep India divided. He is unwilling to attach importance to the factor which

creates divisions most in the country and without whose removal the fundamental unity of the country cannot be properly nourished and developed. He is only impressed by the present division and disunity which is, however, stimulated by extraneous factors.

Dr. Ernest Barker retired sometime ago from the chair of Political Science at Cambridge. Both as a former professor and as a writer he influences to a great extent the views and opinions of the intellectual classes in Britain. What does he think of India's demand for Swaraj? In the last October issue of the *Contemporary Review* he published an article entitled "Anglo-American Co-operation." In this paper he has referred to the Atlantic Charter in eulogistic terms. But although early in the previous month (9th September) Mr. Churchill, the British Premier and part author of the Charter declared in a cryptic but emphatic statement that it did not apply to India, Dr. Barker did not think it necessary to condemn this declaration. He simply ignored it as if India's exclusion did not matter in the least. It mattered to him a great deal that the countries which had been overrun by Germany and Italy should regain their freedom after victory was achieved in this war. But he was quite reconciled to it that India, which contained one-fifth of the whole human population of the world and without whose efforts this victory would not be won and these countries liberated, should herself remain condemned to the caprices of British diehards in regard to her political destiny.

Dr. Barker has also written a book entitled *Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire,* published a few months ago by the Cambridge University Press. The book is the outcome of a number of lectures delivered in the town of Cambridge. Such extension lectures help a good deal in influencing general British opinion in regard to subjects dealt with by them. Now this small book, apart from dealing with other aspects of the British Empire, contains a chapter on "The Indian Empire and Its Government." Now what did Dr. Barker emphasise in this lecture to a Cambridge audience? He not only emphasises the "major social division" of the Indian people between the Hindus and Moslems but "especially a division between the depressed classes and the other higher castes." (pp. 115-16) "India seeks to establish democracy," he observes further, "and Great Britain is anxious to co-operate with India in its establishment; but India has not—and yet again has—that agreement on fundamentals which is necessary to democracy." (p. 118). It is not very easy to make out the meaning of this observation. Only it seems that Dr. Barker wants to maintain an air of impartiality. But in spite of that this sentence bears a family likeness to the statements of Mr. Amery.

There are many both in India and in Britain who set much store by the revolution which, they think, is silently but surely taking place in British social outlook and organisation. They appear to be certain that as a result of the changes which are being brought about from day to day, vested interests will be overthrown and a truly popular government will be formed in England. This government will certainly do justice to the Indian demand for self-rule. The present writer has little illusion about it. That considerable change is being imperceptibly effected in England in economic and political ideals and practices may be admitted at once. But much of this change is only in the internal field. So far as the Empire is concerned, the old jingoism, which was never merely skin-deep but which really permeated all strata of British society, still persists. In certain groups there may be a tendency to pay lip-homage to the ideals of freedom and democracy. Certain individuals again may have been genuinely converted by forces of circumstances to the principle of freedom for India. But if the old guards like Churchill and Amery hold steadily the fort of imperialism and if after some time the international sky clears up or even becomes less cloudy, those who are vocal today for a change of policy towards India will become silent and may even regret their temporary aberration. All who have strayed from the fold will return to it and will make up for their temporary disloyalty by redoubled zeal and enthusiasm for the Empire.

It should be known that even in the internal field the changes that are being brought about now and that are likely to be introduced in the near future stand the risk of being exaggerated. To a recent number of the *Contemporary Review* Dr. Gilbert Murray, the great humanist of Oxford, contributed a paper entitled "The Issue." He protested vehemently in this paper against the socialist changes which were being demanded in the internal organisation of the country in certain circles. That a man of the character and reputation of Dr. Murray could be found to write in this vein in a leading liberal journal is a pointer to the fact that the old guards have not taken their eyes off the face of things that be. They are watching it with all their vigilance. In fact, the idea that England will undergo a silent revolution and that this will bring real freedom to this country is more than false. It is misleading. There is, on the

contrary, the danger that after the conclusion of the war the tentacles of British imperialism, both political and economic, will be further strengthened in this country. Already Britain has lost a great market in the Far East. Will not India be expected to make up for the loss?

It should also be steadily borne in mind that not only does Mr. Churchill happen to be the Prime Minister now, but despite his failure in every front of the war his prestige in the country is still undiminished and hardly any man has yet thought of an alternative Prime Minister. Now who does not know that Mr. Churchill is not only by conviction an imperialist so far at least as India is concerned, but what is more, he looks at the Indian people with the eyes of a British subaltern who spent a few months in this country in an impressionable age nearly half a century ago. He is no doubt a great student of history but he loves history so far only as it narrates great battles. He has not studied it so as to broaden his mind and give himself an insight into the ideas and ideals of those whose civilisation differs basically from his own. In view of this great limitation in the make-up of his mind, it is not difficult to believe that during Mr. Churchill's short stay in India at a time when the nationalist movement was really in its infancy, he formed only those notions of the Indian people which a half-educated British officer usually carried in those times from this country. He has since then cherished a feeling of racial superiority and thought in terms of political predominance. No pronouncement of a front rank British politician regarding India has in recent years breathed greater racial arrogance than the "naked fakir" speech which Mr. Churchill made in the House of Commons in 1931. Such a man is now in the saddle and it is only expected that he will ride roughshod over our demands and claims.

In the preceding paragraphs I have discussed the attitude of the British Government towards Indian aspirations and have also tried to show that even the British intellectuals who are credited by undiscerning people with sympathetic and benevolent intentions dare not look freedom for India in the face. Now we may proceed to discuss as pointedly as possible the ostensible objection of the British Government to India's freedom. Disagreement among the major communities in this country is supposed to constitute this objection. But who does not know that much of this disagreement is the outcome of a very short-sighted and misguided policy on the part of the British Government itself? It is one of the failings of British character that while it ignores altogether the differences that may exist within the British national fold, it exaggerates and magnifies the differences which may be noticeable in other countries. It has magnified and encouraged the divisions in Ireland with consequences which have proved not only baneful to that country, but very undesirable to Britain as well. In the last century when the United States of America was in the grip of the Civil War, the British Government became impatient. It at once became impressed by the case which the Southern secessionists were trying to make out. Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Palmerston Cabinet, actually made a speech in which he pointed out without any blush on his cheeks that Jefferson Davis had created an army, had organised a government and what was more had made a nation. And this nation he would like to recognise. Fortunately the Americans under the inspiration of Lincoln proved more stout-hearted and the blows of Ulysses Grant more telling. If the chicken-hearted attitude of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had any favourable reaction to the north of the Dixon line, there would have been no United States of America today to stand by the British.

Such instances of British eagerness to notice differences in the national life of other countries may be multiplied. But we may rest content by only referring to the attitude of British publicists today to the future of Ukraine. This territory now in German hands is really a unit of the U.S.S.R. And who could have thought that any of the British people who are now allies of the Russians should emphasise the separatist forces in this province and consider the possibility of its being made an independent state after the victorious conclusion of the war? But it is along this line that many of the Britishers are now thinking.* If the attitude of the British people and Government may be so narrow in other countries, it is but inevitable that it will not be broader in India. It is, however, time for the British people to remember that, just as intrigue and diplomacy are not synonymous, so encouragement of division should not be mistaken for statesmanship. Differences there are in every country in one form or another. If the Government that be so chooses, it may encourage them and make them strong, even overwhelming. It may again minimise them, even ignore them and by this policy may actually smooth them out. In the first consists suicide, in the latter life. Is it too late to think that the British Government and people will appreciate this truth?

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* See the article entitled "The Sufferings of the Ukraine" in the *Contemporary Review*, October, 1941.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Tagore and His Scheme of Rural Reconstruction

Tagore was not merely a poet; his vigorous mind urged him ever to fresh efforts of creative activity. As a result, there is no important aspect of Indian national life to which he did not make a signal contribution during his strenuous public life covering over a period of fifty years. In an article under the above caption in *The Indian Journal of Social Work* Dr. J. M. Kumarappa interprets the Poet's ideas on rural reconstruction, and shows how they found expression in Sriniketan when it was under his control and guidance. He observes:

The ancient forest schools of India, which were India's universities, were not shut off from the daily life of the people. Thus education in ancient India comprehended all life. Likewise modern education, the poet maintained, must develop out of, and be vitally related to, its native element, the life current of the people. Economic life covers the whole width of the fundamental basis of society, because its necessities are the simplest and the most universal. In fact, society in its early stages was held together by its economic co-operation as its members felt in unison a natural interest in their right to live. Therefore educational institutions, he contended, must have close association with this economic life. And the highest mission of education must be to help us to realise the inner principle of unity of all knowledge, and all the activities of our social life and spiritual being. In other words, education must not only instruct but live, not only think but produce.

Tagore confidently asserted that a centre of learning in India should not only be the centre of intellectual life but the very centre of her economic life also.

It must co-operate with the villages around it, cultivate land, breed cattle, spin cloth, press oil seeds; it must produce all the necessaries, devising the best means, using the best materials, and calling science to its aid. Its very existence should depend upon the success of its industrial activities carried out on the co-operative principle, which will unite the teachers, students and villagers of the neighbourhood in a living and active bond.

The village community is moribund, its life-giving institutions are uprooted and are floating like dead logs down the stream of time. And yet, the village is the centre of Indian civilization, and a vast majority of the Indian population is still rural. It is obvious, therefore, that if India's national regeneration is to be brought about, the villages must first be restored to their normal economic and social life.

During his sojourn in America, Tagore met L. K. Elmhirt, a graduate of Cambridge, who was then a student in the Agricultural School of Cornell University.

He extended an invitation to Elmhirst to join him in the task of meeting this pressing need for experimentation in the rehabilitation of the villages in India. So he joined Tagore in 1922 and rendered within his short stay invaluable help in combining American ideas of scientific farming and modern education with the poet's ideas of rural reconstruction. Tagore placed his farm in the village of Surul at the disposal of Elmhirst to be used as the basis of his operation for the founding of a School of Agriculural and Rural reconstruction.

Just as each pupil needs individual attention, so also each village, said Tagore, requires individual study and treatment, inasmuch as each has its own history—social, economic and political.

Hence in Sriniketan no attempt is made to start out for the village with any well-planned programme; there the programme grows with the study of the problems of each individual village. The method of attack followed is to begin with a very careful survey of the village with special reference to its past and present economic condition, its social and sanitary state, and its educational and political position. Such a survey, for instance, of a particular village revealed the following conditions: impoverishment of the soil, prevalence of malaria and other diseases, suspicion and distrust, poverty and starvation among the inhabitants, and the drain of the best brains and bodies to the city. Further, it was found that the community life, the spirit of mutual responsibility and co-operation, was absent in the village. Roads were poor, sanitary conditions were bad and the peasants' knowledge of how to capitalize their resources for agricultural improvement was hopelessly inadequate.

The disclosure of the above conditions made it quite evident that the task of village reconstruction was nothing less than that of rebuilding the economic foundation of the particular village, of stimulating the villager to use his available resources, of organizing co-operative marketing, of driving out fear and suspicion. In short, it meant that the old spirit of community enterprise, which embraced not only buying and selling but every part of a varied life, of art and poetry, of dance and drama, of song and folk tale, had to be revived.

The poet and his workers realized that to undertake such a task of reconstruction would mean not only instructing and assisting the farmer to regain his place, but also providing proper education for the children of the village.

The rural school, if it is to meet that need, must be such as to give the child an opportunity to experience and to learn by experience. In other words, it must encourage the child to experiment and to draw conclusions from its experience.

The triple agencies in village education, as they have

grown out of actual experiment, are : the Scout Troup, day and night schools for village children and the Home Project.

Tagore was fully convinced that no system of education which does not give children under proper supervision all the experiences—social, economic and cultural, with which they have to deal when they are grown up, could help in the true sense of the word in the rehabilitation of the villages. Any system of village education, he believed, must aim to train them to meet the needs of the village itself, whether it be by way of tanning, poultry-raising, farming, gardening, dyeing, weaving or anything else.

There are over 250,000,000 persons living on agriculture, but since agriculture in itself, as practised in India, could not yield a real livelihood, cottage industries were maintained to supplement the family income. But these cottage industries were crushed by the play of such economic forces as the industrial revolution in Great Britain, the practice of free Trade Policy, and the resulting competition of machine-made goods with the hand-made articles.

The destruction of cottage industries meant the reducing of millions of agriculturists to dire starvation.

Since for years yet to come India will not become industrialized in such a way as to raise substantially the economic condition of these villages, Tagore held that any system of rural reconstruction must give careful attention to the possibility of reviving the decaying arts and crafts of these villages. It is the practice of such a policy that seems to determine the expansion of Tagore's Institute in different directions.

Poverty is, indeed, an important problem in village, but to the Poet, the problem of unhappiness appeared even more important.

Wealth, which is the synonym for the production and collection of things, men can make use of ruthlessly, but happiness, which may not compete with wealth in its list of materials, is final. It is creative, and therefore it has its sources of riches within itself. Consequently, in all his attempts to rebuild the village, Tagore tried to flood the choked bed of village life with the stream of happiness. In such task, he believed, the scholars, the poets, the musicians, the artists should collaborate and offer their contributions.

The writer concludes :

Visva-bharati is a unique centre of learning where there is a perpetual fusing of the intellect and the soul, not only between the master and the pupil, but embracing in its influence the unlettered tillers of the soil as well. The Indian centre of culture is wedded to the soil from which it has sprung. In years to come it will, we hope, inundate Indian villages, where at present barrenness and scarcity, poverty and gloom prevail, with fertility and abundance, wealth and health. The Institute of Rural Reconstruction of Visva-bharati has already become a marked centre of attraction to those interested in the promotion of the work and welfare of the Indian peasant. Tagore's philosophy of rural reconstruction is so Indian and yet so modern that it is bound to play in the years yet to come an important role in India's economic regeneration and in flooding villages with new life and happiness.

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India and the Malady of our Time

In an article in *The Aryan Path* R. M. Fox observes :

In my student days at Oxford I heard the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, speak on "The Message of the Forest." He spoke of the feverishness of the modern industrial city and contrasted this with the simplicity of life in the East, following a traditional pattern as natural as the trees which grow in a primordial forest. No one who listened could fail to be moved by his beauty of voice and nobility of thought.

Since those years it has become increasingly evident that India has much to offer the West. And now, in the turmoil of the greater World War, the East brings an emphasis on human personality which the West sorely needs. Does that emphasis gain by being linked with village handicrafts and the spinning-wheel ? It would seem so, for on the remote seaboards of Ireland, where spinning is carried on in the small whitewashed cabins, one can find a gentleness, a courtesy and a sense of happiness rarely discernible in the jostling centres of modern industry. In India—and in Ireland too—there is no sympathy with overbearing Imperialism.

If we look at the West we are compelled to note the ease with which modern dictators succeed in exacting blind obedience and in manipulating masses of men in the most cynical fashion. Fascism and Nazism have worked out slick formulas to gain their ends. Hitler gives his recipe in *Mein Kampf*. To lie boldly on a big scale, never to argue but to repeat lies with emphasis, to stun the population into acquiescence. This is his formula. Force and repetition are the key words of the system.

Looking for the positive factor making for submission today we find it in the increasing power of modern machine industry, through which huge factory plants are able to mould the lives of millions every day, regulating their activities, subjecting them to a steady and uniform pressure. Their relentless iron fingers are insatiable.

Modern industrial practice has played a huge part in the growing enslavement of whole populations in the Totalitarian states.

Any one familiar with the modern industrial plant knows how it stamps on the mind of the machine tender the idea of his own insignificance. He is the servant of Power, the channel through which Power expresses itself. But this only emphasises his own smallness. As an individual he knows that he can be scrapped and replaced, just like any part of the standardised mechanism which he handles.

During the present war period we have heard much talk about "power politics" and this helps to reveal the close analogy between the dictatorship state and the industrial plant. The individual has that same sense of helplessness when caught in the political and military machine of the dictator that he has in relation to a huge industrial plant where he functions as a human handle or lever.

A significant fact about the dictator system is its entire ruthlessness.

Considerations of morality, conscience, pity or humanity do not enter into any of its activities. It has the insensibility of a machine and applies the sole machine test of efficiency to the work in hand. It is no accident that the rules of war have been disregarded by the dictators. They describe themselves in mecha-

nistic fashion as the "Axis Powers." In this description is to be found their acceptance of the ruthless quality of drive, irrespective of every other consideration.

To function as a great machine—technically perfect—formed by millions of human robots, is the aim of modern dictatorships.

It is superfluous to discuss matters of ethics or morality with these powers. They can only be reached by reasoning concerned with mechanical efficiency and material achievement. Their weakness is that machine standards always fall short as a measure of humanity. Calculations based on a wrong measurement—however exact they may be in detail—cannot produce successful results. This is the great defect of the dictator system, a weakness which must reveal itself in greater measure as time goes on.

Mechanised industry—mechanised army—mechanised world—this is the line of advance. After the last war there was a widespread interest in psychology which, as a science, seemed bent on restoring the individual to his true position as the centre of human society. But psychological study was perverted into becoming the instrument used to break down individual resistance to large-scale organisation on dictator lines.

Against all this stands the conception of the free man in industry, subject only to those controls which his reason approves as practical and necessary. A society of free men and of free nations would spell the end of the malady of our time.

Jamnalalji

In a recent issue of *The Social Welfare* K. M. Munshi mourns the death of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj :

I was shocked when I learnt that Jamnalalji was dead.

He was a dear, valued and respected friend. In 1930, we became friends in the Nasik jail when we led the communal life of an "A" class prison ward : living together, reading together, praying together. He had the supreme quality of attracting men's confidence and I was soon drawn into the charmed circle of his personal intimacy.

Jamnalalji was a business genius. Had he not fallen under the spell of Gandhiji, he would have been the premier businessman of India, in the ordinary acceptance of the term. As it was he was the real premier businessman; in Gandhiji's empire, he held the portfolio of business organisation of constructive work. His wonderful powers of organisation were utilised to organise the Charkha Sangh, the Hindi Prachar and many other similar activities with their countrywide ramifications.

He dominated the public life of the Central Provinces, often in a manner unseen and unfelt. He led the Jaipur Praja Mandal activities. In the deliberations of the Congress High Command he brought to bear a sanity of outlook which was the wonder of trained politicians.

He was the truly rich man the Hindu Shastras describe. He possessed money in order that he may give it to worthy men and causes. In 1930 when we exchanged confidences, his donations had already run into lakhs.

He was however meticulous in testing the *bonafides* of the recipient; to the *apatra* he would not give a pie; given a fit man there was nothing that he would stint. He gave in the spirit of *Aparigraha*, non-possession.

In spite of his business heredity, training and habits he was a man of great idealism and stern moral sense.

The miraculous part of Gandhiji's personality is the self-surrender that he evokes in men who but for him would have been worldly in the worldliest sense of the term. The surrender of Jamnalalji to Gandhiji was complete, absolute.

In spite of being gifted with a splendid constitution, repeated incarceration undermined it. The stern condemnation of British bureaucracy in India lay in the fact that this merchant prince, this all-India leader, this one of the noblest of men of modern India, should not have been found fit even for a "B" class in 1932. The Bombay Government for instance in 1932 kept him for two years at Dhulia in the "C" class.

The Bosphorus

Napoleon once declared that the possession of the Bosphorus was worth half an empire. It is at the crossroad between Europe and Asia. The following extract is taken from an article by B. P. R. Gordon as reproduced in *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

Its position in fact at the crossroad between Europe and Asia has through the centuries made it an essential objective for conquering war-lords with ambitious plans of aggression.

The Bosphorus, or Bosporus, meaning the "Oxford," is a channel eighteen miles long and from 2,000 feet to 3 miles in width. It extends from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora. Its name is derived from the channel which according to Greek myth, Io crossed in the form of a black ox. Along with Gibraltar it forms a moat between Islam and Christianity—moats which have, of course, been passed on various occasions.

It is one of the finest sights in the world to travel through the Bosphorous on a fine day. Entering the channel from the Sea of Marmora one sees on the left the inlet of the Golden Horn with the city of Istanbul rising behind. On the other side lies the town of Scutari.

The potential and actual importance of Turkey as a factor in power politics springs from the implications of its geographical position.

The Bosphorus, along with the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora, constitutes possibly the most important counter in Turkey's strategical position. Not only does this channel connect the Mediterranean with the Black Sea, but, further, it forms the bridge between Europe, on the one hand and Asiatic Turkey on the other; and then further on there is the Middle East and Africa. More specifically the Bosphorus lies on the overland route from Central Europe to Egypt and the Persian Gulf.

Thus Germany with her *Drang nach Osten* policy must necessarily consider the Bosphorus as an obstacle to further advances towards the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Again, it is well to remember that the Turkish Straits are an important passway; since they lead to the lower Danubian lands of Rumania and Bulgaria, and what is more, to the vast and productive territories of Soviet Russia.

The importance of the Bosphorus has always been recognised by the Great Powers who have shown a considerable amount of natural jealousy over its control.

Russia, in particular, has made several attempts to obtain possession, and in the last war, they were promised Constantinople as a reward for their alliance. It was fortunate, perhaps, that this promise was not carried into effect. The last attempt to deal with the problem of the Straits was achieved at the Convention of Montreux in 1936. This problem has recurred continually throughout history. Until towards the end of the eighteenth century, for instance, the Ottoman Empire closed the Bosphorus to foreign nations. Then in 1841 it was agreed by the Great Powers that this Empire could forbid the passage of foreign warships through the Straits. This decision was reaffirmed as the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

During the last war the Straits were fortified, so that this important waterway was barred against Britain and France, despite their superior naval power. The Gallipoli campaign was an unsuccessful attempt to force a passage through. After the war the Allies, determined to secure the freedom of the Straits, made provisions to this end in the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. In accordance with this treaty, demilitarised zones were created which included the shores of the Bosphorus. Except at the naval station of Istanbul, Turkey was not permitted to establish either fortifications or garrisons, and an International Control Commission was set up to ensure the fulfilment of these enactments.

When in turn Italy attacked Abyssinia and German troops re-occupied the Rhineland, Turkey took the view that unfortified areas offered tempting preys to aggressors, and demanded the right to fortify the Straits.

At the Conference of Montreux, the Turkish demand was acceded to.

The Straits were declared open to merchant shipping in peace and in war, and restrictions were set on their use by warships greatly to the advantage of Russia. Turkey, too, secured definite gains. Not only was it empowered to close the Straits to warships in time of war, but also upon a "general or special threat of war."

Should Germany break through into European Turkey the first obstacle she would encounter would be the Chataldia Lines If these were over-run then the next obstacle would be the Bosphorus. Here British Navy might be able to offer valuable help. It might also secure Britain's entrance into the Black Sea where it cannot go at present. This would enable it to attack Germany on her flank which would possibly affect her whole strategy.

Unless Germany can be sure of overcoming the Turkish armies in Europe and obtaining control of the Bosphorus before Britain can render effective help then she is taking a grave risk on herself.

The Soya Bean

Attention has recently been drawn to the extensive use of Soya bean as a rich source of protein and fat in the dietary of the German Army. *Science and Culture* observes:

The London *Times* is credited with the information that, after the Polish campaign, Nazi official circles expressed the opinion that without soya food preparations it would not have been possible for the German Army to advance as quickly as it had done.

The Soya bean of commerce is a leguminous plant (*Glycine hispida* or *Soja max*) closely related to peas and beans. There are over 2,000 cultivated varieties and the composition differs greatly according to the variety and conditions of growth. The first record of the plant can be traced in the writings of Emperor

Shang Nung of China in 2838 B.C. Europe came to know of soya bean in the 17th century and cultivation was tried in Germany, England, France and Hungary, but the bean was not commercially important until recent years. Manchuria is the biggest soya bean producer in the world; China and Japan also rank high. In the United States, where it was introduced in 1898, the soya bean is grown chiefly in the cornbelt States, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri and Ohio.

The outstanding nutritional characteristics of the bean are very high protein (of good biological value) and fat content, a large amount of mineral matter, and the almost complete absence of starch.

The bean contains three to four times as much protein as oats, wheat, corn, rice, rye and eggs, and twice as much as peas, field beans, pork, beef and mutton. It supplies at least 15% more calories by weight than any other common food, except butter. Its deficiency, compared with other vegetable foods, is, however, carbohydrate (starch, sugars, etc). Although the Chinese prepare food from it in over 400 different ways, it has not caught on as a major food among people of other countries because the bean does not lend itself readily to traditional methods of cooking. If, however, the bean is treated with steam for 10-15 minutes and then made into flour, it gets a sweet, pleasant and nut-like taste and can be kept at room temperature for months and years without deterioration.

Cooked beans can be mixed with rice to form a balanced diet.

Soya sauce and sprouts are produced from dried beans. Vegetable milk derived from dried soya beans may be converted into a casein-like protein, which is used in paints, size for paper, textile dressing and waterproofing. The bean meal is used for food, fertilizers and manufacture of glue and celluloid substitutes. Dried soya bean flour is used in baked products, breakfast foods, candies, diabetic foods, health drinks, ice-cream cones, ice-cream powder, infant foods, macaroni products and as filler in meat products. Soya bean protein makes a fairly good cheap substitute for milk casein.

Treated with organic solvents, soya bean makes a plastic which is light, durable, almost transparent, waterproof and rotproof.

Many automobile parts and miscellaneous objects are made of it. It is reported that next year's motor car bodies in the United States will largely utilise soya bean plastics for their manufacture. Soya bean protein can be made into synthetic wool-like fibres, now being developed for use in automobile upholstery by Ford Motor Co. It is warmer than rayon.

The soya bean oil also is used in manufacturing candles, celluloid, core oil, disinfectants, electrical insulators, enamels, fuel, glycerin, insecticides, linoleum, lubricants, oil cloth, paints, printing ink, rubber substitutes, varnish, waterproof goods and food products, such as butter substitutes, cooking oil, lard substitutes, salad oils and medicinal oil. Lecithin, of which egg yolk was so long the chief source, is derived from soya bean oil and is used as an emulsifier and in the manufacture of candles, chocolate, cocoa, margarine, and in dyeing of textiles

Production and processing of the soya beans in the U. S. A. have grown into an enormous industry.

It is understood that the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research is already exploring the avenues of its manifold uses in war time.

The bulk of informed opinion throughout the world has been in favour of increasing the cultivation and consumption of soya bean and of converting it into useful articles in varied fields of industry.

In India unfortunately the scientific workers have not been unanimous in their opinion about the food value of soya bean.

Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director of Nutrition Research at Coonoor under the Indian Research Fund Association, is not convinced of its marked nutritional superiority to ordinary pulses, and Dr. W. Burns, agricultural commissioner with the Government of India, in his article on "Soyabean—its politics, performances and possibilities" in the *Indian Farming* for September, 1941 (issued under the authority of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research) accepts Dr. Aykroyd's verdict and does not propose to make soya bean cultivation a prominent part of Government's agricultural policy. So the nutritional and agricultural experts of the Government of India are both against a positive attitude towirds soya bean.

Dr. K. P. Basu, on the other hand, who has carried out controlled nutritional experiments with soya bean at Dacca, and who is a distinguished authority on nutritional problems has given his unequivocal opinion about its definite superiority over the common cereals and pulses in India. This opinion is in consonance with the vast bulk of scientific opinion in other countries.

Synthesis of Cultures in Mediæval India

Communal bickerings of today have obscured the basic fact of a cultural synthesis during the Muslim rule. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji observes in *The Indian Messenger*:

Despite all the inevitable religious, military and racial conflicts there sprang up during the Muslim rule a vigorous movement of cultural understanding and conciliation. This movement exhibited an amazing exuberance of its own and ended finally in the emergence of a new and lasting impulse in India's creative life. In all departments of national life—Science, Philosophy, Art, Literature and Religion—there was an exchange of ideas which provided an enduring meeting ground between the Hindus and the Muslims. This synthesis is the highest achievement of Muslim rule in India and forms a memorable epoch in the history of India's cultural heritage.

In the domain of Science, Hindu genius inspired Muslim scholars and led to the emergence of new conceptions and forms.

While the Muslim astronomers borrowed much from the Hindus, the latter too learnt much from the Muslims especially in its objective aspects. A number of Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Similarly, Muslim works were translated into Sanskrit. Hindu mathematicians and astronomers adopted many technical terms and details from Arabic with little or no change in their nomenclature.

Under the patronage of Mirza Raja Sawai Jai Singh who was himself a keen student of Astronomy a number of Arabic works on Astronomy were rendered into Sanskrit. In vernaculars also Arabic and Persian treatises on Mathematics and Astronomy were similarly translated. The same is the case with other sciences, such as medicine in which we have valuable translations of Sanskrit works into Persian and those of Arabic and Persian works into Sanskrit and other Indian languages. A similar exchange took place in pseudo-sciences, such as astrology, palmistry, physiognomy, etc.

In literature the process of fusion was no less exuberant.

It is significant that a large number of Muslim writers wrote in Indian languages, and a fairly large number of Hindus excelled in Persian and Urdu.

Even the much-abused Aurangzeb did not deny favour to Hindu writers and poets.

In language the process of exchange was extremely rapid. Just as Persian writers adopted Indian vocabulary, so was the diction of the Indian vernaculars enriched by Persian words and idioms.

Literary give and take exhibited at times amusing features.

Both Hindus and Muslims, when writing in Persian or Urdu, would begin with an invocation to Allah, while both would invoke Ganesh, Saraswati or some other Hindu god or goddess when writing in Indian languages. Hindu writers did not fight shy of purely Muslim themes, just as Muslim poets did not hesitate to engage upon Hindu mythological or religious subjects. Many Hindus wrote histories of Muslim rulers, while Muslim historians did not exclude Hindu epics and dynastic history from their perview.

In the sphere of the fine arts—the same movement of assimilation was fostered by the Mulim rulers.

In architecture and sculpture Mediæval India gave birth to a new style of which both Hindus and Muslims could be equally proud, and in the creation of which both the communities made a supreme co-operative effort. In painting also the same co-operation between the artistic genius of India and that of Persia was possible under the enlightened patronage of the Mughal rulers. As for music, the Muslim rulers evinced a peculiar interest in Hindu music, just as Hindu master-musicians assimilated much of what they thought was attractive in the music of the Muslims.

In philosophy and religion too the two communities evolved a common meeting-gound.

Kabir was a Mussalman, yet his verses testify to a fine synthesis of Hindu and Muslim mysticism. The growth of the Bhakti movement in Mediæval India is itself a clear proof of the growing interaction between Islam and Hinduism. Hindu saints and mystics shaped their religious consciousness into models inspired by Muslim ideas, while the Muslim Sufistic Order and the sects like Roshaniyas, Ilahiyas, Tanasukhias, etc., drew their inspiration from Hindu philosophy. A number of Muslim scholars learnt Hindu philosophy and religion, and translated many Hindu scriptures into Persian. Hindu writers were not wanting who could acquaint their religionists with Muslim tenets and theology.

The history of cultural assimilation in Mediæval India thus makes it abundantly clear that *culturally* India has always been one and indivisible, and much as we may talk about Pakistan today, we cannot ignore the basic fact that there was no scope for it even in the worst days of Muslim rule.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Religion in Soviet Russia

What is the religious situation in Russia? How far has the Soviet Government relaxed the severity of its anti-religious measures? To what degree do religious beliefs and practices still survive in Russia? Serge Bolshakoff writes in *The Month*:

The Stalinist Constitution of 1936 gave expression to these new developments in the Soviet structure. It proclaimed that the Soviet State is a society of workers and has now no "exploiting' or "alien" elements in it. The clergy, deprived of all civil rights and reckoned as a "non-labouring" and 'non-productive" class since 1917, were now enfranchised: they were now full citizens with the right to elect to, and be elected to, any position in the Soviet Union. All research into genealogy—in order to discover from what classes persons were descended—was forbidden: the anti-religious test in the Red Army and the civil service was withdrawn. Clergy were to be allowed to occupy any State position but could not become members of the Communist party. Article 124 of the new constitution professed to grant full liberty of worship but it reserved to the Militant Atheists only the free use of propaganda. The irksome restrictions of Article 17 of the old constitution remained in force. This Article forbade religious bodies to form any associations for mutual help or service, to render material assistance to their members, and to institute clubs, circles or societies for intellectual or humanitarian purposes. They could not, for example, organize play centres or outings for children, or open libraries, reading rooms or private nursing homes. The study of the Bible was equally prohibited as well as any theological studies except privately or in a special school to be permitted by the Government.

However, in spite of many restrictions, the atmosphere of social ostracism and the general policy of State opposition, the number and influence of the clergy began to grow appreciably from the year 1936.

The double necessity of placating churchmen now in this second group and of reconciling the dispossessed peasants to the collectivization scheme has brought about many concessions to religion during the past few years. These include the prohibition of blasphemous plays and films, at any rate as regards public performance, the elimination from school manuals of any matter ridiculing Russian Christianity, the tolerance of the Christmas and Easter festivals, and a permission to State shops to sell many objects pertaining to religious worship. The crowning concession was the Soviet decree of June 26th, 1940, which restored the compulsory observance of Sunday as a holiday throughout the entire territory of the Union.

These new tendencies were very obvious in the countries annexed in 1940 by the Soviet troops. In Polish Galicia, where there are a large number of Ukrainians belonging to the Catholic Ruthenian Church, the Soviet occupation was not accompanied by the murders, arson and general profanation that had characterized and disgraced the civil wars, both in Russia and Spain. Here there was a striking contrast with the brutal behaviour of the Germans who, in their portion of occupied Poland, imprisoned 2,700 Catholic priests, of whom more than 300 were shot and over 1,000 died in concentration camps. In the Soviet-occupied territories no parish church was closed and even the landed possessions of the village churches were generally respected. Street processions were permitted, and bishops and priests were, for the most part, left in their houses. Nor was any intensive anti-religious propaganda undertaken.

In the mainly Orthodox Volhynia and White Russia the procedure was, if anything, more lenient. Many of the clergy were given posts under the new system: for example, Mgr. Kulchitzki, a lecturer of the Volhynia orthodox Seminary, was appointed professor at Lwow University. Many other priests were made schoolmasters with the proviso, however, that they were not to teach religion but some other selected subject. Similar methods were noticeable in the occupied Baltic countries though the Bolsheviks were more severe with the Lutheran clergy owing to their obviously pro-German sympathies.

How far can it be said that religious beliefs and practices continue in Russia?

According to an issue of the "Soviet War News," published by the Soviet Press Bureau in London on August 22 last, there are 8,338 licensed places of worship in the Soviet Union, with 58,442 ministers. The number of registered religious associations is given as 30,000. As the Orthodox form about two-thirds of the believers in Russia, this would make the number of Orthodox parishes about 20,000 as against 30,000 under the Empire. There is thus a decline of one-third. But, when buildings are taken into consideration, the decline is far more evident. This "News" gives the number or churches as 4,225 (as against 57,173 in 1914). The decrease in the number of clergy is also very marked: 8,765 (against 112,629 in 1914, this figure including all Orthodox priests and clerics). Twenty-eight bishops are listed as against 130 under the Czarist regime: only 37 monasteries survive out of the 1,025 known at the beginning of the first World War. An article of Professor Nikolaki in *Bezbojnik* (June 21st, 1940) openly asserts that the majority of the Russian population must still be classed as "believing" in varying degree. If we take the population at that date as 180 millions, it will be safe to consider that at least 90 millions may be termed believers, naturally with considerable variations. This would give us 60 millions of Orthodox, compared with 110 millions under the old Empire.

These statistics are credible. The conduct of the Red soldiery in Galicia, Estonia and Finland proved clearly that many of them were still believing Christians. They crowded into the Estonian churches in 1939 and quite a number of them attended Uniate services in Galicia.

The "War News" already referred to, gives the number of Protestant Evangelical communities in Russian territory as 1,000. For Catholic churches the figure of 1,744 can be discovered in this "War News," and there is mention of 2,309 priests. Of non-Christian religions, the Jews possess 1,011 synagogues with 2,539 rabbis—a very

large figure indeed for a tiny minority but probably including synagogues and rabbis for Eastern Poland. The Moslems have 1,312 mosques with 8,052 mullahs and many other ministers.

Religion is far from dead in Russia in spite of long and bitter years of persecution and with all the severe restrictions that remain still imposed upon it. Even in the district of Moscow, which is a stronghold of the atheist movement, the Orthodox Church has as many as 228 parishes, according to the "Soviet War News."

China and the War against Aggression

What are the reasons which account for China's ability to continue to resist for more than fifty months the mighty war machine of Japan equipped with every conceivable modern weapon and supported by a powerful navy and a greatly superior air force? Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo writes in part in *The Asiatic Review*:

Besides the vastness of China's territory and her great reserve of man-power, several other obvious reason may be given. The most obvious are China's political leadership, national unity, and improved organization. All these are, however, only outward manifestations of an inner force, the tangible results of an indomitable spirit which has been animating the whole Chinese nation in its determined resistance to the forces of invasion. It is to this moral force that I propose to draw your attention today.

Of the innate factors, let me mention only three here. First, certain classical teachings, with which the people of China, whether literate or illiterate, have been imbued. One of these says that when the cause at stake is a righteous one, no sacrifice can be too great. It is crystallized in such lofty precepts as: "It is better to give up one's life than to compromise with honour," or as "when the question of righteousness is involved, one welcomes death as returning to one's home."

Another innate factor feeding the indomitable spirit of the Chinese people is the "New Life Movement," which seeks to revive and re-emphasize the ancient classical teachings by inculcating the cardinal Chinese virtues as the requisites of national regeneration.

Of these virtues, four are considered to be of outstanding importance for national as well as individual conduct, and General Chiang Kai-shek has recently given them a most penetrating analysis and interpretation.

The first is "Li," or regulated attitude, applicable to the mind and the heart. It is a natural law derived from the higher instincts in human nature; it becomes a rule when applied to social affairs, and signifies discipline when used in reference to national affairs. These three phases of one's life are thus all regulated by reason. Therefore "Li" can be interpreted as regulated attitude of mind and heart.

The second is "I," or right conduct in all things. Any conduct which is in accordance with natural law, social rule, or national discipline must be considered as right and proper. When an act is not proper, or when one thinks it proper but does not act accordingly, the action or omission is naturally not right, and therefore shall not be countenanced.

The third is "Lien," or clear discrimination. It denotes a sense of distinction between right and wrong. What agrees with "Li" and "I" is right, and what does not so agree is wrong. To take what we recognize as right and to forego what we recognize as wrong constitute clear discrimination. It implies the exhortation to honesty in public and political as well as private life.

The fourth is "Chih," meaning consciousness. When one is conscious of the fact that his own actions are not in accordance with the first three virtues, he feels ashamed. When he is conscious of the fact that others are wrong, he feels disgusted. But the consciousness must be real and thorough, so that he will strive to improve the good and endeavour to get rid of the evil.

Thus in the light of these standards of attitude and conduct, resistance to armed invasion has been and is considered by the Chinese nation as a righteous cause to uphold, for which no sacrific can be too great; and the most effective way of serving this case is to act in accordance with the requirements of national discipline. Every citizen must be honest in the discharge of his duties and obligations in the work of national resistance to aggression. The invasion by the enemy is a great wrong which must be resisted with all one's force and resources. Not to do it is a breach of one's honour as a citizen.

The Japanese invasion, preceded by years of poisoning the Chinese people with narcotic drugs, and still accompanied by the same fiendish process wherever their armed forces are stationed, aims at the extermination of the Chinese race. It also threatens the independence of China and the freedom of the Chinese people. Therefore it is right and proper for the Chinese people to act in accordance with their instinct of self-preservation, and to do everything to protect their independence and freedom. It is this spirit which has inspired them to sink their political differences, sectional prejudices, provincial jealousies, and personal animosities, in order to be able to present a united front against the common enemy. The flame of their

burning indignation heats their blood and stimulates their effort to fight the invaders and, if necessary, to die in the fighting.

The third innate factor is the belief of the Chinese people that goodwill always triumph over evil in the end. They look upon the Japanese invasion from the very beginning as an evil force which is bound to meet with defeat in the end, for they believe that violence is against the will of Providence, and that those who resort to it will fall by the very means which they employ in the attempt to coerce and destroy others. This faith in the ultimate domination of good over evil is another great force which helps to sustain the spirit of resistance in China.

Such are the innate factors which account for the indomitable spirit of the Chinese people.

A World Language for a World Order

Today we see the world daily contracting into a geographic unit through the development in transporation, its peoples coming into closer contact until they are veritably rubbing elbows, and yet unable to communicate with one another. The continuance of this condition does not seem likely. Mrs. Della C. Quinlan advocates in the *World Order*, the adoption of an international language for a world united at last and freed from war and destruction. She writes in part :

> Its realization depends in the first place upon the will of man being strengthened by "the unifying forces of life." But in the second it depends upon that will expressing itself concretely in ways that pertain to the exigencies of life upon this earth. Its realization will be an expression of social life. And so we come back to that tool of social life, language. A world federal system will need a world language in order that it may not be a beautiful dream but a social reality.

The author advocates the adoption of a secondary language all over the world, so that the barrier of languages may be removed.

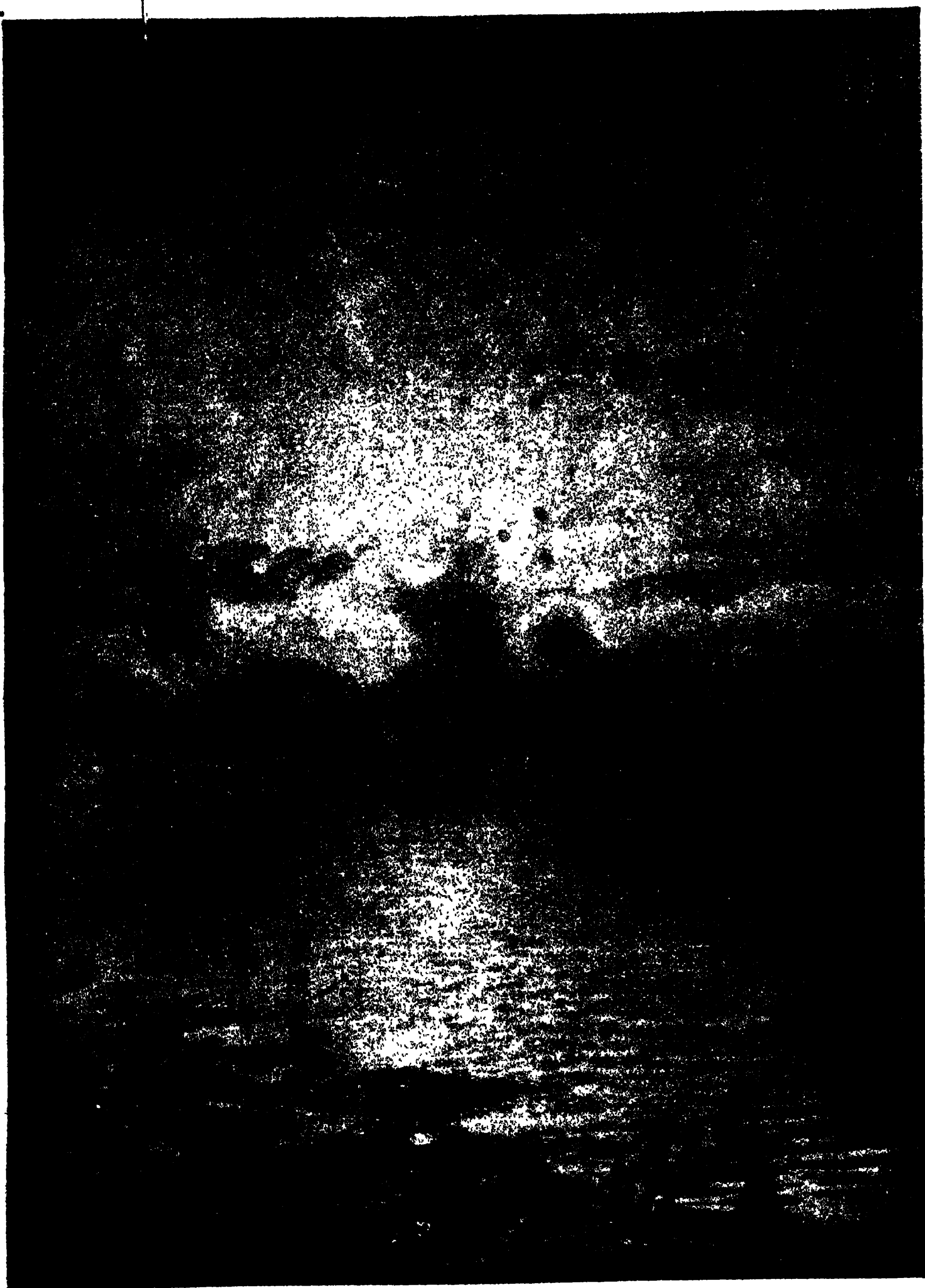
> One of the advantages which a secondary language will bestow upon the small nationalities will be to preserve their languages. With the development of European civilization, especially the present technological one, languages of small countries have tended to disappear. This tendency will be checked when the secondary language comes into use. There will then be no reason for the abandonment of a native tongue. They have all, those of the smallest and least important countries, embodied a culture. This culture is a contribution to the human whole and should not be lost. The secondary language will also take care of a difficulty which we experience in our large American cities. In all of them there are national groups who cling to their language and folkways. This is a hindrance to their complete entrance into our national life. In the future this difficulty will not exist, as they will never appear to us as strangers with whom we cannot communicate. Nor will we appear so to them.
>
> On the other hand, the general adoption of a secondary language will mean that any important work that is of interest to humanity as a whole, will be written in the secondary language that it may be accessible to all. It may be noted in passing that much original work is buried in languages that are not usually studied even by educated persons. And thus it is lost to the world. Such an instance is the work of Rasmus Rask. Jesperson says of him that he "might well have been styled the founder of the modern science of language" had he written in one better known than Danish. Man is becoming conscious of these losses imposed upon him by an outworn mode of life and will tolerate them but little longer.
>
> The choice of a secondary language which will be taught in all the schools of the world does not complete the solution of the language problem. A language is written as well as spoken. There are the related problems of a world script and a reformed alphabet. Whatever language becomes the world auxiliary language of the future it will be necessary to write it phonetically and in a script that is understood all over the world. Even the slight differences between the French and German script and our own present difficulties to American eyes. How much greater the necessity of a common script for Oriental and Occidental languages. We have also the necessity of reforming our alphabet to a phonetic system of writing. Unless we abandon many of the sounds we use, which we think of as letters, we must add quite a few to the twenty-six letters that make up our present alphabet to represent those sounds. Does this sound appalling? What, must I learn new letters of the alphabet at my age? If this seems too dreadful, think of the intrepid Turkish people who attacked an entire new alphabet and script a few years ago, and we understand with success. What man has done, man can do.

About Romain Rolland

The following paragraph is reproduced from the *Nofrontier News Service* bulletin :

> GENEVA.—Romain Rolland, the French novelist and humanitarian, about whom little or nothing has been heard since the wave of Nazi troops engulfed France in the summer of 1940, is safe and well. He is living in a quiet village of occupied France, and is utilizing his extensive musical knowledge on the study of the quartettes of Beethoven.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



TWILIGHT

By Ramnarayan Nandi

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL  1942

VOL. LXXI, No. 4 WHOLE No. 424

NOTES

Cripps Comes with "Just and Final Solution" of Indian Constitutional Problem

Next to the progress of the war on all fronts and to the apprehended early Japanese attack on India, the topic which engrosses public attention most is Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission. He has brought with him the proposals of the British War Cabinet relating to the Indian constitutional problem which in their opinion are a "just and final solution" of it. These proposals have not yet (March 28, 1942) been published, and they may not be published before we go to press. So we cannot just now make any comments on them. We shall make only a few preliminary observations.

The proposals are said to be a "just and final solution." Real finality can hardly be claimed for any political scheme, particularly when it is made by a ruling nation for a dependent country. But if it be just, relative finality may be claimed for it.

The following official statement was made in the House of Commons on the 11th March last :

"The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made Britain wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader. In August, 1940, a statement was made about the aims and policy which we are pursuing in India. This amounted in short to a promise that as soon as possible after the war India should attain Dominion Status in full freedom and equality with this country and other Dominions under a constitution to be framed by Indians by agreement amongst themselves and acceptable to the main elements in the Indian national life.

BRITAIN'S OBLIGATIONS

This was, of course, subject to the fulfilment of our obligations for the protection of minorities, including the Depressed Classes and our treaty obligations to the Indian States and to a settlement of certain lesser matters arising out of our long association with the fortunes of Indian Sub-Continent.

However, in order to close these general declarations with precision and to convince all classes, races and creeds in India of our sincere resolve the War Cabinet have agreed unitedly upon conclusions for present and future action which, if accepted by India as a whole, would avoid alternative dangers of either that the resistance of a powerful minority might impose an indefinite veto upon the wishes of the majority or that a majority decision might be taken which would be resisted to a point destructive of internal harmony and fatal to the setting up of a new Constitution.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

We had thought of setting forth immediately the terms of this attempt by a constructive contribution to aid India in the realisation of full self-government. We are, however, apprehensive that to make a public announcement at such a moment as this might do more harm than good. We must first assure ourselves that our scheme would win a reasonable and practical measure of acceptance and thus promote concentration of all thought and energies upon the defence of the native soil.

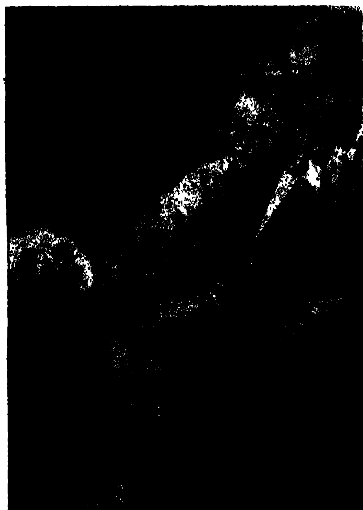
We should ill serve the common cause if we made a declaration which would be rejected by the essential elements in the Indian world and which would provoke fierce constitutional and communal disputes at a moment when the enemy is at the gates of India.

Accordingly, we propose to send a member of the War Cabinet to India to satisfy himself on the spot by personal consultation that the conclusions upon which we are agreed and which we believe represent a just and final solution will achieve their purpose. The Lord

Privy Seal and the Leader of the House, Sir Stafford Cripps has volunteered to undertake this task. He carries with him the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and he will strive in their name to procure the necessary measure of assent, not only from the Hindu majority but also from those great minorities amongst which the Moslems are most numerous and on many grounds prominent.

MILITARY SITUATION

The Lord Privy Seal will at the same time consult with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief on the military situation, bearing always in mind the paramount responsibility of His Majesty's Government by every means in their power to shield the people of India from



Sir Stafford and Lady Cripps

the perils which now beset them. We must remember that India has a great part to play in the world struggle for freedom and that her helping hand must be extended in loyal comradeship to the valiant Chinese people who have fought alone so long.

We must remember also that India is one of the bases from which the strongest counter blows must be struck at the advance of tyranny and aggression.

Sir Stafford Cripps will set out as soon as convenient and suitable arrangements can be made. He will command in his task heartfelt good wishes of all parts of the House and meanwhile no words will be spoken or debates held here or in India which would add to the burden he has assumed in his mission or lessen the prospects of good result. During Sir Stafford Gripps' absence from Parliament his duties as Leader will be discharged by the Foreign Secretary Mr. Eden.

The recital of a summary of the "offer" made in August, 1940, looks ominous. The prospect of having Dominion Status on some indefinite date after the conclusion of the war will not create any enthusiasm. Promises are of little use now. The real thing is wanted without any loss of time. However, hitherto the British Government had been asking the "principal elements in the national life of India" to submit their agreed proposals to that government to be accepted or turned down by them. That attitude could have been characterized as funny had it not been tragic. For, it is the British Government's communal decision and other similar things which have made agreement among the different communities and classes more difficult than ever.

Now that the War Cabinet of the British Government have formulated their own scheme instead of asking us to submit ours to them, we shall be able to know to what extent they are prepared to allow us to be free. That is an advantage.

That they have moved a step forward is, no doubt, due to the exigencies of the war and also to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's hint that real political power must be given to India. Japan has come very near to India; she cannot be properly met without a satisfied India, and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's hint must be acted upon—Britain cannot afford to displease China.

The British people know very little about India, nor do they care to know real Indian opinion. And their kith and kin here are either themselves ignorant of what they ought to know about the country, or, even if they know, they do not wish to communicate the truth to their countrymen at "home." The arrangements for keeping the truth from Britain are perfect.

It is a clear indication of even prominent Britishers' ignorance of Indian opinion that after years and months and weeks and days of Indian public men's speeches and statements on the Indian problem and discussion of the same in Indian dailies, weeklies and monthlies, the British Cabinet have felt it necessary to send one of themselves to India to ascertain public opinion ! However, as Sir Stafford Cripps has come to get at the truth, we hope too many consultants of the wrong sort will not result in failure of his mission.

Already a wrong step has been taken. To ask the Moslem League to send as many representatives to interview Sir Stafford as the Congress has been allowed is the height of absurdity. It is to be hoped that the representatives of other Moslem organizations will be able to convince him that Mr. Jinnah's League is neither the sole nor the principal Muhammadan representative body. Even if it represented the entire Moslem community, it could not be held to be as important as the non-communal, most powerful and active and best organized re-

presentative body, the Congress, which, even according to Sir Firozkhan Noon, "has no doubt brought about a wonderful political awakening among the masses."

Mr. Churchill's statement says that Sir Stafford Cripps will consult with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief on the military situation, "bearing always in mind the paramount responsibility of His Majesty's Government by every means in their power to shield the people of India from the perils which now beset them." This paramount responsibility undoubtedly exists, as under British rule the people of the country have no voice in the matter of the defence of their country. The British Government had a similar responsibility in Malaya and Burma. They have failed to defend Malaya and, partly, Burma, too. The defence of one's country is a natural privilege and a natural duty and responsibility. No one has the right to deprive a nation of that privilege or to release a nation from that responsibility. A country is best defended and protected when defended and protected by its own people, though long dependence on others may make them indifferent to it or incapable of discharging it for the time being. The British authorities should not at least now forget this fact.

Mr. Churchill says:

> "We must remember that India has a great part to play in the world struggle for freedom and that her helping hand must be extended in loyal comradeship to the valiant Chinese people who have fought alone so long."

Quite true. But India cannot play that part and extend her helping hand to the Chinese people unless she is herself free.

Mr. Churchill adds:

> "We must remember also that India is one of the bases from which the strongest counter blows must be struck at the advance of tyranny and aggression."

Here, too, the Prime Minister is quite right. But in order that India may be a base from which the strongest counter blows can be struck at the advance of tyranny and aggression, she must herself be free in the matter of increasing her land, sea and air forces and training and equipping them in the best possible manner.

Sir Stafford Cripps has told pressmen not to place reliance on rumours or speculations about the proposals which he has brought with him. It is particularly necessary for a monthly reviewer to refrain from indulging in any comments or criticisms on the basis of such rumours or speculations, as, if they are wrong, he cannot correct himself before a month has elapsed. (28th March, 1942.)

Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews

April is the anniversary of the passing of Dīnabandhu C. F. Andrews. We remember him today with affection, respect and gratitude.

He was truly the friend of the poor and the lowly, as the word Dīnabandhu signifies.

After his death tributes were paid to his memory by Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, and many others who had the privilege of knowing him intimately. What is wanted now is a biography of this saintly friend of men and women and of children, too—all over the world, irrespective of race, creed, colour, class and country.

A Brilliant Historical Discovery!

Clive Fought Dupleix, Not Siraj-ud-dowlah, At Plassey!

Sir Firozkhan Noon, late High Commissioner for India in Britain, has written a pictorial booklet of 48 pages on India. This book, *India*, belongs to the series, "The British Commonwealth in Pictures." India is a part of the British *Empire*, not of the British *Commonwealth*. British political writers include only the Dominions, not the dependencies, in the British Commonwealth. Hence properly-speaking this book, *India*, should not have found a place in "The British Commonwealth in Pictures" series. This is, however, by the bye.

Sir Firozkhan Noon writes in this book, *India*, page 12:

> "In 1757, the defeat of the French General Dupleix by Clive at Plassy (*sic*) made England the paramount trading power in India."

Every school-boy knows that the battle of Plassey was fought between Clive on one side and the Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah of Bengal on the other, and that the victory obtained by Clive—by what means we need not pause to consider—sealed the fate of Bengal. Of course, what every school-boy knows a late High Commissioner for India in Britain may be justified in not knowing, for he is not a school-boy. But Matric candidates who are plucked in Indian history may well wonder why they are not offered the High Commissionership, if not the office of the Secretary of State for India or that of the Viceroy.

Sir Firozkhan Noon may not be aware that the French general Dupleix was compelled to embark for France on the 12th October, 1754 and lived there till his death in 1763. A man who left India for good in 1754 could not possibly have fought Clive at Plassey in 1757.

It may be charitably assumed that Sir Firozkhan Noon is not as ignorant of Indian history as the mistake pointed out above may appear to show. In these days of Anglo-Muslim entente he may have simply wanted to avoid reviving the memory of an Anglo-Muslim clash and of the unsavoury circumstances under which the Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah's forces sustained a defeat at Plassey.

Sir Firozkhan spells 'Plassey' as 'Plassy.' If he had given the place its Bengali name of Palāsi, no fault could have been found with him. But if a writer chooses to Anglicize a name, he must follow the English spelling.

But perhaps we are doing less than justice to Sir Firozkhan's great originality as a speller. The Hindu law-giver Manu appears in his book as "Mannu" (page 8), the Indian epic Mahābhārata is spelt "Mahabaratta" (page 14), Kshatriyas become "Kashatrias" (page 15), and even the Mughal Emperor Jahangir appears as "Jahanjir" (plate facing page 32).

Sir Firozkhan Noon's "General Picture of India Today"

The first chapter of Sir Firozkhan Noon's *India* is named "A General Picture of India Today." In this chapter he writes that men of the lowest caste were called Sudras, and

> to them were allotted the most menial tasks; they acted as sweepers and executioners. Mannu (*sic*), the Hindu legislator, in his Institute (*circa* 600 B.C.) laid down these rules for their treatment. "Their abode shall be out of towns; their sole property shall consist of dogs and asses; their only clothes shall be those left by the dead; their ornaments shall be of rusty iron, and they shall wander from place to place, and no respectable person shall have intercourse with them."

We do not feel called upon either to verify this quotation or to discuss whether it gives a *really historical* picture of the condition of the Sudras during any period of ancient Indian history: the only relevant question is *whether it is part of "a general picture of India* **today."** It certainly is not.

Sir Firozkhan's book contains some praise of the Hindus combined with much in their dispraise. But there is in it no direct or indirect dispraise of the Muslims and other communities.

Sir Firozkhan's "Brief Historical Chronology" of India

Sir Firozkhan Noon gives the following "brief historical chronology" of India in his *India*:

326 B.C.—Alexander the Great Invaded India.
264-227 B.C.—Emperor Asoka (Maurya Dynasty) made Buddhism the State Religion.
100 A.D.—Invasion of the Scythians from Central Asia.
320—Chandragupta I founded the Gupta Dynasty.
C. **470**—Barbarian invasion from Central Asia and collapse of Gupta Dynasty.
606-648—Empire of Harsha.
C. **1025**—Mohammedan invasion of India.
1398—Tamerlane invaded India.
1525—Moghul Empire founded.
1556-1605—Moghul Empire of Akbar the Great.
1658-1707—Reign of Aurangzeb and rise of the East India Company.
1612-1622—Rivalry between English and Portuguese in India.
1616 onwards—Struggle between English and Dutch in India.
1746-1761—Struggle between English and French in India.
1758-1767—Clive, Governor of Bengal for the East India Company.
1772-1774—Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal.
1774-1785—Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of India.
1858—Government of India transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown.

In this chronology the Hindu-Buddhist period has seven entries, of which four relate to invasion by foreigners, and the history of India begins with a foreign invasion! There is no mention of the expulsion of the Hunas or of any other notable achievement of the people of the country. Much is made of the rivalry and struggle between the English and the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, but there is no mention of any struggle between the Pathans and the Mogluls, and the struggle between the Muslims and the British or of the struggle between the Moghuls and the Rajputs, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Of the eighteen items in this chronology eight relate to the English, whose rule has not yet completed two centuries, compared with the milleniums previous to the appearance of the English in India.

Wrong Statements in Sir Firozkhan Noon's "India"

Sir Firozkhan Noon's *India* nominally consists of 48 pages, but the text really consists of 42 or rather much less than 42 pages; for there are many illustrations interspersed throughout. If we are devoting much space to such a booklet, it is because Britishers, the white people of the British Dominions, Americans and other foreigners derive their information, consisting of half-truths and falsehoods, from books like it.

The author of this booklet has succeeded in making room in it for a remarkable number of misstatements of a tendentious character.

We have quoted one. A few others follow:

> "India's modern maritime prosperity can be seen today in her flourishing sea-ports—Karachi, Bombay,

Madras and Calcutta, the latter being the second largest city in the British Empire." (Page 9).

India's modern maritime prosperity indeed! By whose vessels are these ports crowded? Not certainly India's for the most part. Whose manufactures do these vessels carry? Not certainly India's for the most part.

The author appears to be supremely ignorant of the fact that in pre-British India there were a thousand flourishing sea-ports, though he says just above the sentence quoted above:

"With their long line of sea coast, the Indians have always been a sea-faring people: they built their own ships and plied a long-shore trade, eastwards to the Malayan coast and westwards to Arabia and the Persian Gulf." (Page 9).

These words contain an under-statement. Indians undertook not only long-shore voyages but oceanic voyages also much farther west than Arabia and much farther east than the Malayan coast. They went in their own ships to Java, Bali, Sumatra, Borneo, China, Japan, the Philippines. Dr. Kalidas Nag's *India and the Pacific World* throws much indirect light on this subject.

Sir Firozkhan writes:

"Throughout her history up to the time of her contact with European traders, India knew only one form of government, and that was monarchical, and seldom was the whole country under one ruler."

Even school-boys know that in ancient India there were republics of different kinds. What a pity that the author is too old to go to school again! He, however, writes that Asoka brought the whole of India, Afghanistan and Baluchistan into a single political entity.

After devoting a few lines to the reign of Asoka, the author takes a long jump and writes: "The next epoch of Indian history opens with the Moslem invasion" (page 10). *Next* indeed!

"It is hardly possible to say whether representative and democratic institutions would ever have come into existence if India had continued to be ruled by her own monarchs" (page 14).

Unhappily for the author, ancient and even medieval India had representative and democratic institutions.

"If the connection of Great Britain with India means nothing, it has at least endowed the people of India with the traditions of Cromwell...." (page 14).

Shades of King Charles I! This laudatory mention of the regicide Cromwell has perhaps brought the author dangerously within the mischief of the Defence of India Act rules.

As one of the benefits of the Indo-British connection the author mentions the fact that

"Out of a pastoral Indian civilization has arisen a new and vigorous modern India, now capable of competing with Europe on her own standards of industry and finance" (page 14).

During the pre-British periods of India's history were her people mostly cowherds, goatherds and shepherds? Had they no agriculture, no industries, no finance?

The author is not merely a historian; he is a sort of a theologian, too. Says he:

"The Hindus unlike the Jews, Christians and Moslems do not believe in a Day of Judgment or a next world, ..." (page 16).

Who told the author that the Hindus do not believe in a next world?

"Under Islam punishment for sexual immorality has always been death" (page 20).

That may be theoretically true. But we do not find any instances of capital punishment being inflicted on sexually immoral Moslems in India during the Muhammadan period. It is a notorious fact that in our country every year hundreds of Moslems are convicted for abducting, kidnapping or ravishing Mussalman and non-Mussalman women, but no Mussalman raises the cry of "Islam in danger" on account of the British law-courts not inflicting capital punishment on the offenders.

"Now that the political power has for all practical purposes passed into the hands of elected Indian provincial legislatures with responsible ministers, the Christian missionary movement may undergo a new orientation" (page 20).

We are not concerned here with the Christian missionary movement. But if for all practical purposes political power has passed into the hands of provincial M.L.A.s and M.L.C.s, why did Marshal Chiang Kai-shek ask the British Government to allow Indians to have real political power? And has Sir Stafford Cripps been sent to India on a fool's errand?

The author's chapter on Rural Life may be true of some parts of north-western India but not of the other and greater portion of the country.

It is not true, as the author asserts, that "in the olden days Brahmins had the monopoly of all learning" (page 36). Many others, too, acquired learning. For example, the Kshatriyas ar credited with having been the teachers of Brahmavidyā, contained in the Upanishads. Sri Krishna, the author of the Bhagavad Gita, was not a Brahmin.

Is it true that

"Education reached its highest pinnacle in Akbar's time, when India's industry and culture were foremost in the world" (page 37)?

One would also like to know whether, with reference to Akbar's reign the following statements are historically correct:

"The whole country abounded with scholars, scientists, physicians, engineers, mathematicians, architects and artisans of all kinds." "There were colleges in every nook and corner of the country" (page 37).

Whatever others may think, the author undoubtedly thinks all these statements to be historically correct. He also thinks it true to state that, under British rule,

"Out of a pastoral Indian civilization has arisen a new and vigorous modern India, . . ." (page 14).

If at Akbar's time at any rate, India's *industry* and culture were foremost in the world and if at that time India abounded with colleges in every nook and corner and with scholars, *scientists*, physicians, *engineers*, architects, mathematicians, etc., how can India's civilization in the pre-British age be said to have been pastoral? On page 9 he has stated that the Indians have been always a sea-faring people and built their own ships. Do "pastoral" people build their own ships and become sea-faring?

But enough. Let us conclude with one more extract.

"The Indian Congress is the oldest, the most active and the most advanced political body in India. It is the Hindu political party, although it does include some Moslems. . . .

"The Moslem League has come into great prominence during the last three years, and the credit for pulling all the Moslems together, goes to their leader, Mr. M. A. Jinnah. The working of the reforms in the Indian Provinces where the Congress was in office has been the cause of a great many complaints by the Moslems and the cry of Islam in danger has electrified the whole Moslem mind and placed them behind one leader. . . . Today, the Indian National Congress wishes to have the power of drawing up the Indian Constitution through a constituent assembly" (page 48).

It is not correct to call the Indian National Congress "the Hindu political party," as it is quite open to the followers of all religions to become its members. There is no credal bar to their entry, and it includes such members. It is no doubt true that Hindus form the majority of its members. But that is quite natural. For they are the majority of India's general population and of its literate, educated and public-spirited population, too. The author himself has written:

"The Hindus have a culture as ancient and as great as any in the world. They are a most refined, cultivated and enlightened people. About 68 per cent. of the people of India are Hindus" (page 14).

It is not a fact that Mr. M. A. Jinnah is the sole leader of *all* Indian Moslems, nor has he pulled them all together. It suits the British Government and British imperialists in general to believe or profess to believe that the Muslim League is the sole representative body of all Indian Mussalmans and Mr. Jinnah is its leader. Sir Firozkhan Noon has only reproduced his masters' voice. Numerous Mussalmans have repudiated and continue to repudiate Mr. Jinnah's leadership.

As regards Muslim complaints in provinces where the Congress was in office, need it be repeated that not a single such complaint was ever substantiated? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru requested Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq to accompany him in Bihar and substantiate on the spot the charges made by him, but that request was never complied with.

To insinuate that Congress ministries anywhere did anything to endanger Islam is the height of absurdity and ingratitude. The Mussalmans were given the fullest liberty—and even more than liberty—in Congress-administered Provinces, *e.g.*, in the U. P., in the matter of their religious observances, and it was the Hindus whose religious rights were curtailed and circumscribed.

The author omits to mention the fact that the Congress ministries received much unsought praise at the hands of the British authorities in Britain and India.

Sir Firozkhan Noon toured many European countries and Canada, etc., doing British publicity work. It may be taken for granted that he told the people of the countries visited by him things like those quoted in the notes about his booklet. These may naturally lead one to suspect that it is a subsidized publication, though, of course, the suspicion cannot be substantiated.

"Poems" By Rabindranath Tagore

Visva-bharati has just published 122 English poems by Rabindranath Tagore in book form. With the exception of the last nine all the translations were done by the poet himself. The last nine are translations by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.

None of these 122 translations had hitherto appeared in any book, though some have appeared in different periodicals. The translations done by the Poet are not really translations, but rather the substance of the Bengali originals in English poetical garb. A few of the poems could have been included in the English *Gitanjali* and a few others in *The Crescent Moon*. That is sufficient praise. The other translations, too, are fine. By this we do not mean to say that they are equivalent to the Bengali originals. That is not merely our opinion, but that of the Poet himself of his own translations as well as of translations in general,

as we came to learn from conversations with him on several occasions. Mr. T. Sturge Moore said in the course of his speech at the Tagore

Forgive my languor, O Lord,
if ever I lag behind
upon life's way.

Forgive my anguished heart
which trembles and hesitates
in its service.

Forgive my fondness
that lavishes its wealth
upon an unprofitable past.

Forgive these faded flowers
in my offering
that wilt in the fierce heat
of panting hours.

Facsimile of Rabindranath Tagore's handwriting, 1929. (From "Poems")
—By courtesy of *Visva-bharati*

Memorial Meeting in London on the 30th September last that "As a result of questioning him and other Bengalis, I concluded that the translations from his work did scant justice to the originals." But owing to their greater directness and simplicity and their unadorned character, they have some advantage over the originals in that they are more easy to understand.

The get-up of the book and the portraits are excellent.

Cripps A Successful Headliner of 1941

News Review of London, "The First British News Magazine," gives in its issue of January 1, 1942, a list of "Headliners," Sir Stafford Cripps heading the list. Of him it says:

All his life he has been a vegetarian and a revolutionary most of the time. Scion of a wealthy family, Sir Stafford Cripps was trained for the Bar, was once reckoned to be earning £30,000 a year. From the rich he drew fat fees; the poor often found him fighting their cases in the High Courts of Justice for nothing.

In 1935 Cripps was Deputy Leader of the Labour Party; in 1939 he was booted out. He had dared to launch a Popular Front campaign for a united Britain, France and Russia against the Nazis. Disgusted were his Party comrades.

But when the British Government wanted an Ambassador-Extraordinary for Moscow in the summer of 1940, Cripps was an obvious choice. The job was a thankless one. Shrewd cunning Josef Stalin was teamed-up with Hitler.

For a year Sir Stafford Cripps laboured in the Russian capital, was not dismayed by snubs. Stalin never asked to see him. Foreign Minister Molotoff ignored him.

In June, 1941, Sir Stafford hurried to London amid rumours that he had thrown in his hand. The Foreign Office said that the 52-year-old militant Socialist was in Britain "for consultation" over reports of tension between Germany and Russia.

Moscow loftily pooh-poohed the whispers, and the official Tass Agency announced that stories that 100 Nazi divisions were massed along the frontier of Russia for an attack were ridiculous, that it was "completely absurd" to suggest Germany was making territorial demands on the Soviet.

But Sir Stafford knew otherwise, and, safely in London, revealed the news he could not trust to the telephone. Before the month was out, Hitler had hurled his war-machine along a 1000-mile front.

Forewarned the British Government offered immediate aid; Dictator Stalin accepted and amateur-diplomat Sir Stafford Cripps went back to Moscow to sign the Anglo-Russian alliance.

That was one of 1941's most successful strokes.

Madame Chiang A Successful Heroine of 1941

Writing of the successful heroines of 1941, *News Review* of London says in its New Year number, placing Madame Chiang Kai-shek first:

Against the bloody background of modern war, Mei-ling Chiang Kai-shek, 34-year-old wife of China's Generalissimo-Dictator, is to China's millions an inspiration and a symbol.

Of the toil, sweat, and tears of a nation in arms Madame spared herself nothing, and in 1941 crystallised national determination to fight Japanese aggression to the end.

Night after night, while enemy bombs screamed

down on Chungking, she snatched odd moments to write the story of her country's agony that the rest of the world might know the truth.

She saw schools she had started laid to waste, children lying dead in the still reeking class-rooms. Hospitals established under her care were blown to fragments; vast tracts of loved country were laid bare. But Madame Chiang Kai-shek was unflinching.

In her hands is more real power than any woman has possessed since the death of the "Old Empress," the Dowager Tzu Hsi. From January to December, 1941, Madame preached purity of thought, motive and action, watchwords of her New Life Order. No food passed her husband's lips without her tasting it first.

"May-ling" Chiang Kai-shek has never faltered in her faith and belief in her country, that China will fulfil its destiny. Said she: "We will win! Every day we fight, every day the war lasts, is time lost by the invaders and gained by us. The myth of Japanese invincibility is destroyed. No peace offer will be accepted. China will fight to the end."

The Government of India Budget

The burden of the defence of the country falls inequitably on the poor. The lowering of the taxable limit of the income-tax and the increase in customs duties, excise duty on kerosene and in the value of postage stamps for letters are not the only measures that affect the poorer sections of the community, The Government of India has chosen a crude and an indirect method of taxation in the Excess Profits Tax in its present Indian form. Industries engaged in the manufacture of essential commodities have been allowed a free hand to charge the highest possible prices, and of the huge profits 66 $^2/_3$ per cent. go to the Government while the remaineder falls to the share of the capitalists. We showed specifically in the columns of this journal in the past how the textile, paper and motor tyre industries have been selling their articles at prices disproportionately higher than the cost of production. The Central and Provincial Governments have directed their price control activities against dealers and shop-keepers, letting the big manufacturers go scot-free. In the United Kingdom the Government has taken steps to see that the prices of essential articles used by the masses do not go up beyond a limit. In the absence of such a salutory provision in India the poorer sections have to pay large sums of money through the goods they consume. The Government without loss of revenue could have fixed maximum prices at reasonable levels for the manufactures of mills and factories and taken the full amount or 90 per cent of the excess profits. 33⅓ per cent. of the excess profits for the capitalists at a time when soldiers are laying down their lives and the sufferings of the masses of this poor country know no bounds represent tainted money. The Government could in the alternative have taken a greater share of the excess profits as earned now and avoided lowering the taxable limit of the income-tax, increasing customs and excise duties, charging higher rates for letters and raising the war-time public debt to the formidable figure of 76 crores.

The Government of Australia now allows profits of 4 per cent. only. Is the danger of foreign aggression less to India than to that country? In the United Kingdom the rich have to pay more by way of income-tax than in India. Why is the Government of India chary of placing proper burdens upon big industries and upon the wealthy? Is it because the British own the majority of the larger and more profitable industries? Is not the talk of creating reserves for industries a little out of place when the enemy is literally at our door and the 'scorched earth' policy with regard to industries is seriously being contemplated? Is there any sense now in throwing all canons of propriety to the winds and breaking the back of the poorest Indian consumer under a load of indirect taxation? According to Dr. Bentley, the diet of a Bengalee peasant can not keep a rat alive for any length of time. In the Santal Perganas peasants do not get even a little salt with their meal for the greater part of the year. At Wardha we have seen male labourers dig a well and work ten hours a day for 3 annas 6 pies, which, supplemented by the daily wages of their wives at the rate of 2 annas 6 pies, go to provide for the family only bread of 'jowar' and a little salt as ordinary ration, pulse being used only once a week. In the long history of India the Hindu, Pathan and Mughal systems of taxation were so designed as not to press heavily upon the agriculturists and artisans. During the last War reports of suicide committed by Bengalee women in villages for want of clothing were often published in newspapers. Numerous 'Hāts' (markets) were looted by bands of hungry men. The present Budget coupled with the policy of exporting food grain to feed the civilian population of foreign countries, as pointed out by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, may lead to such dire consequences. No one grudges the revenue necessary to defend the country but the principles of taxation should be fair and equitable.—Siddheswar Chattopādhyāya.

The Bengal Ministry and Jute

The last Ministry in Bengal in doubling the acreage of jute at the time of its going out

administered a parting kick on the back of the jute-grower, who in 90 per cent. cases is a Muhammadan. The inevitable result of this will be that the price of jute of the next crop will be abnormally low, while on account of less cultivation of rice and lack of its import from Burma due to present war conditions a severe famine may break out in Bengal. It should be remembered that this province in normal times imports two million tons of rice annually from Burma. We discussed all this in the last two numbers of the Bengali monthly journal *Prabāsī*. The present Bengal Ministry has done inestimable service to the country by putting an end to communal strife in a province where nearly 40 per cent. of India's Muhammadan population live, thus setting at naught in less than a decade the motive behind the so-called award of Ramsay MacDonald devised to perpetuate the country's slavery. But the Ministry should not rest on its laurels. It should for the first time secure for the cultivator a price for raw jute proportionate to the prices of gunny and hessian. During the whole period of the last War the cultivator received Rs. 5/- per maund as the average price for jute, while the average dividends declared by the jute-mills exceeded 90 per cent and shares were sold at ten times the pre-war prices. The report of the Finlow Committee of Jute Enquiry appointed by the Government of Bengal contains a table showing an astounding disparity of prices between jute and its manufactures from 1920-21 to 1931-32. Jute-mills have recently declared dividends at the rate of 30 per cent. per annum after payment of Excess Profits Tax at 66⅔ per cent. Even a schoolboy can understand that quite a gulf of difference must lie under the circumstances between the said prices.

The reason for all this is that on one side there are the numberless, poor, unorganised agriculturists lacking cohesion and the power of resistance, while on the other there is a strong ring of British-managed jute-mills with vast resources at their command. It was an English statesman, Lord Palmerston, who said that even the gods have no power over figures. The record of prices of jute and its manufacturers forms one of the most thought-provoking chapters in the history of British rule in India. The heavy dividends beyond the dreams of avarice, the palaces on either side of the Hooghly in which the mill-managers live and the munificent salaries of the General Managers of the jute mills, often higher than the Viceroy's, have all been possible through the unparallelel exploitation of Bengal's peasantry, who work on the field in fair weather and foul, wash the jute in neck-deep water and who have to sit round a fire through a wintry night with their families for want of sufficient clothing and get wet in the rainy season with drops of rain falling through outworn thatches or corrugated iron sheets overhead.

The Government of India Act has given ample powers to the provincial ministry to regulate the jute-crop. The last Ministry, dependent on the votes of European M.L.A's, promulgated on the 10th September, 1938, an ordinance compelling some Indian-managed jute-mills to fall in line with the British-managed jute-mills in the matter of working hours. Before that the foreign interests twice approached the Government of Lord Willingdon for this State intervention in private trade, but in vain. The Hon'ble Chief Minister said in a recent sitting of the Bengal Legislative Assembly that the Commerce Member, Government of India, had assured support in case the price of jute fell beyond a certain limit. This is not clear enough and, therefore, positively injurious in a matter of vital concern to Bengal. The record of the present Commerce Member is not very heartening in view of the manner in which he made a gift of crores of rupees to foreign oil interests at the cost of Indian consumers in order that some British companies might not be ousted in competition. The Executive Council of the Governor-General is a nominated body, while the Bengal Ministry has been duly elected and represents the masses. Will the Commerce Member guarantee a price for jute proportionate to the prices of gunny and hessian on the basis of 4 per cent. profits for the mills as in Australia and salaries for mill-managers as in Japan? If he cannot do that, the Bengal Ministry should at once reduce the acreage of jute to what it was in the last crop. Jute sowing has already begun.—Siddheswar Chattopādhyāya

[This note was written before the reduction of acreage of jute.]

Reduction of Jute Acreage in Bengal

Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, announced in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 25th March last that the Government of India had agreed to a reduction of the acreage under jute in Bengal in 1942, from five-eighths to 50 per cent of the total acreage.

The Chief Minister added that the difficulty was that licenses had already been issued to cultivators for the 1942 crop on a five-eighths basis and most of the low lands had been sown.

What Government proposed to do in the circumstances was to issue a 'communique' and carry on a propaganda, advising cultivators not to grow jute on more than 50 per cent of the total acreage, although they might hold licenses for growing jute on a five-eighths basis.

This reduction, though not adequate, is better than no reduction.

Mr. Surendranath Biswas informed the House that

> The Jute Advisory Board, of which he (Mr. Biswas) was a member, recommended by a majority, to Government for the production of jute only on one-third of the total acreage. That recommendation of the Board was turned down by the past Government of Bengal which entered into a gentleman's agreement with the Government of India for the production of jute on five-eighths of the total acreage. They did not care what would befall the lot of the jute-growers if there were no purchasers.
>
> When the present Government came into office, the Chief Minister and the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Agriculture and Industries, went up to the Government of India and discussed with them about the necessary acreage of jute production. The present Government proved beyond doubt to the Government of India that the requirements of the Government of India to supply the orders of the United States of America and the United Kingdom could be met by producing jute in a maximum of 50 per cent. of the area of the total acreage. The Commerce Member of the Government of India was satisfied with the evidence that the Ministers of the Bengal Government produced before him and he readily agreed to a reduction of the acreage from five-eights to one-half, that is, he agreed to reduce the total acreage by one-eighth. That meant the release of six lakhs of acres of land from jute which might well be utilised for paddy cultivation.

But the production of jute only on one-third of the total acreage would have been better, and sufficient too.

Voluntary Restriction of Jute-crop

The announcement of the Chief Minister in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 25th March last that cultivators will be merely advised to restrict their jute-sowing to eight annas is of a piece with the weak-kneed policy pursued with regard to jute by successive ministries in Bengal ever since the Montford days. Having no interest in party squabbles and treating the problem of jute as a purely economic question affecting the vast peasantry, we had occasion to criticise in the columns of this journal the jute policy of the Bengal Government when Sir K. G. M. Faroqui was in charge of Agriculture. The formation of the present Ministry raised high hopes. But in this matter, in the words of Milton, "New Presbyter is but the old Priest writ large". There was ample time for reducing the acreage which the Ministers did not avail themselves of. Will they now make an immediate announcement that the excess jute grown by each cultivator will be bound and sealed by men of the Agriculture Department and not allowed to be sold till the harvesting season of 1943? The criterion of the excess should be the acreage in the last crop. Attempts at voluntary restriction made in the past by Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose and by the Government equally failed.—Siddheswar Chattopādhyāya.

Brahmachari Shital Prasadji

In the death of the venerable Brahmachari Shital Prasadji Jaina India has lost a great scholar, a distinguished and untiring public worker and an erudite author of many works. His achievements in the fields of scholarship, education and literature won for him the honour and affection, appreciation and approbation of many prominent persons and bodies. He was very widely known as a sage and seer who contributed immensely to the revival of Jainism and its interpretation and adaptation to the needs of the present times.

From the position of an accounts-clerk in a Calcutta firm Brahmachariji rose to enviable heights of scholarship. He acquired a fairly good knowledge of some half-a-dozen Indian languages. Besides his valuable contributions in the form of articles and speeches, he has written, translated and edited a number of important works on Jainism and was editorially connected with the principal Journals of the community. In *Jainamitra*, which he edited for over 35 years, we are told, he used to give regularly the gist of the principal notes and articles appearing in *The Modern Review*.

Though Brahmachariji died full of years and honours, the very fact that he was only 64 shows that his death was untimely. Had he lived longer we would have been benifited more, for in spite of his persisting illness, he was busy till his last moment.—M. S. Sengar.

Sri Bhikkhu Jnanasri Oggayana Dead

> The death occurred at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital in the afternoon of March 21 of Sri Bhikkhu Jnanasri Oggayana, Priest-in-Charge of the Buddhist Temple at Delhi.
>
> The body of the deceased was taken from the Hospital to the Mahabodhi Society in College Square, and after the Buddhist religious rites had been performed by the Priest-in-Charge, it was taken to the Nimtola Burning Ghat, where the funeral ceremony took place in the evening.—*A. P.*

Sri Bhikkhu Jnanasri Oggayana was a scholarly Bengali Buddhist monk who had spent years in Ceylon studying the Buddhist scriptures in Pali. He was a learned contributor to

Bengali magazines of articles on subjects relating to Buddhist philosophy. One notable function at Delhi in which he officiated last year was the planting of a *Bakul* tree which was named "Rabi Bakul" after the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

Secret of China's Invincibility

China is a vast country with a very large population. The Chinese are united in their resistance to the aggressor. There are no fissiparous tendencies among them caused by provincial or communal separatism. They are an independent and liberty-loving democratic people who know that they are fighting for a country which is theirs. These are some of the factors which have made China invincible.

Broadcasting to the Indian people on the 17th March last Madame Chiang Kai-shek said:

"China is unconquerable despite the great might of Japan. The secret of our successful resistance is simple. We have that great weapon, refusal to admit defeat. During the past five years we faced with grimness death, by drawing on our spiritual reserves and forced the enemy to a standstill. What China has done India can do."

The Secretary of the Kuomintang, General Wutchen also broadcasting urged the Indian people to plunge wholeheartedly into the war without reserve or hesitation. "Disunity will undermine our strength" General Wutchen said. "We are sure India's far-sighted leaders will guide their country to a greatness that is destined for their people."—*Reuter.*

Pakistan-walas ought to understand that their fad will divide and disunite India and make her weaker than even now.

Discrimination in Evacuation

During the second reading of the Finance Bill in the Council of State at New Delhi on the 24th March last, the Hon. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, referring to the charges of racial discrimination in evacuating facilities brought prominently to the notice of the public, said.

He was the last to deny that these incidents had taken place. Nothing had pained him more than that such things should take place at a time when the need for harmony and concord among different people was so great. Under present conditions when the Governments of countries, where incidents of racial character had taken place, no longer existed, it was difficult, he said, to do anything beyond recording a protest with the proper authority. This had been done and when an investigation into incidents such as those in Penang became possible, he had no doubt the investigation would be held. As regards similar complaints made against a Government of India official overseas, he asked for specific details and promised full consideration of them.

Mr. Aney admits that there *was* racial discrimation. There was no sense, therefore, in the previous official repudiations of the charges brought by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru against the Governments concerned.

Andaman Islands Occupied By Japanese

NEW DELHI, Mar. 25.

The Andaman Islands were occupied by a Japanese force on March 23, says a *communique* issued in New Delhi today.

The *communique* adds: "Our forces in the Islands were withdrawn some days previously. It was also found possible to evacuate a considerable portion of the population including women and children and also a number of convicts.—*A. P.*

LONDON, Mar. 26.

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden confirmed in the Commons on Thursday that a small British garrison was withdrawn from the Andaman Islands, the withdrawal being completed on March 12.

The Conservative, Mr. Herbert Williams said that this was a very grave situation and asked for an assurance that "this new and dread threat to India" would be properly dealt with.

Mr. Eden replied "I cannot make any public comment on that, I have given a bare statement of fact and cannot go beyond it."

NICOBAR ISLANDS' POSITION

Replying to ex-War Minister, Mr. Hore-Belisha who asked if the Nicobar Islands were involved, if the scorched earth policy was pursued and whether landing facilities or harbour installations were destroyed, Mr. Eden said: "It may be taken that Mr. Hore-Belisha's point was dealt with."

The Conservative Sir Stanley Reed said that until we completely re-establish command of the sea in the Eastern waters an attempt to hold these islands would simply have meant throwing lives away.—*Reuter.*

Nothing has been gained by the delay in the publication of this unwelcome news, though it is certainly not so bad as suppression of news, to which General MacArthur is opposed.

General MacArthur Will Not Suppress News

MELBOURNE, Mar. 24.

"My main purpose is not to suppress news, but to get news for you," General MacArthur told newspaper men in his "Off the record talk" yesterday, it is disclosed today (Tuesday).—*Reuter.*

The Allies should so conduct the war as not to be under any temptation to delay the publication of or suppress news.

The Indian public eagerly awaits day after day for *true* good news—particularly from Burma.

Acharya Kripalani On "The Statesman's" Allegations Against Subhas Babu

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, has issued the following statement from Allahabad, under date the 23rd March:

"In his leading article of March 22, the Editor of the *Statesman* has changed his ground. Instead of "the members of the Working Committee of the Congress" having told him that Mr. Subhas Bose received money from the enemy, he now talks of "Congress sources" having supplied him with this information. Instead of these sources assuring him that they had evidence, he now writes that they "made verbal statement in the hope that we (the *Statesman*) would take the legal risk of bringing charges of which proof was not given, which naturally we did not take."

"If verbal statements unsupported by evidence could not be made public at that time, they may not be given currency today. Or is it that now they can be safely made because there is no fear of their being challenged inside or outside a court of law, as the party against whom they are made is not there to contradict them and to take necessary action? This is neither fair nor in keeping with good journalistic etiquette.

"Further, the Editor says: 'Whether Mr. Subhas Bose received funds from abroad or not we have no knowledge. All that we know is that some of Gandhiji's friends assured us it was so.'

"I referred this matter to Gandhiji and he said that no friends of his had ever mentioned the fact to him. Evidently Gandhiji's friends are more communicative to the Editor of the *Statesman* than to Gandhiji.

"Again, the *Statesman* says: "If Mr. Kripalani cannot imagine that Mr. Bose would do such a thing (receiving money from abroad), he would not appear to have much imagination." I must admit that I proceed about my political business relying upon facts and not upon my imagination. I would not make a public statement which I could not support by evidence. Imagination here is not good enough. For instance, I can well imagine that a particular Englishman in India suffers today from a kind of war neurosis, but unless I can support this by facts and evidence I would not rush to the press.

"I have already told the public that so far as I and my colleagues know, no friend of Gandhiji or a member of the Working Committee had any evidence about Mr. Subhas Bose receiving money from abroad when he was here or mentioning this to the Editor of *Statesman*. Having said this I would not proceed with the controversy any further."

Priority Wagons for Soft Coke

The Government of Bengal in a Press note, published on the 25th March last, states that it has succeeded in arranging a number of priority wagons for the supply of domestic coke to Calcutta and the surrounding industrial areas. This is good news so far as it goes. Neither in the recent discussions on coal in the Central and Bengal Legislative Assemblies, nor in those in the Press that followed, did anyone hit the nail on the head. The point at issue is not that scarcity prevails in the supply of wagons for coal, because this is inevitable in a time of war. The preferential supply of wagons for industries engaged in manufacturing war materials is also not so very objectionable, though the right course, as suggested in this journal in the past, would have been for the Railways to supply collieries with wagons strictly according to their bases and for the Railways and the Government to buy coal in the open market. What is really objectionable and involves a principle of vital importance to national interests is that priority is being given to industries not doing war work over the requirements of the middle and poorer classes in respect of soft coke used in preparing food. The majority of large industries consuming coal in the country belong to the British. So it is easy to understand who gain on the whole if a seemingly honest plan of preference to large industries be evolved. The Hon'ble Commerce Minister, Government of Bengal, recently said that rice-mills in the province were not getting coal. The same difficulty was experienced by these small Indian-owned mills during the last War. Why this distinction between one class of industries and another? Where economic interests are concerned our position remains the same as in East India Company's days. It is a common sight in the coalfields of Bengal and Bihar that a sufficient number of wagons remains standing at the railway sidings of British-managed collieries while the sidings of Indian-owned collieries are empty. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce stated some time ago that in the distribution of war orders preference was shown to European firms. Now on account of these war orders these firms are getting priority wagons for coal. Europeans as a rule buy from Europeans. So these priority wagons go to European-managed collieries. This is injustice No. 1.

Large industries are getting preference which they did not enjoy in the past and are thus competing with Public Utility concerns like the Calcutta Corporation, which had this privilege and purchased a substantial portion of their coal from Indians. Europeans, as stated above, own the majority of large industries and are placing their coal orders with Europeans' collieries. So on this account, too, Europeans' collieries fare better. This is injustice No. 2.

The sale of soft coke has been the mainstay of many small Indian-owned collieries. But even soft coke is classed now as less important than coal for industries not doing war work. Thus there has been an inroad upon and further diminution of the slender resources of Public Supply which is the only outlet for soft coke. So here, too, Indian interests go to the wall. This is injustice No. 3.

If the Railway Board will immediately class soft coke *for all parts of the country* as less important than fuel for war industries but more important than coal for industries not doing war

work, it will stop a public scandal and remedy a very widely felt public grievance.—Siddheswar Chattopādhyāya.

"Right To Bear Arms Mark of Freeman"

The defence of India's eastern frontier in the face of the growing Japanese menace was discussed in the House of Lords on the 3rd March last.

Lord Strabolgi made a strong appeal for the arming of Indians and said,

"The mark of freeman today is the right to bear arms in the defence of his own country. When 390 million Indians and 490 million Chinese, united geographically, are also united as a great force of resistance, Japanese ambition will be checked completely."

Lord Wedgewood (Labour) said,

"We have got to remember that the loss of India is not our loss only, but also the loss of the Indian people, and the policy of attack from India on the Japanese armies is only possible, if we have behind us in India armed people, not merely anxious or capable, but willing to defend the country side by side with us."

The Duke of Devonshire, Under-secretary of State for India, "paid a tribute to the Governor of Burma." It would be charitable to hope that he deserved it.

The Duke of Devonshire emphasised the problems created by the enervating climate in which to walk a single mile was a quite considerable undertaking, and added, "the defence of our troops has been nothing short of heroic."

We do not in the least doubt that "the defence of our troops has been nothing short of heroic." But if the Duke really thought that in the eastern war front walking a single mile was a quite considerable undertaking, real heroes would not appreciate any tribute coming from him.

Japanese troops, too, fought and fight in the oriental "enervating climate." They did not and do not do their fighting reclining on sofas in air-conditioned rooms.

The Viceroy's Call To The Nation

The Viceroy issued the following message from New Delhi on the 10th March last :

"I send this message to all men and women who live in this land, whatever their politics, their religion, or their race. You will be invited, during the next few weeks to enrol yourselves in the National War Front.

CLOSE THE RANKS

"The land we live in is threatened with danger. This is a call to action for every one of us. Close the ranks, and stand shoulder to shoulder against an aggressor whose conduct in the peaceful countries, which he has outraged, brands him as barbarous and pitiless.

SAFETY OF MOTHERLAND

"The soldiers of India, in many parts of the world, have fought and are fighting gloriously for the safety of their motherland, for the preservation of her ancient inheritance, for the bringing to pass of her hopes for the future.

STAND STEADY

"Today the battle front is of great depth, and each one of us can be a soldier too. Stand steady, encourage the brave, strengthen the faint-hearted, rebuke the babbler and root out the hidden traitor.

"Make good the defence with the country today : Go forward to victory to-morrow : For without victory there is no hope for the survival of free institutions, culture, or kindness in the world.

MAKE VICTORY SWIFT AND SURE

"We are members of a worthy company, China, Russia, America, Britain and a score of others. Let each one of us in India be worthy of our own country and of our comrades. For thus shall we make our victory swift and sure. I confide in your courage."—*A. P.*

We support the Viceroy's call. It would not be difficult to criticize his message. But we will not do so. As he has asked all Indians to respond to his call, so we shall only ask him to make sincere and effective response to his call possible for the people of India. How such response may be made possible has been said by many members of the British House of Commons and House of Lords.

Expansion of Education in China During War Time

We read in the *Weekly Bulletin of the China Information Committee*, dated November 17, 1941 :

A spectacular increase in the number of high school students has been registered in Kwangsi Province where there are now more than 51,000 students studying in different middle schools. The total number of high school students last year was only 36,000.

Elementary education has been extensively pushed in Kwangsi which today has the largest number of primary schools among all the provinces in China. More than 80 per cent. of school-age children in Kwangsi are attending elementary schools.

Lack of sufficient funds, low salaries for school teachers and improper and incomplete equipment for some of the schools often cause the standard of certain elementary schools to fall below par. To prevent and improve this undesirable situation the provincial education department is doing all it can to maintain the required standard. In many cases additional grants and subsidies will have to be given to some of the primary institutions.

What China has done during war time ought to be an example to our educational authorities and others interested in the progress of education in our country. They should at least see that there be not any set-back in the

educational field. There are indications that there may be such a set-back.

Muslim Attitude "Re" India's Freedom Demand

Early in March last, before leaving Delhi, Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq and Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, premiers of Bengal and Sindh, gave the following joint statement to the press.

"We understand that the British Government are likely to make a new declaration on their Indian policy in the course of the next few days. Such a declaration, unless it guarantees the immediate freedom of India, will, we are convinced, make no change in the situation. As the Premiers of two Provinces in which the constitution is normally functioning, we claim the right to say that the Muslims of India are as anxious for national freedom as the other communities, so that they too may play a worthy part in the struggle which is rapidly approaching India.

"Sir George Schuster was pleased to quote an extract from Mr. Jinnah's letter to suggest the difficulties in the way of India's freedom. We realise that there are difficulties but they are certainly not insuperable. We hold that the British would unnecessarily expose themselves to the charge of withholding India's indisputable right to freedom on an untenable pretext if they continue to harp on points of difference between Indians

TRANSFER OF REAL POWER

"We hold that India's will to resistance can be raised to the highest pitch only by a declaration which transfers real power to the people of India. Representative Governments are working satisfactorily in Bengal, the Punjab and Sind and we suggest that a representative Government at the Centre, acceptable to the people, will end the deadlock in the other provinces as well. The essential thing in our view is that India must be governed henceforth by leaders in whom she has faith and must be representated abroad in Allied Councils by those who can speak with unquestionable authority for her people.

"In the post-war reconstruction of the world, her youth must play as conspicuous a part as that of China, Russia, Britain and America. The continuous operation of vested interests and racial discrimination cannot evoke India's enthusiasm and the youth of India cannot be expected to lay down their lives for a cause which does not include India's independence and the establishment of justice and democratic freedom all over the world"

Britain's War Expenditure

LONDON, Mar. 10.

It is officially stated that Britain's national expenditure has been at the rate of about 14½ million sterling daily for the past six weeks.

It is also officially stated that the war is costing 12½ million sterling daily.—*Reuter.*

That Britain is able to incur such abnormally heavy expenditure is due to a very great extent to the fact that she has been in possession of India for wellnigh two centuries. Vast wealth has flowed and continues to flow to Britain from India along various channels.

Universal Literacy Japan's Advantage

Various causes have been assigned for Japan's victorious march for the time being: sudden and 'treacherous' attack, agility and quickness of action, superiority in numbers, supremacy at sea in the East, air-force superiority, dispensing with elaborate commissariat arrangements and living on the food resources of the places captured, and so on and so forth.

But one factor which has placed her in an advantageous position has not been mentioned. It is that practically all Japanese are literate and, therefore, educated to some extent. In modern warfare, brains are of greater account than brawns, though the latter are by no means negligible. And in manufacturing industries also brains tell. Hence, both in equipping Japanese forces on land and sea and in the air and in actual fighting Japan's universal literacy has been of great advantage to her. Our countrymen should take note of this fact.

Food Production and Food Supply in India

LONDON, March 26.

Measures to make India self-supporting in food were the subject of a question in the Commons on Thursday.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery in a written reply said "India is normally self-supporting in food except for rice imported from Burma which rarely exceeds five per cent. of the total consumed.

The Government of India have to provide not only for civil but also for military commitments and, to meet local deficiencies which may result from transport difficulties have discussed with representatives of the provincial Governments and Indian States at recent conferences the prospects of increasing rice and other food crops in India and have convened a further conference for April 6 to consider steps to increase food production generally as well as the question of regional self-sufficiency."—*Reuter.*

Undoubtedly more food ought to be produced in India—particularly in regions like Bengal which depend partly on imported food stuffs. But as, if increased acreage be sown with food-crops, it will take months for the crops to ripen, means should be devised to obtain sufficient food for the people in the meantime.

Plight of Unaided Schools and Colleges in Bengal

As Education should not be the first casualty, the following letter, which has appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* ought to receive attention in the proper quarters:

Sir,—The calamity that has befallen the unaided schools and colleges of Calcutta calls for a severe

pressure to be put on the Bengal Government by the University and the Legislatures for the grant of a substantial subvention of these institutions to enable them to tide over the present crisis. I am afraid the urgency of the matter has not yet been brought home to our Government, who, I am sure, may be persuaded to spend, say, 3 lakhs of rupees, out of its revenues, for the purpose. If about 5 crores of rupees can be spent to save our persons from enemy attack, cannot 3 lakhs be spent to save the personnel of the aforesaid institutions from imminent starvation ? I hope our new Vice-Chancellor will bring his mighty influence to bear on the Government.

Prof. J. C. Guha.

5, Janak Road, Calcutta.

Stout-heartedness And Ardour Are Not Enough

On the 4th March last, broadcasting in the Overseas Eastern Transmission of the B.B.C., Sir Stafford Cripps said, in part :

Great Britain and the Dominions and Colonies with India are alive as never before to the danger which confronts them, not cowed or fearful of the future but strong, stubborn and resistant in the knowledge of the justice and rightness of the values for which they fight.

This mighty alliance of the people that is today battling with the forces of evil from one end of the world to the other cannot be defeated *unless they allow faint-heartedness or apathy to sap their strength.*

There are millions of people in India who are neither faint-hearted nor apathetic. But what can their stout hearts and their eagerness to defend their country avail, if their leaders and representatives have no controlling voice as regards war measures and strategy and if the people themselves are not armed ?

Citizens Demand Release of Political Prisoners

Sj. Ramananda Chantterjee presided over a public meeting on the 15th March last at Sraddhananda Park which passed a resolution demanding the immediate release of the political prisoners whose " services are indispensable for organising a popular resistance against the aggression of the Axis powers that have directly threatened the safety of India."

The resolution passed at the meeting which was held under the joint auspices of the B. P. C. C., Students' Federation, Kisan Sabha and Trade Union Congress stated :

This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta and its suburbs places on record its emphatic condemnation of the repressive policy followed by the Government in the name of defence of India in arresting, detaining, interning, externing and restricting the movements of workers connected with the National Congress, Trade Union Congress, Kisan Sabha, Students' organisations and other progressive bodies.

"This meeting urges upon the Government to forthwith release and withdraw all such restrictions from them. This meeting is emphatically of opinion that there is not the least justification for detaining or restricting movements of even those whose services are indispensable for organising a popular resistance against the aggression of the Axis powers that have directly threatened the safety of India."

Mr. N. C. Chatterji On Problem of National Defence

CHATMOHAR (Pabna), Mar. 14.

A stirring call to the people of Bengal to take up immediately the problem of national defence on a planned and comprehensive basis formed the key-note of the address of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, presiding over the North Bengal Hindu Conference which commenced here this (Saturday) afternoon.

" Organisations should be set up," Mr. Chatterjee suggested, " on a country-wide scale so that our hearths and homes may be protected, the honour of our women unsullied, and the masses may not be faced with starvation."

"Old animosities, old feuds, old slogans and exploded shibboleths must be put in cold storage. The grave national crisis should cement national solidarity," Mr. Chatterjee added.

Mr. Amery On Not Arming Malayans

In the course of a speech at the Oxford Union on the 7th March last Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said :

" One thing we did not do was to prepare them for war. We neither enforced military training on them, nor taxed them, beyond a trifling local contribution in the case of Singapore and generous voluntary contributions from Malaya rulers, for their own defence or the common defence of the empire. We were proud of that policy. Today we may realise its dangers. But it ill becomes those who in the past denounced the British Empire as an empire of militarism and oppression, to complain because peoples of Malaya were unarmed, untrained and unused to the thought of war. It is equally absurd to suggest that some wider measure of local self-government would have made any difference.

" The examples of Siam next door, or Denmark at the other end of the world, show well enough that independence by itself offers no guarantee of the power of a nation's resistance.

" The same is in no small measure true of India. . . .

" . . . . the main complaint of political India has always been the inordinate scale and expense of India's military organisation. We ourselves have felt misgivings on the score that we were asking too much of a poor country, and when shortly before the war it became the question of even partial mechanisation of the Indian army, we felt it our duty to contribute towards the expense. . . . . Compared with the slenderness of its original resources the Government of India has achieved wonders in the expansion, training and equipment of its armies. But nothing could be more inconsistent than that people who a few years ago denounced the militarism of the Government of India and the crushing burden imposed on a poor country by the then scale of war preparations, should now suggest that millions of armed and trained warriors could be stamped out of ground by some political declaration."

Why were the people of Malaya kept unarmed, untrained and unused to the thought of war ? Was it because Britain had turned

pacifist? Obviously not. For then she would not have kept British soldiers in Malaya and other dependencies for garrisoning them and for other imperial purposes. The Malayans were kept unarmed, untrained and unused to the thought of war, perhaps to prevent any attempt on their part to gain liberty by force of arms.

Self-government And A Country's Defensive Power

Mr. Amery has expressed the opinion that "It is equally absurd to suggest that some wider measure of local self-government would have made any difference" in the matter of the defence of Malaya. It is unnecessary to enter into any academic discussion of this observation. A concrete example will suffice to demolish Mr. Amery's dictum. Of all the peoples attacked by Japan in Asia the Filipinos have given the best account of themselves, and they enjoy home rule and have the certain prospect of independence at no distant date. That they have fought very well indeed is proved indirectly by the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, Mar. 8.

American artillery has smashed an advancing motorised Japanese infantry regiment north of Abucay in Bataan.

General MacArthur has transmitted reliable reports to the War Department that the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in the Philippines has committed suicide.

The Japanese Commander-in-Chief in the Philippines, Lieutenant-General Masaharu Homma according to reports, committed *harakiri* in February because of Japanese failure to overcome the defenders of the Philippines.—*Reuter*.

Independence and A Nation's Power of Resistance

In Mr. Amery's opinion,

"The examples of Siam next door, or Denmark at the other end of the world show well enough that independence by itself offers no guarantee of the power of a nation's resistance. The same is in no small measure true of India."

The speaker named two small countries as examples to prove that "independence by itself offers no guarantee of the power of a nation's resistance," which no doubt is a truism. But one may name China in Asia and Russia and Britain "at the other end of the world" to suggest that independence *does* offer *some* guarantee of the power of a nation's resistance. Surely, what is true of Siam or Denmark may not be true of a vast country like India with a large man-power, for the most part yet untapped and unutilized by the Government.

Indian Military Expenditure and Political India's Complaint

Mr. Amery has tried to ridicule political India for its criticism of "the inordinate scale and expense of India's military expenditure," and its assumed suggestion "that millions of armed and trained warriors could be stamped out of ground by some political declaration." Political India has never suggested that a mere political *declaration* can stamp out of ground millions of armed and trained warriors. What it believes is that if the declaration of India's independence or self-rule took or even now takes concrete shape instead of remaining a mere declaration, the country's fighting forces could be or can be enormously increased. What was the strength of Britain's army in peace time? Has not that strength increased immensely? And has not that increase been feasible because Britain is a self-ruling country? Have not China's and Russia's armies become many times larger than they were at peace time? Would such increase have been possible if those countries had been subject to some foreign country always apprehensive of rebellion on the part of the dependencies?

Political India criticized the Government's heavy military expenditure *in peace time* because the army was often used mainly for imperial purposes abroad and the very costly White section of the army was really a garrison.

That Britain bore part of the mechanization expenses of the army in India was not an act of charity. It was only a slight repayment of the enormous wealth obtained by Britain from India in various ways for wellnigh two centuries.

Though Indians are poor, India is not poor. It is a country of vast natural resources, and has enriched Britain most of all and, next to Britain, Germany, Japan and other industrial countries, the people of India all the while remaining poor. That Britain is able to incur the very heavy daily war expenditure of more than $1\frac{3}{4}$ crores of rupees is mainly because India has enriched her in various ways.

If India had been independent and self-ruling much of her vast wealth which has flowed to other lands would have remained in the country and enabled it to have an adequate trained and mechanized army, a large and strong navy and a sufficient air force for defensive purposes.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill

The Calcutta Gazette has published the new Secondary Education Bill in an extraordinary

issue on the 28th March last. It is proposed to be introduced in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 1st April, 1942.

The bill is in many respects different from the bill of the past ministry.

(1) It proposes to set up a Board with 60 members of which 44 are to be elected from different educational bodies including the University of Calcutta (2) and the University of Dacca (3).

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Board shall constitute an Executive Council of 22 members of whom 13 are to come through election. In both these bodies proportionate representations are given to communities.

A SPECIAL FEATURE

A special feature of the Bill is the constitution of five committees, called the (1) Islamic Secondary Education Committee, (2) Hindu Secondary Education Committee, (3) Girls' Secondary Education Committee, (4) Scheduled Castes Secondary Education Committee and (5) Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education. The function of these committees will be to conduct education entirely related to the respective culture and religion.

Without entering into any elaborate criticism of the bill, it may be observed that it is a sad and untrue suggestion that the Scheduled Castes have a culture and religion different from the culture and religion of the Hindus. Will the Girls' Secondary Education Committee "conduct education entirely related to" a girlish culture and religion different from the culture and religion of, say, boys ?

"Subhas Chandra Bose Killed In Air Crash"

LONDON, March 28.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, was killed in Air crash off the Coast of Japan according to the Lyons Radio quoting a Tokyo message. A message from Vichy says :

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose lost his life when the plane in which he was flying to Tokyo to attend a "Free India Congress" crashed off the Japanese Coast according to a Tokyo message. With him were his adjutant and a number of other Indians.

A Bangkok dispatch to the German News Agency says that two leaders of the Indian community in Siam were killed in an aeroplane crash off Japan. They were *en route* to Tokyo to attend a Conference of all Indians in the Far East.—*Reuter.*

11 KILLED IN AIR CRASH

MALAYA INDIAN GOOD-WILL MISSION TO TOKYO

TOKYO, Mar. 27.

Eleven persons, including four members of the Malaya Indian Good-Will Mission *en route* to Tokyo are believed to have been killed in a plane crash, states the official Japanese News Agency.

The plane which had been chartered by the Army was last reported on Tuesday heading towards Tokyo. No news had been received of the plane since nor have any traces of it been found, despite an intensive search. —*Reuter.*

SJ. SUBHAS BOSE'S DEATH NEWS TO BE REGARDED WITH SUSPICION

LONDON, Mar. 30.

The reported death of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in the circumstances described as a result of an aeroplane accident, while proceeding to Tokyo, should be regarded with suspicion.

The first message from Japan concerning the aeroplane accident made no mention of Mr. Bose, either Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be in Berlin, or Mr. Rash Behari Bose, believed to be in Tokyo, with whom Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is often confused.

The news was received *via* the radio. It is significant that the German official news agency and the German home broadcast in their reference to the accident also do not mention any Bose.

The first reference to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose being involved in the accident was made by the French broadcast, which said that the news was received from Tokyo messages. It seems to be that on the basis of these messages the death of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was assumed.—*Reuter.*

GANDHIJI & M. AZAD

CONGRATULATE MOTHER OF SJ. SUBHAS BOSE

Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad have sent the following telegram to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's mother :

"Thank God, what purported to be authentic has proved to be wrong. We congratulate you and the nation."—*A. P.*

British War Cabinet's Draft Of New Constitution For India

The following is the draft of the declaration relating to the British War Cabinet's new Constitution for India :

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has brought with him for discussion with Indian leaders, and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of those discussions which are now taking place.

NEW INDIAN UNION

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of Self-Government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs.

THE DECLARATION

His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following declaration :—

(*A*) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in a manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(*B*) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body.

(*C*) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to :—

(I) The right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession, if it so decides.

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

TRANSFER OF RESPONSIBILITY

(II) The signing of a treaty, which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands. It will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities, but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member-States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(*D*) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :

CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY

Immediately upon the result being known of Provincial elections, which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 1/10th of the number of the electoral college.

STATES REPRESENTATIVES

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(*E*) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.—*A. P.*

This document has reminded us of paragraph 26 of the *Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform,* Volume I (Part I), from which during the last few years we have repeatedly quoted the following sentences :

If the establishment of Provincial Autonomy marks, not so much a new departure, as the next stage in a path which India has long been treading, it is the more necessary that, on entering this stage, we should pause to take stock of the direction in which we have been moving. We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but in transferring so many of the powers of government to the Provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, *we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity.*" (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

Borrowing the language of the abovementioned *Report*, we may say with regard to the British War Cabinet's Draft Declaration which Sir Stafford Cripps has brought with him that *the publication of this document "marks, not so much a new departure, as the next stage in a path which India has long been treading."* We should only like to observe that it is not India which has been spontaneously and willingly treading that path, but it is British policy which has been leading India along that path or obliging it to tread it.

And what is that path ? The process of increasing weakening of Indian Unity terminating perhaps in its destruction.

In making this draft declaration the War Cabinet "have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity" which British rule is alleged to have conferred on India.

Provincial autonomy has weakened India's unity. The British War Cabinet's draft declaration, if acted upon, may weaken it still further, if it does not destroy it altogether. How it may weaken or destroy Indian unity may be easily understood from the following provisions in the Declaration.

[After the constitution-making body provided for in the Declaration has framed the New Indian Constitution.]

(C) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to :

(I) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession, if it so decides.

With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(II).......Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

In the course of a two-hour press conference with Sir Stafford Cripps at New Delhi on the 29th March last, a press correspondent asked him: "Did the scheme mean that Pakistan had been conceded?" "Certainly not," replied Sir Stafford.

With due deference to him, we must say that something more than and worse than Pakistan has been conceded in effect. No persons except the Muslims following Mr. Jinnah had ever asked that they should be allowed to form an Union separate from the rest of India. The very idea of a political entity separate from the rest of India has been the exclusive fad of the Pakistanists. So when the draft declaration concedes the principle of some province or provinces standing aloof from the proposed Indian Union, Pakistan has undoubtedly been conceded in substance.

And something worse, too, has been conceded. The Princes had opposed Federation as provided for in the Government of India Act of 1935 but they had never wanted to separate themselves from the rest of India and form a separate political entity. But in the Declaration they, too, like the non-acceding British Province or Provinces, are allowed to form a Union of their own.

So instead of one Ulster, we may have more than one;—one or more Pakistani Ulsters, one or more Princely Ulsters, etc.

Supposing India attains Dominion Status after the cessation of hostilities, Britain may continue to have a finger in the Indian pie. For it is stated in the Declaration:

(II) The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities.

If after the signing of the treaty and the formation and functioning of the Indian Union, the Union does not act according to the provisions in the treaty for the protection of racial and religious minorities, will or will not Britain intervene? If she intervenes, how will she do so?

The constitution-making body is to be formed in the following manner:

(*D*) The constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities.

Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of provincial legislatures shall, as a single Electoral College, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 1/10th of the number of the Electoral College.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

It is taken for granted here that the Provinces, as at present constituted, have been formed on just and consistent principles and that the number of seats in the Lower Houses therein assigned to the different communities and classes thereof follow some just and consistent principles. Take the case of Bengal.

Sindh and Orissa were constituted separate provinces on the linguistic basis. But in the case of Bengal this linguistic principle has not been observed. Some Bengali-speaking areas, *e.g.*, in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas, have been taken away from Bengal and tacked on to the Bihar Province. Some Bengali-speaking areas have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Assam Government, too.

If the linguistic principle had been observed in the case of Bengal, the Muslim majority in the province would have been at least reduced, if it did not vanish altogether.

But even in the Bengal Province as at present constituted the Hindus have been very unjustly treated as regards seats in the legislature assigned to them. In whatever province the Moslems are a minority, they have been given weightage in the shape of more seats in the legislature than they are entitled to on the population basis. The Hindus are a minority in Bengal according to the official census. But instead of getting any weightage they have not been given even the number of seats they are entitled to on the strength of the Hindu population of Bengal. So in the constitution-making body the Hindus of Bengal would be very much under-represented. And not the Hindus of Bengal alone, but in all the Hindu-majority pro inces, too. For, as in them the Moslems are over-represented owing to the weightage given to them, the Hindus are under-represented to the extent that the Muslims are over-represented.

Hence the Hindus are not to have that voice and that share in constitution-making which they are justly entitled to.

Supposing that in the constitution-making body Bengal's representatives decide to stand aloof from the Indian Union and a plebiscite has to be taken to come to a final decision, the Hindus of the province of Bengal as at present constituted will be able to cast both numerically and proportionately a lesser number of votes than if the Province had been constituted on the linguistic basis.

We do not raise or discuss here in detail the question whether the sort of Dominion Status mentioned in the Declaration, very aptly described by Mahatma Gandhi as "a post-dated cheque," can satisfy those who want independence after the cessation of hostilities—immediate independence being, of course, out of the question.

There is substantial difference between the Constituent Assembly proposed by the Congress and the constitution-making body provided for in the Declaration, the former in our opinion being better than the latter.

During the war the people of India are to have no voice even in the defence of their country. The Dominions have a voice. The expansion of the Viceroy's Council is left entirely in his hands. These are defects.

A Fundamental Defect of the War Cabinet's Draft Declaration

The unity of a country is the most important element of its strength. To preserve this unity, the United States of America had to fight a long and bloody civil war. If the Southern States had been allowed to secede, the United States of America could never have been the enlightened, wealthy and powerful State that it has become. Before Canada obtained self-government, there were constant quarrels between the English-speaking and the French-speaking Canadians. If the two sections of the Canadian people, who in religion were broadly-speaking Protestants and Roman Catholics, had been allowed to form separate political units, Canada could never have been the enlightened, prosperous and strong Dominion that it is.

Of the white population of the Union of South Africa the principal elements are sprung from the British and the Dutch (Boer) stock. But at the time of the formation of the Union, neither the British nor the Boers were allowed the option of not acceding to the Union.

And today though there is a strong Boer party desirous of seceding from the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is not able to do so, because of the British and pro-British Boer elements in the population of the Union. And the fact that both the British and the Boers are in the South African Union makes it the strong Dominion that it is.

Feeling that so long as Ulster stands aloof from the rest of Ireland, that Emerald Island cannot be as prosperous and strong as it ought to be, De Valera has been all along striving to the best of his ability to bring about unity between Ulster and the rest of Ireland.

Soviet Russia did not give any of its parts the right to stand aloof and form a separate Union. On the contrary, it is shedding the blood of hundreds of thousands of its citizens, to recover Ukraine, etc. Similarly China is trying at the cost of rivers of blood to recover Manchuria, etc. But we forget Soviet Russia and China have no foreign masters.

In the British War Cabinet's Declaration relating to India, that territorial and political integrity of a vast country has been nonchalantly or light-heartedly jeopardized for preserving which America had to engage in a sanguinary civil war. We do not ascribe to the War Cabinet any sinister motive. But even if there be no sinister motive, nay, even if the motive be all that it should be, a wrong step is bound to produce its evil consequence.

War Cabinet's Declaration a Challenge to All Indians

The War Cabinet may defend the option given to Provinces and States to join or not to join the Indian Union by invoking the principle of self-determination. But self-determination may sometimes run mad. If provinces are to have the option of acceding or not acceding to the Indian Union, why not give the same suicidal right to parts of provinces? Let us take a few concrete examples. As separate Provinces, Sind, N.-W. F. P., Assam and Orissa are to have the option of joining or not joining the Indian Union. Each of these four provinces has a smaller population than Western Bengal, which is predominantly a Hindu area. Bengal as at present constituted has a Moslem majority. Supposing it refused to join the Indian Union and wanted to join another Union, virtually a Pakistan, why should not Western Bengal in that case have the liberty to form part of the Indian Union? In the Panjab, there is a predominantly Sikh region, including Ludhiana. In case the Panjab refused to join the Indian Union, why should not this Sikh region have the liberty to remain in the Indian Union?

The option given to Provinces and States to form Unions different from the Indian Union is a challenge to patriotic Indians, who, irrespective of their race, creed and caste, owe allegiance to an undivided India. It will test their loyalty to their Motherland. They should so prepare their own minds and that of their compatriots that the Provinces or States where they live may unhesitatingly choose to form part of the Indian Union, should, of course, the British Government decide to give effect to the Declaration. Even after the decision of the representatives of a Province or State to stand aloof, there would come the plebiscite stage. Then, too, the Akhand or undivided India campaign should be vigorously and unremittingly carried on in every Province, State, District, Town, Village, Hamlet and Home.

The Declaration An Apple Of Discord In Effect

The British War Cabinet have sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India with their draft declaration in order that the people of India may unitedly make a total war effort. But the Declaration, if given effect to in its present form, will, at least partly, if not entirely defeat their object. It will serve as an apple of discord.

The Jinnahite cry for a separate political entity has been opposed all along by Nationalist Muslims of various groups—Momins, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Azad Conferences, Shiahs, Arhars, etc.,—whose numerical strength and political importance are greater than those of the Jinnahites. The British Government's declaration will please only the latter.

As regards the Princes, the number and importance of those are not negligible who are supporters of the Nationalist movement and hold the views of H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir as expressed in the following passage from a statement recently issued by His Highness:

> These relations (to the Crown) has so far been maintained through and effected by a department set up by the will of the Crown, the policy and practice of the department being determined by the Crown's functionaries. Logically, therefore, it would seem that the Princes cannot object to having dealings with a Central Government of India which the Crown may constitute. Nor have they reason to assume that they would not get a square deal from such a Government.

Among the princes, too, separatist tendencies will be stirred up by the Declaration. This will not probably lessen their help in the war effort, for they are very much under the thumb of the Residents and Political Agents. But their enthusiasm may be diverted from the war effort to some extent.

Whatever the promise or performance of the British Government in the matter of India's constitutional advancement, we are wholeheartedly for the defeat of the Fascist powers. For their victory would spell another period of subjection—a new kind of subjection—to India. Through long contact with the British people and their politicians we have come to understand them and their policy. So whatever their intention may be, we can act in such a manner as to win freedom at no distant date, and that without armed rising. But if India came to have a new ruling nation, not only would there be fresh oppression, spoliation and exploitation, but it will take a long time to understand the new rulers and their policy in order to so shape our national movement as to be able to win freedom in the long run. Hence, in our opinion, the victory of the Allies would be preferable to that of the Axis powers. There are, of course, other reasons why we wish victory to the Allies. So whatever stands in the way of India's total war-effort cannot but be deprecated. For that reason we dislike the Draft Declaration.

Draft Declaration A Challenge to Nationalist Muslims

Nationalist Muslims in and outside the Indian National Congress understand that there can be no Indian freedom without Indian Unity in an undivided India. The Draft Declaration will put to the test their loyalty to this idea. The prospect of Communal Raj is very tempting. But it does not require much intelligence to understand that there cannot be any undisputed Communal Sovereign Power in India. Whoever wishes to establish communal rule in India or in any of its parts must play the part of the chief servant of Britain or some other foreign power. India can be entirely free only as a non-communal democracy.

Nationalist Moslems in the Mussalman majority provinces can meet the challenge of the Draft Declaration by Nationalizing the political views of their co-religionists in the Provinces and States where they live.

Gandhiji's Call to Celebrate National Week

BOMBAY, Mar. 29.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in today's *Harijan* on "National Week" as follows:

"The National Week comes every year with the certainty of seasons. It has come for over twenty years now, and yet we seem to be as far as ever from our freedom or communal unity or universalisation of Khadi. We started the celebration with these three definite things. They were convertible terms. If we had unity, we could get freedom, and also if all were converted to the Khadi cult. Though we have added many things since to our Constructive Programme, the original is as true today as it was when it was first conceived and started.

How shall we behave during the forthcoming week? Let us not treat freedom apart from its components. Then there remain communal unity and the thirteen other items, at the centre of which stands Khadi in its widest sense.

Communal unity at the top will come in its time. We want freedom for the masses, and so do we want communal unity for and among the masses. If we have it in our hearts, let us show it in our daily little acts towards one another.

I will not mention the other item. All organisations will look after them. A word is necessary about Khadi. Hitherto we have had Khadi sales. This time, thanks to many causes, we have no Khadi to sell. But we can all produce, we can all collect funds. If we have enough capital, we can produce more Khadi. But we can also do Tunai or carding and even weaving not for sale but for the nation. We would, therefore, give our output to the A. I. S. A. at its dépots in our localities.

And let me not forget the 24 hours fast on the 6th and the 13th April. Thousands believed in it when we began. We did not err in fasting. Let those who have faith in it not forget fasting and prayer.

Dyal Singh College, Lahore

We have received a communication from the Brahmo Samaj, Lahore, calling attention to the affairs of Dyal Singh College, Lahore. We have read the relevant portions of the will of the late Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia relating to the College. We have never had any doubt that the Sardar wanted to establish a College to further the cause of the pure theism which the Brahmo Samaj inculcates. In brief, he wanted it to be a Brahmo College. Its history, too, proves the Founder's intention. Its Principals, with one exception we believe, have been hitherto all Brahmos, and some of the professors, too, have been Brahmos. We think the Trustees and the Governing Body of the College should see to it that a competent Brahmo is always at the head of the College, assisted by as many competent Brahmo professors as may be available.

"Scorched Earth" Policy

The idea underlying the "scorched earth" policy is that if invaders succeed in occupying a country, they should not have the advantage of exploiting the natural resources of the country with the help of the industrial plant that it may possess, or of replenishing their stores of food, etc. If this policy is to be followed in India, will it be followed without any racial discrimination? Will the Britishers' factories, etc., be destroyed as well as those of the Indians?

Those who oppose this policy do so in the hope that if the Japanese come to occupy any region they will not oust the present proprietors of the mills and factories. Is that a well founded hope?

If some time after the Japanese occupation of a region in which the scorched earth policy has not been followed, the Japanese are driven out, will they not give effect to the scorched earth policy before they leave the region?

An Anti-Fascist Meeting in Calcutta

The other day there was a public meeting of anti-Fascist authors and journalists at the Calcutta University Institute, presided over by Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee. Besides the president, Sjt. Atul Chandra Gupta (Advocate), Dr Amiya Chakravarti, and many others addressed the meeting. Anti-Fascist cartoons were exhibited in the hall. There is a surging anti-Fascist feeling in the country, which, however, is mostly running to waste.

Patna Radio Centre

A desire has been expressed, not merely by Bengalis in Bihar, that the Patna Radio Centre should have Bengali programmes along with Hindi and English programmes. It is a very reasonable desire. We have said that it is not merely Bengalis who want Bengali programmes. We speak from personal experience. We have personally seen Biharis outside the Bengal province listening to Bengali songs broadcasted from the Calcutta centre. We are informed many Bihari gentlemen have joined the Bengalis in asking that there should be Bengali programmes at the Patna centre.

In deciding whether there should be Bengali programmes at the Patna centre it will not do to merely ascertain the number of Bengalis in Bihar province whose mother-tongue is Bengali. The question is how many among the Bengalis are educated people and have radio sets. Their number will not be negligible. But if the question is to be settled by merely counting heads, may it be asked, of how many persons in Bihar is English the mother-tongue? Certainly their number is very much less than those whose mother-tongue is Bengali. That English is the language of the rulers and is understood by others

also is beside the point. Moreover, Bengali, too, is understood by numerous non-Bengalis. To conclude, is there any English song-maker whose English songs are in as great demand among Indians as the Bengali songs of Rabindranath Tagore among non-Bengalis ?

Detenus

Some of India's political prisoners and detenus have been deprived of their freedom because they are communists. But Russian communists are great friends of Britain! Indian communists, too, are prepared to co-operate in the joint war effort of the Allies, but still they are behind prison walls or in detention camps.

Many have lost their personal freedom because they are alleged to have broken some Defence of India Act Rule or other. The Japanese have hitherto on the whole been victorious, because they have established superiority on the ocean, in the air and numerical superiority on land. Did the Defence of India Act prisoners directly or indirectly stand in the way of the British Government in Malaya, Burma, Andamans, etc., having more war vessels, more aeroplanes, more tanks, and more soldiers than the Japanese ? Briefly, were the British withdrawals in any way due to these detenus' and prisoners' acts of omission and commission ? Perhaps the big headlines in the Calcutta dailies had something to do in the matter.

Evacues and Refugees from Burma

Thousands upon thousands of Indians have come and are still coming from Burma. The woes of these sisters and brethren of ours are indescribable. No one can tell how many have died on the way of cholera or thirst and hunger or at the hands of dacoits. In Calcutta the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the Marwari Relief Society, the Gujarati Relief Society, the Navavidhan Brahmo Relief Committee, etc., have been of great help to the evacues.

Mr. Jinnah Butts In

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement to the "Associated Press," said, in part :

"I had the honour of meeting Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. He frankly told me that he knew nothing of political problems of India, much less the constitutional problems. In his message, he however, has advised the British Government to give real political power and freedom to India. Muslim India is not lagging behind any other community in its desire for freedom of all the peoples of India."

This was followed by the usual rigmarole about India containing two nations, about the need of recognizing Pakistan, etc. Assuming without admitting that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek did tell Mr. Jinnah that he knew nothing of the political problems of India, much less the constitutional problems, why did Mr. Jinnah take it for granted that during the Marshal's fortnight's stay in India a man of his calibre could not obtain sufficient knowledge of India's political and constitutional problems ?

Perhaps Mr. Jinnah expected that he would receive at the hands of the Marshal the connivance, the indulgence and the encouragement extended to him by British imperialists in his selfish and anti-national designs. Disappointment soured his temper.

It is said the Marshal has invited Mr. Jinnah to visit China. He should go there to take lesson in patriotism and the true teachings of Islam from the Chinese Muslims.

British Soldiers' Pay Increased

LONDON, Feb. 10.

Before the House of Commons adjourned, the members discussed the question of disparity of the British soldier's pay with that of the Dominion and American troops.

This was raised on an adjournment by Captain Cunningham Reid (Conservative) who held that the disparity was not good for the morale of the soldier. The Secretary for War, he said, should do as much for the soldiers as the Minister for Labour had done for the workers.

Mr. Milner (Labour) said, it could not be satisfactory that British soldiers should be serving alongside men from the Dominions and United States whose pay was certainly double that received by their own men and sometimes three times as great. The Australians were the highest paid of all.

PREMIER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Increases in service pay and allowance, amounting to 55 millions Sterling yearly were announced in the House of Commons by Mr. Churchill today.—*Reuter.*

Needless to say, nobody in the House of Commons drew attention to the great disparity between the pay and allowances of white soldiers in the Indian army and those of the Indian sepoy in the same army for doing the same kind of work. Nobody can say that the sepoy is inferior to Tommy in any respect.

ACTIVISM IN VEDIC INDIA : "CHARAIVETI"

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Westerners have long cherished the idea that the East is changeless, passive and merely contemplative, and "plunges in thought again" after a storm has blown over.

That some Eastern countries are not unchanging and can be very up-to-date for offence and defence are exemplified by Japan and China. Passivism cannot be ascribed to them. They are very much alive. We are not here concerned, however, with the kind of activism which Japanese aggression and its Chinese antedote exemplify. We wish to draw our readers' attention to the kind of activism which is inculcated in the *Aitareya Brāhmanam* of the Rig Veda. According to Dr. Arthur Berridale Keith, whose translation we have adapted below, the latest date which can be assigned to this *Brāhmanam* is 300 B.C.

In it we read that Rohita, son of Harishchandra of the Ikshāku dynasty, hearing that his father was ill, returned to the village from the wilds in which he had been moving about for a year. To him the God Indra came in human form and said :

> **'Manifold is the prosperity of him who is weary from toil,**
> **So have we heard, O Rohita ;**
> **Evil is he who stayeth idly among men,**
> **Indra is the comrade of the man of action.**

Do thou move about.' (Thinking) This Brahman hath bidden me "go about," he roamed for a second year in the wilds. He came from the wilds to the village. To him came Indra in human form and said :

> **'Flower-like the calves and loins of the wanderer,**
> **His body groweth and is fruitful ;**
> **All his sins disappear,**
> **Slain by the toil of his journeying.**

Do thou go about.' (Thinking) This Brahman has bidden me "go about," he roamed for a third year in the wilds. He came from the wilds to the village. To him came Indra in human form and said :

> **'The fortune of him who sitteth also sitteth,**
> **But that of him who standeth standeth erect ;**
> **That of him that reclineth lieth down ;**
> **The fortune of him that moveth shall move indeed.**

Do thou move.' (Thinking) This Brahman hath bidden me "move," he went about for a fourth year in the wilds. He came from the wilds to the village. To him came Indra in human form and said :

> **'Kali he becometh who lieth,**
> **Dvāpara when he riseth,**
> **Tretā when he standeth erect,**
> **And Krita when he moveth.**

Do thou move.' (Thinking) This Brahman hath bidden me "move," he went about for a fifth year in the wilds. He came from the wilds to the village; to him came Indra in human form and said :

> **'Wandering one findeth honey,**
> **Wandering the sweet Udumbara fruit,**
> **Consider the pre-eminence of the sun,**
> **Who wearieth never of his peregrination.**

Do thou move'. (Thinking) This Brahman hath bidden me "move," he roamed for a sixth year in the wilds.

To understand the significance of lying down being likened to *Kali yuga*, of rising to *Dvāpara*, of standing erect to *Tretā* and of moving to *Krita* or *Satya Yuga*, we have to remember that according to Hindu cosmogony the *Yugas* are the four ages of the world. The first is the Krita Yuga or golden age, the second Tretā, the third Dvāpara and the fourth Kali. The Krita or Satya Yuga is the ethically and spiritually perfect age of righteousness; the second, Tretā, is a fourth darker and less righteous than the preceding; the third, Dvāpara, is yet a fourth darker; and the fourth, Kali darkest and least righteous of all. The meaning of the figurative language used in the verses in which the Yugas are mentioned is that ethically and spiritually right movement is the best, standing erect, second best, rising the next best, but a lying or reclining posture is the worst.

That the Sanskrit words *charaiveti* in the original text do not inculcate mere aimless wandering but beneficent purposeful movement and activity, is brought out by the reference to the regular and God-appointed movement of the sun, which is the source of all life and happiness and progress in the world.

Going about in the wilds stands for and indicates or suggests a life of adventure in which one has to face uncertainties and takes risks.

The popular idea that the essence of *sāttvikatā* or goodness is mere passive inoffensiveness is discounted here. True sāttvikatā consists in righteous activity.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION

• By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

[This article was written before Sir Stafford Cripps' arrival in India.]

On the 11th of March last Mr. Churchill read out a short statement in the House of Commons on the Indian policy of his Government. He referred therein to the conclusions at which the War Cabinet had arrived both regarding the immediate changes in the governmental organisation of this country and regarding the constitutional status which India would enjoy and the nature of government under which it would be administered after the War. He, however, did not actually reveal those conclusions. He did not think it wise to take the public into confidence at this stage. He pointed out that these conclusions if accepted by India as a whole, would reconcile the demands of the majority with the interests of the minorities in this country. But if they were announced at once, he apprehended that they might be rejected offhand by essential elements in the Indian world. So it was decided that Sir Stafford Cripps would come out to this country with the decisions of the War Cabinet in his pocket and exercise his influence with different groups of people for their acceptance.

We do not believe that His Majesty's Government has made any decision as to the details of the future constitution of India. All that they may have discussed as to the form of government after the War may be connected only with the Constitutional Status and the procedure according to which the new constitution may be framed. All the rest of the conclusions are possibly connected with the organisation of some war-time government in this country, in which not only the different British Indian parties and groups but the Indian States also may co-operate. We do not take objection to this that His Majesty's Government have not made public the decisions at which they have arrived. On the contrary we think that disputes such as those which have disfigured our political and social life for long can be settled more effectively in private discussions between representatives than in open meetings. It is, of course, assumed that there is genuine desire on the part of the Government for such settlement. Without it no settlement can be looked forward to. And with it such settlement may not be difficult to reach. Let us assume for the time being that there is earnestness on the part of the British Government for communal settlement. In that case such private discussions as are contemplated by Sir Stafford Cripps may succeed far more than open discussions. The American Federal Convention which decided upon the federal constitution of the United States in 1787 after four months of discussion behind closed doors would have failed in its efforts for a true union among the States if the delegates were not pledged to secrecy. If the debates were open, they would have been overwhelmed by the separatist forces which were still too strong in the country. The Minorities Sub-Committee of the first Indian Round Table Conference suffered in its work very considerably because of the publicity which its discussions evoked and because of the attention which the delegates received on this account from different organisations in and outside this country. So the mission of Sir Stafford is not by itself objectionable.

But there are factors which make us very pessimistic as to the results of the tour which Sir Stafford has decided to undertake. In the first place, it should be known that when the Indian issue loomed very large in England because of the debacle in Malaya, Singapore, and Lower Burma, it was referred by Mr. Churchill to a Committee of the War Cabinet. This Committee was presided over not by Sir Stafford, whose accession to the War Cabinet alone made the reopening of the Indian question possible at all, but by Major Attlee. This latter gentleman had been a member of the Simon Commission. That fact itself would give us sufficient idea as to his attitude towards Indian aspirations. But if that is not enough, we may refer to his book, *Labour Party in Perspective*, which was published a few years ago. In this work he expressed views about the political ambition of the Indian people, which do not differ much from those of a sundried British bureaucrat in India. We are told that apart from Mr. Attlee there were in this Committee Lord Simon, Sir John Anderson and the inevitable Mr. Amery. We can very well imagine

how uncomfortable Sir Stafford must have felt in their company and how his scheme of work must have been amended and modified by them.

Secondly, it should be remembered that Mr. Churchill in his statement in the House of Commons has not repudiated the declaration of policy which Mr. Amery made in August 1940. Mr. Churchill referred to it and summarised its essential features and what is more he further emphasised that not only the Dominion Status promised in the statement of Mr. Amery was to be enjoyed under a Constitution which would be framed by and acceptable to the different elements in Indian national life but the conferment of Dominion Status would also be subject to the fulfilment of British obligations in respect of minorities including depressed classes, the Indian States and certain other matters. While Mr. Churchill emphasised this aspect of the declaration of August 1940, he referred almost in the same breath to the recent decisions of his War Cabinet as a result of which the Indian question would be solved to the satisfaction of both the majority and the minority groups. It is doubtful if in view of the emphasis of Mr. Churchill upon the protection of minorities and other interests we can be satisfied that the decisions of His Majesty's Government will be really acceptable to the majority. It should be borne in mind in this connection that the protection of minorities is not to be understood now in the sense in which alone it can be provided for. Mr. Amery has raised it with the connivance of Mr. Churchill to another plane where it has become more than inconsistent with the maintenance of national unity and even the elementary rights of the majority. It should also be emphasised that since the Prime Minister made his statement on the 11th, Mr. Amery has not shown any sign of repentance regarding the stand he took in respect of the minorities, particularly the Moslems so far as they speak through the Moslem League. In reply to a question in the House of Commons he belittled the importance of other Moslem groups in this country and put all the stress upon the Moslem League being the predominant Moslem organisation. One cannot be hopeful after this that the British Government will cease to encourage the separatist forces as let loose by the Moslem League and work for a satisfactory solution of the communal tangle.

Sir Stafford Cripps has, of course, taken courage in both hands by volunteering to come out to India on this mission. His whole career shows him to be a man with genuine sympathy with Indian political aspirations. The son of Lord Parmoor and a nephew of the Webbs, he has been a sincere leftist. But his sincerity in this regard could not but alienate him from the careerists who decided party policy at Transport House. While Attlee and Morrison saw nothing but great difficulties in the solution of the Indian problem on the basis of genuine autonomy, Sir Stafford declared himself a whole-hogger and advocated the independence of India. While his colleagues clung to the coat-tails of constitutional socialism and kept at arm's length all who advocated revolutionary communism, he had the courage to work for a popular front. But his attempt to bring together all the Leftist elements, constitutional and revolutionary alike, into a common fold cost him his membership of the Parliamentary Labour Party. His friends and colleagues in that organisation, including those of them who are in the Government now, became so frightened by this effort on his part to bring the communists and the respectable socialists together that they expelled him from the Party. At a time of great difficulty he was sent out no doubt on a highly important mission to Russia. But it should not be thought at all that this choice was taken either in Conservative or in Labour headquarters as anything but an evil necessity. Nor was his success in his mission due overmuch to the support he received at the hands of his Government. On the contrary he himself pointed out on his return to his country, as far of course as he could point out as a responsible ex-ambassador, that much of the help which he had advocated for Russia had not reached that country at all. The attitude of the Labour Party and its chiefs towards him did not also change very much even after he had concluded his successful mission to Moscow. When he visited Bristol some time ago, the members of the Labour Party there asked for instruction from headquarters as to what treatment they were to mete out to him. The instructions issued left much to be desired.

The unexpected turn which the War took in the Far East forced the hands of Mr. Churchill and those of the Labour chiefs and made Sir Stafford's accession to the War Cabinet inevitable. But although he found it possible to ride into the War Cabinet on the crest of the wave of general indignation against the military defeats that were being sustained and the losses that were being incurred on every front, yet it is doubtful how far he was received with enthusiasm by his new colleagues. They might have taken him merely as a necessary evil forced upon them by the people, to be

thwarted and cast off as soon as the mood of the people would change. Unless he agrees to make himself absolutely innocuous, it seems difficult to believe that he will be anything but a strange bed-fellow of men like Mr. Attlee and Lord Simon.

It is reported that Sir Stafford has been commissioned to negotiate with the leaders of different Indian groups on the basis of the decisions which the War Cabinet has already taken. He has not, in other words, the full rights of a plenipotentiary. He will have no right to accept any terms from the Indian leaders, if they are not covered by the conclusions of the War Cabinet. He will be required to refer them to that body. Mr. Churchill has, of course, pointed out that he is coming out to India with the full support of his Government. But how far it will be given to him in practice, we have yet to see. In view of the fact that Mr. Amery is still in the Cabinet, we cannot be certain that the communalists, separatists and reactionaries will not receive encouragement over the head of Sir Stafford Cripps. It is reasonable, no doubt, to point out that Sir Stafford is no tyro to be got rid of in this fashion by his astute colleagues. But although he may have found the attitude of the War Cabinet acceptable for the time being and has agreed on that account to undertake the mission, circumstances may change and the attitude of his colleagues may change along with it.

There is one other passage in the short statement of Mr. Churchill, which makes us sceptical about the results of Sir Stafford's tour in India. He observes that, subject to the paramount responsibility of the British Cabinet, Sir Stafford will consult with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief regarding steps to be taken for the protection of the Indian people from external perils which now beset them. It seems from these that it is not open to the Lord Privy Seal to take the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council into confidence regarding this vital matter. Nor do we get in this observation any hint that the portfolio of defence will be really handed over to any Indian public man who may inspire the confidence and evoke the enthusiasm of the Indian people.

Mr. Churchill observes further:

"We must remember also that India is one of the bases from which the strongest counter-blows must be struck at the advance of tyranny and aggression."

It should be remembered in this connection that the main reason for the Indian National Congress to hold aloof from war efforts consists in the fact that India was declared a belligerent on the fiat of the British Government and without the consent of the Indian people. The question is not whether from the Indian bases the strongest counter-blows should be struck at the advance of tyranny or not. The question is whether such offensive is to be taken from India on the fiat of the British Government or on the initiative and responsibility of the accredited representatives of the Indian people. Without a satisfactory reply to this question it does not appear that the Indian tangle will be solved. It does not appear from the observation of Mr. Churchill that His Majesty's Government attaches any importance to this question. He seems to speak in terms of the rusty imperialism under which the British Premier may order that such and such things must be done. Mahatma Gandhi has advocated for long a change of heart. We are not certain that the statement of Mr. Churchill does indicate any such change of heart.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

The main features of the Railway budget presented by the Communications Member Sir Andrew Clow in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 18th February were, 1. large surpluses, 2. proposed increase in fares and freight, 3. war strain on the railways, 4. acquisition of new lines.

Surpluses

Surplus for the year 1940-41 was 18·46 crores of which 12·16 crores went to the general revenues and 6·30 crores to the railway reserves. Revised estimate for 1941-42 show a surplus of 26·20 crores of which 19·12 will accrue to the general revenues and the rest to railways depreciation fund. Estimated surplus for 1942-43 is 27·95 crores. The large increases during these years are due to increase in goods and passenger traffic, the tendency for passenger traffic showing a greater increase recently. The surpluses reflect large defence expenditures and increase in economic activity due to the war. The figures for

1942-43 are 'highly speculative,' as naturally no forecast regarding the course of the war could be made.

Fares

In view of the heavy surpluses the proposed increase in fares and freight seems odd. The reasons for increase in fares adduced are :

1. Desirability to curb traffic in view of the heavy war time demand on railways.
2. Effect of a public appeal would be small as compared with enhancement of rates.
3. Increase in revenue, ½ crore, would go to relieve the taxpayer.
4. The proposed increase will be only on E. I. R. and N. W. R. of ¼ pie per mile on Third and Inter classes of N. W. R. and Inter class of E. I. R., which works out at 5% increase. This will bring the fares on these two lines upto about those prevailing on other lines.

The increase in railway traffic is I think due to, (*a*) movement of troops and Officers over and above those carried in special trains, (*b*) movement of labourers and technicians to factories mainly employed on war needs (*c*) private persons on private purposes and touring for pleasure (*d*) criss-cross movements from cities due to panic. Although no figures are available it is safe to assume that increases in (*a*) and (*b*) have been substantial and obviously it is not intended to check these movements. The increase under (*d*) must have been large and was certainly undesirable. This class could however hardly be deterred by such a small increase in fares. The aim of increase in fares seems to have been to deter people in category (*c*). However, the increase in the fares of Third and Inter classes would hardly achieve its purpose. Passengers of these two classes travel through sheer necessity and a small rise in fare will not deter them from travelling but will certainly cause them added hardship. 5% rise in the price of these two classes is not a preventive tax but a revenue tax. The Communications member took account of this when he predicted a rise in revenue of ½ crore due to the increase in fares. Could then the traffic be reduced by raising the fares of 1st and 2nd classes, barring a large increase in the fares of Third and Inter class passengers ? My answer is Yes. The demand for higher class compartments is in the nature of demand for luxury and is therefore considerably elastic. A rise in the prices of 1st and 2nd class tickets will cause considerable falling off in demand and reduce strain on traffic. Also it is on these upper class travellers that the effect of public appeal has been small and therefore a rise in their fares is justified. The argument that the increase in revenue from enhanced rates will go to relieve the taxpayer conceals the fact that it is the relief of the 1st and 2nd class travellers at the expense of the lower class travellers. Lastly the wisdom of increasing rates on two lines in order to bring them up to the level prevailing on other lines at a time of increasing surpluses is questionable. The logical course would be to reduce fares on other lines and align them with those on E.I.R. and N.W.R.

Freights

The proposed increase of two annas in the rupee on parcels should have the desired effect of reducing the volume of parcels. Newspapers will continue to be exempt which is satisfactory. Also no increase on full wagons of food grains and a penal rate on partly full wagons are welcome features.

War Strain

The net value of lines dismantled and sent to the theaters of war amounted to 1·61 crores during this year and 1·30 crores in the last year. In mileage it was 500 miles for the current year and could not have been very much less in the last year. Besides, rails from stock and rolling stock sent abroad for which no figures were given was said to be good deal more. This has resulted in a serious dislocation of traffic especially in Madras as recently reported. It is also known that most of these lines went to the Middle East which should have been more justifiably and easily supplied from Britain or America. Now that the war is at our door it is to be hoped that no such export of rails to distant theaters will be permitted.

Acquisition of Company Lines

A welcome feature of the budget was the acquisition of company-owned lines, B.B. & C.I. and Assam Bengal railways, adding 4·88 crores to State railways capital which will now stand at 758 crores. Bigger additions are forecast for 1942-43 when Bengal and North Western and Rohilkhand and Kumaon lines will be taken over.

INDIA'S FREEDOM : A WORLD ISSUE

By SRIVATSA

THE rapid developments in the Far East will inevitably exercise the most profound influence upon the course of events in our own country. Japan's growing menace to India should serve as an eye-opener to the British authorities that our claim for freedom can no longer be safely trifled with. Leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose unique influence in the country would be an asset to the Government if their co-operation could be enlisted at this critical juncture, have repeatedly declared where their sympathies lie in the present war. It is true that the future of India, like that of the rest of the world, is inextricably bound up with the issues of the conflict, but so long as she is unfree to strike at aggression and participate in the triumph of righteousness as an independent member of the coming commonwealth of nations, the nationalist cannot, in fairness to themselves, be expected to change their present attitude of neutrality. The fact is that our undiscerning Government, supremely insensible to the value of nationalist support, has deliberately sought to relegate the Congress and its leaders to the position of other sectional organisations in the country.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the supreme need of the hour is to face facts and not to exaggerate India's internal troubles. The British statesmen cannot justifiably plead that the solution of our problems is beyond their resources when they have actually undertaken the most stupendous task of smashing Nazism in Europe and Japan in the East. But what are our problems which they, instead of helping to solve, have utilized as a convenient excuse for postponing our freedom till the crack of doom?

The communal or the minorities problem is the bug-bear of Indian politics and has lent itself to a considerable amount of propagandistic exploitation. There is, of course, nothing inherently insoluble in it, were it not for the fact that the Government is deeply interested in its perpetuation. The origin of the trouble has been rightly traced to separate or communal electorates whose introduction was found necessary for counteracting the forces of nationalism, which in the years following the Sepoy Mutiny began to grow steadily and in 1885 assumed an organisational strength in the name of the Indian National Congress. It is true that for many years the Congress was content to play the humble role of a petitioner, but the modesty of its ambitions was inevitably influenced by the governing forces of contemporary thought and feeling. Those with vision, however, realized that notwithstanding its small beginnings the Congress would eventually grow into a strong all-India organisation developing sufficient strength to enforce the national demand.

The British authorities took alarm at the steady growth of the spirit of nationalism in India and were anxiously biding their time for weakening its strength. The much-longed-for opportunity came to them in 1906. On 1st October of that year a Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan waited on Lord Minto and prayed that "the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community" and that the position of the Muslims should be estimated not merely on their numerical strength but on their political importance and on the service their community rendered to the Empire. Lord Minto had the sagacity to exploit the situation to the best advantage. In his oft-quoted reply to the deputationists he said :

> "I am entirely in accord with you . . . . I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of the representative institutions. In the meantime I can only say that the Mohammedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative reorganisation with which I am concerned."

The Muslim deputation was, as Lady Minto very appropriately calls it, "engineered," and the whole sordid business was conceived with the sole intention of safeguarding Muslim sectional and vested interests. But the Government which was desperately looking about for a stick with which to beat Indian nationalism, ungrudgingly treated the deputationists as the genuine representatives of their community and accordingly conceded all their impossible and anti-national demands. How much importance was attached to this event can be gathered from

the following quotation from the oft-quoted letter of an official written to Lord Minto. He says:

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened today, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."

Notwithstanding the forest of arguments advanced by the British authorities to the contrary, the introduction of separate electorates was clearly a part of the deliberate policy of counterpoise, which has been actively pursued by them from the days of John Company down to our own times.[1] Having staked all their glory and strength as a world-power on the continued retention of India, the most sympathetic among them cannot reconcile themselves to any scheme designed to confer freedom upon our people. And as it is all so preposterous that an alien people living thousands of miles away should hold dominion over a bigger country with a more numerous population, they have invented the plausible plea that India's unfitness to govern herself is inherent in her own internal troubles. I give below brief extracts of the utterances of three well-known British statesmen to prove my thesis that in view of the vital importance of India to the Empire, the British authorities can never be successfully persuaded to concede her freedom, and that to conceal their real intentions they resort to an epidemic of propaganda to prove India's alleged "diversities."

Lord Curzon was profoundly convinced of India's importance to the Empire and expressed his conviction in these terms:

"India is the pivot of our Empire. If this Empire lost any other part of its Dominion we could survive, but if we lost India, the sun of our Empire would be set." (Quoted in the book *Constituent Assembly and Indian Federation* by Y. G. Krishnamurti, p. 98).

Lord Cromer truly spoke the mind of the imperialists when he said:

". . . . however liberal may be the concessions which have been made, and which at any future time may be made, we have not the smallest intention of abandoning our Indian possessions, and that it is highly improbable that any such intention will be entertained by our posterity." (*Imperialism Ancient and Modern*, pp. 126-27).

Witness, again, the exuberant glee with which Lord Dufferin describes the population of India as

"composed of a large number of distinct nationalities, professing various religions, practising diverse rites, speaking different languages, while many of them are still further separated from one another by discordant prejudices, by conflicting social usages and even antagonistic material interests." (Lord Dufferin's *Minute Annexed to the Government of India's Despatch*, dated 6th November, 1888).

Even on the specific issue of separate or communal electorates, it can be conclusively proved that the whole system is an unmitigated evil. Lord Morley, although he was jointly responsible for introducing separate electorates in India, was not quite pleased with his performance and watched with an uneasy conscience the indefatigable efforts of Lord Minto in ploughing deep furrows in the ranks of Indian nationalism. All his Liberal ideals rebelled at the thought of deliberately sowing the seeds of discord in the public life of India.

"I won't follow you again" he wrote to Lord Minto, "into our Mahommedan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started that M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best."

Lord Morley was also an imperialist and the interests of the Empire at last triumphed over liberal sentiments. Mr. Montagu was even more opposed to communal electorates than Lord Morley. Thus he wrote in his Diary:

"We must beware of this system which Morely introduced, for it is fatal to the democratisation of institutions and causes disunion between the Hindu and the Mahommedan, and we must not extend it more than we can help." (*An Indian Diary* by Edwin S. Montagu, p. 100).

Montagu, like Morley, eventually succumbed to the irresistible pressure of "necessity." In Ceylon and Kenya the system was abolished after a fairly long experience of its baneful results, but in India, although it has demoralised and even vulgarized our public life, no efforts have ever been made to undo the evil. In view of this, one cannot escape the conclusion that India is far too precious to the Empire for her nationalism to be allowed to triumph.

With this historical background of our communal trouble, let us now consider what exactly is the cause of the present deadlock in the country. Since the outbreak of the present war the nationalist has kept on pressing upon the attention of the Government the supreme

1. Mr. Edward Thompson writes thus: "During the Round Table Conference there was a rather obvious understanding and alliance between the more intransigent Moslems and certain particularly undemocratic British political circles. That alliance is constantly asserted in India to be the real block to progress.

"I believe that I could prove that this is largely true. And there is no question that in former times we frankly practised the 'divide and rule' method in India. From Warren Hastings's time onwards, men made no bones of the pleasure the Hindu-Moslem conflict gave them; even such men as Elphinstone and Malcolm and Metcalfe admitted its value to the British." (*Enlist India for Freedom*, p. 50).

necessity of declaring India's freedom to enable her wholehearted participation in the conflict. The Government, instead of facing the issue squarely, have been equally insistently calling our attention to the Viceroy's Declaration of August, 1940. It would be interesting to know what deity is enshrined in this Declaration so that the people of India might take the votive offerings to it. The Declaration reads thus :

"It goes without saying that they (His Majesty's Government) cannot contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities to the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

Statements such as this are capable of any sort of interpretation and one should not at all be surprised if quite a Talmud of commentary is built upon them. Whoever suggested the preparation of a constitution capable of provoking the hostility of "large and powerful elements in India's national life" and who indeed are these "elements" whose approval is made a condition precedent to any political progress ? If the declaration intends that no constitutional scheme will be ratified by the Government if it does not command the confidence of the minorities, including, of course, the Muslims, no one can cavil at it. But, unfortunately, the policy all along pursued by it has lent itself to the interpretation that the right to veto India's political progress has been resigned into the hands of a communal organisation.

There is a justifiable feeling in the country that since the outbreak of the war, the British authorities have most arbitrarily elevated the Muslim League to an undeserved importance as if it is the sole representative of the "large and powerful elements in India's national life."[2] Thanks to this manoeuvring, our political future is made dependent upon the caprice of the League's leadership. We all know the current politics of the League which is no longer interested in safeguards and percentages of representation, but which is all out for the division and fragmentation of the country. What hopes of reconciliation can there be between the League and the nationalist when each is in pursuit of ideologies that are mutually antithetical ?[3] But the British Government can not with any semblance of justice plead the deadlock as an excuse for postponing India's freedom to the end of time. If it is convinced and can show proofs of its conviction that the League has the substantial following of its community[4] and that its demands are just and proper, the Government should unequivocally declare its intention of conceding them. If, on the other hand, a reasonable understanding with the League is impossible, as the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have found to their cost, there is surely no point in prolonging the stalemate, piously hoping for a change in the League's present hostile attitude to one of amiable acquiescence. The only way out of the present situation is for the Government to listen to the voice of reason and justice and concede the just demands of the nationalist by declaring India free. There is no other known way of appeasing communalism than by presenting it with a *fait accompli.* The time for equivocation has gone, for danger is actually knocking at our doors.[5]

2. Listen to what the League's President himself said on the subject : "But after the war was declared the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the League. Suddenly there came a change in the attitude of the Viceroy towards me. I was treated on the same basis as Mr. Gandhi. This was the severest blow to the Congress High Command. I was wonder-struck why all of a sudden I was promoted and given a place side by side with Mr. Gandhi. The answer was the All-India Muslim League." (Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore on March, 1940).

3. Those who still believe the League to be non-communal will read with interest the following statement of its President. He says, "I think the British Government must realise that it is the resistance of the Muslim League to the machinations of the Congress that has compelled the Congress leaders at this moment to make a virtue of necessity when they say that they do not launch civil disobedience immediately, but keep the sword of Damocles hanging over Muslim India.

"It is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—there are many ways of doing so —and, as confident friends, seek our whole-hearted support. And we shall not fail them." (Mr. Jinnah's statement issued from Matheran on 27th May, 1940).

4. It can be demonstrably proved that the Muslim League is not the sole mouthpiece of the Muslims of India. There are many other powerful Muslim organisations which are nationalist in their outlook and opposed to the League's separatist politics. It is, of course, perfectly easy to ignore their existence and broadcast the dissidents. Says Mr. Edward Thospson, "If you sweep the horizon with field glasses you can always find *some* dissidents somewhere—the last Secretary of State, for example, when he printed last autumn the Congress manifesto as a white paper managed to find a statement by Indians who disagree with it—and a very interesting catch he made ! It is queer that we—who have perhaps more individuals and even eccentrics than any other nation—seem to think there ought not to be any in India !" (*Enlist India for Freedom,* p. 26). So long as there is an alien Government controlling an enormous mass of dangerous patronage, complete unity is perfectly impossible in any country.

5. There is no communal problem in the villages where the Hindu and Muslim live in perfect amity unless the politician or the priest intervenes. We, however, find the trouble in towns and cities where the

Next in importance but an equally essential factor in the political impasse is the problem of the States. I am not concerned here with the legal or the constitutional aspect of the problem, which is quite simple, namely, that the States have no status apart from what has been conceded to them by the paramount British Government, but with the fact whether the system of governance obtaining in the States is satisfactory. We must, however, beware of the error of speaking collectively of all the five hundred odd States. There are many diversities among them and the "rulers" of hundreds of "States" hardly realize "revenues" from which they could make their living. The States Peoples' Conference held at Ludhiana in February 1939, drew a line of demarcation between big and small States. Those on the other side of the line call for a different kind of treatment with which I am not concerned at present beyond reproducing here, as a matter of interest, what Mr. Edward Thompson says about them :

> "Even if some hundred princelings became local squires and the greater Princes established genuine democratic institutions and civil lists and gave their subjects the right to elect the States' representatives to the Central Indian Government, do you seriously believe that India would rush headlong into Bolshevism?" (*Enlist India for Freedom*, p. 74).

The crux of the problem is : in how many big States have modern and democratic systems of Government been introduced ? The very fact that year after year the Viceroy in his annual address to the Chamber of Princes is constrained to remind the rulers, albeit in veiled and cautious words, of the paramount necessity of governing their States well, is a proof that considerable administrative leeway has yet to be made in them. We are assured on high authority that the Princes of the present generation are touched with the spirit of modernism and that they "are not the obscurantists that they are popularly believed to be." But it is strange that they should still allow their minds to be "anchored to the theory of the divine right of Kings" and believe, in these days of cataclysmic changes, in the application of the futile doctrine of the inevitability of gradualness to the government of their States. The war, which they are so magnificently assisting to win, has been changing the values of things with a thoroughness which even a century of peace-time would never have achieved. Conviction is gaining strength in the minds of all thoughtful persons that the ills of mankind are largely due to an unthinking political and economic fragmentation of the world. The Princes should search their hearts and find out whether the system of governance for which they are responsible has the strength of surviving the inexorable test of utility. Under the new dispensation it seems probable that no institution will get the passport of continued existence on the mere ground of sentiment and antiquity.*

The next problem confronting India is that of her defence. For many years past, the controversy over the nationalization of the Indian Army has been conducted in the most leisurely and complacent manner. But Japan's growing menace to our safety ought to lend greater realism to any discussion on the subject. All the old theories about the "inherent" incapacity of India to defend herself have now been fully exposed in the same way as the division of our population into "martial" and "non-martial" races has been found to be most arbitrary and preposterous. The pressing need of the hour is to rouse India and prepare her to defend herself. The British authorities cannot complacently sit back with the glow of pride in their hearts that the fighting forces of India have now reached the one million mark. In a world turned into an armed camp, the contribution of one million men out of a population of 400 millions, which bears such an impressive percentage to the world's total, is surely not a matter to be proud of.

Notwithstanding all that is said to the contrary, war efforts and war preparations in India are not equal to the magnitude and gravity of the situation. The fact is that these issues are inextricably bound up with India's claim to freedom. The Indian has no army of his own which he can serve with the animated zeal of, say, an Englishman or the national of any independent country. The army in India is like a proprietary concern to which he is admitted, not in his own right, but as an employee, —a mere paid servant. Even the pressure of war has not changed the old habit of mind. The ban on King's Commissions to Indians has now been lifted, but only partially, for, a much larger percentage of these Commissions is being given to white British subjects. One would like to know how many Indian Combatant Lieutenant Colonels there are in an Army called "Indian." Even at this critical hour racial

people are more politically-minded, and owing to separate electorates and the absence of common co-operative institutions, the two communities have a tendency to keep apart and fall an easy prey to insidious propaganda. As Mr. H. G. Wells truly remarks, there would be very little community feeling beyond the range of frequent intercourse.

prejudice is still a dominant factor. Read what Sir Alfred Watson wrote sometime ago in the *Great Britain and East* in reply to the suggestion of Sir Mirza M. Ismail that an Indian should be appointed as Member in charge of Defence :

"The simple fact is that the British Army in India would refuse to accept its orders from an Indian Member of the Executive; it has been recruited to serve the King and would challenge any other authority than the King's representative. At present the Defence Member of the Council is the Commander-in-Chief in India, and if that arrangement is not ideal, it must be said that the attempt to substitute an Indian would not work."

It is inconceivable that these deep-seated prejudices will go unless India becomes free and gains full control over her fighting forces.

The next problem is that of British vested interests in India, which have played a decisive part in affecting the political future of the country. Having made considerable investments in this country—estimated at 600-700 million pounds—British capitalists are deeply interested in perpetuating the *status quo* which guarantees preferential treatment to them. The part played by them at the Round Table Conference, in alliance with reactionary Muslim members, constitutes the most unedifying chapter in the history of British relations with India. The Government on its part has never been behind-hand in promoting and placating their interests. The numerous safeguards with which the successive India Acts bristle are a testimony to its solicitude for them. But all this complex machinery of protection and preferential treatment is intended to benefit the capitalist class and the vast mass of the British people hardly gets any share in the exploitation. Britain will not be plunged into incalculable misery if India is "lost" to her. Mr. Edgar Snow, a famous American journalist and author in his book *Scorched Earth*, says thus :

"If Britain lost India altogether it would mean the sacrifice of only about 4 pounds per capita in her national investment income and a two per cent reduction in her total market. The loss in income would in fact be felt by a small group of Britain's monopoly capitalists."

On this question the attitude of the nationalist has been most reasonable. Under an independent India he is prepared to give all legitimate protection to foreign interests.

It will thus be seen that if proper approach is made to the problems of India, none of them is capable of presenting an insuperable obstacle. It is no use interposing imaginery difficulties in her way by declaring that Western democracy is unsuitable to Indian conditions. Apart from the fact that this system has never been given an honest trial in this country, as is evident from what I have said on the question of minorities, the issue whether a particular type of Government is or is not suitable cannot affect a country's right to self-determination. In this controversy the point to bear in mind is that not all the independent countries in the world are governed on, say, the British model and that it has yet to be proved that because this is so, they are less happy or less progressive than the British. Moreover, who does not know that in the sacred name of democracy and individual freedom fat maggots have thriven unchecked in the body politic of those very countries which are so boastful of their system of government ? Democratic France rocked to its very foundations and very soon toppled into the abyss under the impact of a powerful force. If there is any truth in Burke's dictum that "Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants" surely the people of India are the only competent authority to know their requirements and provide for them. The Indian nationalist believes in the constituent assembly although he does not swear by it; he is prepared to consider any better proposals for ascertaining the popular mind on the future government of India.

Whatever may be the type of constitution that will suit India, it is too late in the day for the British to play Providence to the Indian people. Our freedom is no longer a domestic issue, for enlightened public opinion all over the world is carefuly watching British reactions to the insistent demands of the nationalist. It is not enough to say that great ideologies are involved in the present conflict; they must be applied to India. We are assured by competent observers that a new era is in the making and that under the new dispensation inequalities will be swept away. Listen to what Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the well known American writer, says about the present war :

"It is a battle not merely for a new and a federal world, but for the reestablishment of the equality of individuals without regard to race or creed or colour, without regard to whether they belong to minorities or majorities." (Article published in *The Times of India* of 13th January, 1940).

Who can say that the views of men of Mr. Villard's way of thinking will not prevail but that the efforts of politicians like Mr. Churchill to restrict the blessings of freedom to a fraction of mankind will triumph ?[6]

6. Mr. Amery, our Secretary of State, is Mr. Churchill's colleague. He is a man of great parts and can play the role of a democrat and an imperialist at the same time. Listen to what he said in 1933 in the

The truth of the matter is that the new order which thinkers all over the world so ardently visualise cannot be established by denying freedom to a majority of the human population. The post-war settlement cannot either ignore or shelve India's claim to freedom, for the injustice of doing so would be enormous. Moreover, it is in the nature of things that any foreign power which gains control over the political and economic life of a vast and fertile country like ours is bound to dominate the world, thus inevitably provoking the jealousy and hostility of "have-not" powers. The stricken world that will emerge from the war will undoubtedly need the ministrations of India—not the propagandist's land of a benighted and a mutually warring people, nor even the dependency of the British Empire, but the home of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest living apostle of peace and non-violence. Gandhiji occupies a unique position in the world and by his spiritual and realistic approach to the complex problems of man, he can successfully prove to the world that wars, to borrow Mr. Bertrand Russell's phrase, are not the convulsions of nature. Conviction is gaining upon the minds of thinkers all over the world that the forces of reason and justice would be immensely strengthened by India becoming the arbiter of her own destiny.

House of Commons in connection with Japan's adventure in China: "I confess that I see no reason whatever why, either in act or in word, or in sympathy, we should go individually, or internationally, against Japan in this matter. Japan has got a very powerful case based upon fundamental realities. . . When you look at the fact that Japan needs markets and that it is imperative for her, in the world in which she lives, that there should be some sort of peace and order, then who is there among us to cast the first stone and to say that Japan ought not to have acted with the object of creating peace and order in Manchuria and *defending herself against the continual aggression of vigorous Chinese nationalism? Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stand condemned if we condemn Japan.*" (Italics mine). (Quoted in the book entitled *The Paths that Led to War* by John Mackintosh, p. 206).

A LETTER TO GANDHIJI AND HIS REPLY

By CHAMAN LAL

The typhoon that started from the Manila Bay twelve weeks ago has reached the Bay of Bengal. Yet our national leaders (with due respect to them) are merely issuing statements (at the rate of one per day) and making speeches in the air. Speeches alone will not help in the Air Raid Precautions. Rangoon people of course heard and read speeches during the last twenty-one years, but when the bombers came they just died like rats, since their Government and their leaders had made no plans to provide help to the people. The air raid warning was given too late, only about ten minutes before the bombs rained fire. How thousands died and hundreds of thousands fled in terror is a sad story and we in India should learn a lesson from the results of incapacity exhibited by the authorities in Burma. We must immediately set up Civic Defence Committees in every City, Town, Tehsil, and Thana to take care of the people in distress. *Now is the time when huge stocks of food, clothing, medicines, etc., must be stored in time, every street should organise to run community kitchens, wells should be dug and hundreds of vans, thousands of pitchers should be provided. Enough volunteers should be arranged to supply water. We must not forget that Hongkong surrendered owing to failure of water supply and so did Singapore.*

But above all we (Congress men) must take charge of the A. R. P. in co-operation with the leaders of other organisations. Without popular control the A. R. P. will not be effective. It can not inspire confidence. It is with this aim in view that I have addressed the following letter to Gandhiji.

Respected Mahatma Ji,

I may be excused for asking a few questions with regard to your instructions to us (Congressmen) on the subject of helping the A. R. P. organisation. Supposing a street is on fire and the A. R. P. volunteers are busy extinguishing fire, how will we Congressmen help them without any fire-brigades, without any appliances, tanks of water or lorries at our disposal. We can only be spectators. Even it is possible that our offer of help may be rejected since we will not be under their discipline. It is possible, on occasions there may be a clash between our volunteers and the A. R. P. authorities, who will demand everybody's willing and obedient service. How can we supply food and water to the distressed areas unless we have lorries and vans at our disposal? (They will be entire-

ly taken away by the authorities for the A.R.P. organisation). How shall we arrange to supply any help without conveyances at our disposal, how shall we provide relief to the injured without having a single nurse among Congress women? How shall we kill our conscience by being mere spectators of blood-curdling dramas? I wonder how two organisations can carry out the same task without proper understanding and division of work. I am afraid your instructions on the subject are not clear. I am not an alarmist. I am confident that we shall successfully come through this great ordeal, but everything needs organisation and means. If we had acted with foresight, we would have had millions of trained men at our disposal today, but the vicious circle of debates and discussions on forms, rituals and idealogies swallowed up our most opportune years 1937 to 1942.

Even now if we have confidence we can set up an organisation to look after the country, but that organisation should not be run by satyagrahis alone. We must invite the co-operation of the Momins, the Muslim League, the Ahrars, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akalis, the Christians and even the Anglo-Indians and Englishmen to establish a truly National Defence Committee in every Province, District, Town, Tehsil, Thana and Village. India has enough funds to spend. We may not have modern armaments, but we will be able to preserve civic peace in our country and minimise the loss of life and property and give shelter to women and children. This National Organisation can then take charge of all the A. R. P. machinery and leave the external defence to the Government. I do not know how and where you can draw a line between co-operation and non-co-operation when the house is on fire. The only self-respecting and wise course is to take local defence and A. R. P. organisation in popular hands by merely organising the whole populace. An organisation consisting mainly of jail-goers (however sincere) can not help the situation. We must enlist the co-operation of all the representative organisations and make ourselves responsible for the internal defence. We only need to organise. All communities shall co-operate despite the differences between leaders.

Pray, give some consideration to the scheme published by me in the press and if you approve of it, please instruct the Congress committees all over India to set up popular, I mean, National Defence Committees, representing all political shades. Our present organisation is all in the air. We have no trained volunteers, we can't deal with a crowd of two hundred people. Every Satyagrahi is a leader unto himself; there is very little discipline among ourselves. But I am not in a pessimistic mood. I remember Trotsky's last words about India: "The Indian masses are the finest in the world, only they need true and disciplined leaders imbued with foresight, vision and real revolutionary spirit (not mere debators)." Nothing is lost even now if we can give up sectarianism and invite co-operation of all the communities (not only the so-called leaders). The response will be wonderful.

I await your kind reply in the near future. Meanwhile I have decided to go to a village and organise a centre in accordance with your instructions. I believe in discipline and as a disciplined soldier I am taking up my post, but I wish the whole country could stand behind you at this juncture.

With loving namaskar.

Yours respectfully,
Chaman Lal

THE REPLY

[Sri Mahadev Desai replying on behalf of Gandhiji says :—]

What you have written contemplates co-operation with Government. The Municipalities —I mean the Congress-run—will have to co-operate to a certain extent, but only to the extent that they can do so with dignity and self-respect. The Ahmedabad Municipality framed a resolution to that effect and the Government have welcomed the resolution. This means that the Municipality will issue instructions (adopting such of those from the A. R. P. authorities as it can and which the latter have promised to submit to the Municipality in every case) and people will carry them out as from the Municipality and not the A. R. P. In such instances there is no likelihood of a clash. Where the Municipalities have no Congress majority the A. R. P. authorities will, I am afraid, have their way. There is, however, no question of "killing our conscience." We will do all that we possibly can but if the resources are all taken charge of by the military, what can we do? Every one will have to render what moral or physical help he or she *individually* can.

Let me also tell you that the Ahmedabad (Gujarat P.C.C. Scheme) contemplates and invites the co-operation of all—Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and so on, *i.e.*, if they will co-operate.

You will therefore see that work is actually being done in some places at least. Details will differ according to the circumstances in each case.

But as I have told you, you can write to the Maulana submitting your suggestions (contained both in your letter and your articles), and I am sure he will do the needful.

The reply does not help much, because there are not many municipalities run by Congressmen and the basic question of how people can take part in defence organisation, remains to be solved. The Congress instructions are not quite helpful. Either all Congressmen should join the A. R. P. (as we capture local bodies) or we should ourselves organise Civil Defence Committees and carry out the work of relief and food provision ourselves. Let the official A.R.P. extinguish fires and arrange evacuation of women and children.

Delhi, 9th March, 1942

BANKRUPTCY OF BRITISH AND INDIAN CONGRESS STATESMANSHIP

What is to be done ?

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

The War has entered into its next phase with the Japanese aggression in the East. The swift advance of the Japanese forces from the one end of the Pacific to the gates of India and Australia over a front of 3000 miles has been no less spectacular than the Nazi advance in Europe up to the gates of Moscow and Leningrad. But the terrific advance of the fascist hordes struck against the steel wall of unique Red resistance. It was hurled back by the vigorous counter-offensives of the Red Army, by the iron determination of an entire people that may bend but will never break. Hitler is learning the bitterest lessons of his life. For the first time his time table has been upset with catastrophic possibilities. In and outside the Nazified Europe he is tasting something of what is to come sooner or later. It has been, indeed an uphill task for him to turn the tide of the Red advance with all his might. For the present the proverbial Russian Bear holds him down there in his iron embrace. He has caught the bear but the bear does not leave him. And unless and until he can set himself free, he will be powerless to come in aid of his new ally or intervene effectively in any distant theatre of war. The Red Army has saved so long not only Britain but also India from a threatening Nazi invasion through the Caucasus. It has definitely foiled the Jap-German plan of a simultaneous offensive of an unprecedented scale in the East and the West covering not only East Indies and Australia, Burma and Eastern India, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, but also Turkey, Iraq and Iran, Morocco, Gibraltar and Africa, the Mediterranean and Red Seas and the Atlantic Ocean.

But the signal achievements of the Japanese military machine and its great gains in vital materials and resources have almost counterbalanced the deadly effect of the remarkable setback of the Nazi war machine and its tremendous losses in the Russian front. The Nazi hordes have been checked by the unprecedented assertion of the popular forces and exemplary valour of the Soviet Army. But where is that heroic assertion of the popular forces in British Colonies and Dependencies to check the tide of the Japanese advance ? Where is that valiant resistance of a people's army that fights for the cause of the people, that derives its strength because of the consciousness that it fights not for the vested interests of the classes or of the imperialist bourgeoisie but for the vital interests of the masses and of all oppressed peoples ? That is the principal reason why the Soviet forces could turn the table against the far-stronger and victorious forces of Hitler than the Japanese can ever have, while the Allied forces have beaten retreats after retreats in all theatres of war ? That is why the British forces with the combined strength of the Dutch and the U. S. A. in the Pacific could not hold back the Japanese anywhere even for a few weeks in spite of their strategic advantages and the largest and well-fortified naval bases, while the ill-equipped and half-trained Chinese Army without any Navy and Air Force worth the name could resist the ferocious Japanese onslaughts almost singlehanded for years together in spite of being blockaded on three sides and losses of all the sea bases and coastal towns. But is there any indication that Britain has learnt that great lesson of the present war which

alone counts in the ultimate analysis in fighting effectively the barbarous fascist menace of our times ?

Churchill has announced to the world the 'incredible' fall of Singapore "under the shadow of heavy and far-reaching military defeat." He has only repeated his old offer of "a hard, adverse war for months ahead," if not, for years. He has feelingly observed in his broadcast :

"To-night the Japanese are triumphant. . . But I am sure, even in this dark hour, criminal madness will be the verdict which history will pronounce upon the authors of Japanese aggression after the events of 1942 and 1943 have been inscribed in its sombre pages."

Apparently, these are brave words. Churchill yields to none in eloquence, in demagogy, in phrase-mongering. Obviously, he does not falter in his unshaken resolve to resist the military machines of the Axis Powers. But is that heroism born out of a realistic appreciation of the social forces operating in the War, of the actual strength of the Allied Armies and resources as against those of the enemies ? Is that will to resist generated out of the consciousness of the justice of the cause he represents ? Or, is that heroism born out of a reckless audacity which is so very natural to an unyielding custodian of vested interests that refuses to see beyond his nose, observe his own deadly shortcomings and weaknesses, that fails to comprehend the disastrous consequences of his own shortsighted policy, that prefers to go down fighting and drag the entire people along with him rather than yield an inch of his ill-acquired land or a small part of his ill-amassed resources? It is high time that the British people should see what is really true in case of their much-praised idol, lest they find in one shocking morning that their hero has only feet of clay.

There are valid reasons to believe that he and his blind admirers are not only taking undue advantage of the wartime necessity of unity of purpose and action and covering their 'incredible' but avoidable setbacks and retreats under heroic phrases in the name of national solidarity, but also making a virtue of his continuous confession of "failures" and "mistakes" on the sole strength of his candid frankness and determination to continue the resistance in spite of all reverses. This may well prove a mirage in the end and tragic in consequences. His self-contradictory assertions in the one and same breath go unchallenged in a most dangerous way in the "democratic" Britain.

In all his broadcasts he advances only two principal reasons for the failures and setbacks. Regarding the recent reverses in the East, his first line of reasoning is that he did not at all anticipate the Japanese aggression. Far less did he estimate properly the tremendous striking power of the Japanese forces. He confesses with a tragic audacity

"I shall frankly state to you that I did not believe that it was in the interests of Japan to burst into war both upon the British Empire and the United States. I thought, it would be a very irrational act. . . I could hardly believe that they would commit a mad act. . . .

What does this heroic confession imply ? Its only implications are a complete bankruptcy of the British statesmanship in this crisis and the consequent unpreparedness and tragic surrender of the most precious and strategic gates of India and Australia almost without a fight. It means that the foremost British statesman responsible for the direction of the War, signally failed to see beyond his nose and comprehend the new alignment of forces that drove Japan into the arms of the Nazis, although so many ameteur statesmen and military strategists of both Britain and Japan and other countries anticipated that unavoidable clash from long. Churchill himself gave away his whole case by contradicting his own theory elsewhere in the same address to the effect that Japan was seeking that opportunity for years together. Yet, the misled British people, in a feat of hero worship, puts a premium on the monumental bankruptcy of his statesmanship. History will not forget to record whether it was an irrational act to anticipate the attack and prepare for every emergency.

His second line of reasoning is that Britain was never in a position to defend its far-flung bases and to be strong in all theatres of war. He asks pathetically :

"How then in this posture, gripped, held and battered upon as we were, could have provided for the safety and order of the Far East against such an avalanche of fire and steel as has been hurled upon us by Japan ? Always this thought overhung our minds."

That accounts for all the disastrous failures, according to Churchillian logic.

Public memory is proverbially short. But is the memory of even critical Parliamentarians of Britain so very short as not to remember the entire background of the Far-Eastern war, the Soviet war and the Libyan war and all that Churchill and his worthy Ministers stated on so many occasions about the boasted superiority in the navy, hard-secured equality in the air and enormous production of tanks, planes and other armaments ? Those statements stand in striking contrast with the actual number of planes, tanks and soldiers despatched in different theatres of war. He has talked loudly of the avalanche of fire and steel hurled against them by the

Japanese. But pray, what were the actual numbers of planes and tanks and battleships and soldiers that were engaged in the Far-Eastern and African theatres of war? Even taking into account all that Britain could despatch so far, will not that number fade into insignificance in comparison with the vast forces that are engaged today on the Soviet front on either side? Britain might not be strong in every sector of the war. But is there no conscious Conservative Party or Labour Party to question their great leader, is she so weak as not to be strong anywhere? Britain has suffered reverses even in well-prepared Libyan campaign, although Hitler has been virtually helpless to send any reinforcements to Rommel for long.

He has talked of "the safety of Abyssinia, of conquered Eritria, of Palestine, of liberated Syria and redeemed Iraq and of a new ally Persia." But what were the forces involved in those sectors. Was there anywhere any battle worth the name except in Abyssinia? That also against the Italian forces, of an admittedly weak enemy. Yet, bluff and bluster seem to silence the critics, although all this fails to be a paying game and paves the way for greater blunders and reverses.

It is really bewildering why the British people fail to challenge their Premier on the crucial point—if he knew his weaknesses and believed in his lines of reasoning, why did he and his associates issue highly-provocative statements against Japan just before the treacherous attack by the latter? Britain gave severe warnings to Japan and the U. S. A. boasted to crush the Japanese Navy within a few weeks if they ever dared to attack them. If they were not in a position to defeat even their largest Naval Bases with fabulous fortifications, why did they then indulge in vain boasting? Was not this dangerous game of bluff and bluster suicidal in their own interests?

The astute demagogue of Britain fails to perceive even at this critical hour the evident self-contradiction when he himself admits in the same broadcast that

> "For this reason I have been most careful all these many months not to give any provocation to Japan and to put up with Japanese encroachments, dangerous though they were, so that, if possible, whatever happened, we should not find ourselves forced to face the new enemy alone."

If the British public have cleanly forgotten all the earlier statements of Churchill and his associates against the Japanese menace, who can save them from the consequences of their own illusions and utter lack of critical outlook which is so very necessary for the effective conduct of the anti-fascist war?

Churchill finally pleads in the same audacious but really tragic way in summing up his analysis:

> "This proves, a hundred times over that there never was the slightest chance, even though we might have been better prepared in many ways than we were, of our standing up to them alone, while we had Nazi Germany at our throats and Fascist Italy at our belly."

Mark the extravagant use of superlatives and highly-exaggerated accounts of the enemy positions in this one significant sentence and you will get the whole mental make-up of Churchill and the essential part of his outlook and logic that is self-contradictory, full of empty phrases and unscientific in approach and treatment of the vital problems of the War.

He gives a misleading emphasis on the word 'alone.' Is it not shame-facedly incorrect to suggest that Britain is fighting alone even in this sector? In drawing this conclusion he has cleanly forgotten not only the biggest help of his Russian ally in fighting their own War in Europe, but also all the resistance and aid of his American ally and the more brilliant exploits of the Dutch forces and the new ally, the heroic Chinese army. Is it not also a gross exaggeration of the actual position to emphasize as an excuse, on the point that we had Nazi Germany at our throats and the Fascist Italy at our belly? In fact, the Nazis are not at the throats of Britain but at the throats of the Soviet Union today and he deserves the right retort that he did nothing during three long months of the most threatening Nazi advance on the Russian front to slacken the iron grip of the Nazi monster at the throat of Russia. He was still sitting tight and gambling with the fate of the British people and the Russian people who, according to his later confession, actually saved Britain from an imminent Nazi invasion. During this fateful period, during the very period Hitler boasted to crush the Red Russia, he kept his forces idle in all theatres of war, even in Libya, far from taking any advantage of the extremely favourable military situation in launching vigorous offensives on other fronts.

Even today Russia is fighting alone for the future of All-Europe against all the might of the "occupied" Europe. Could Churchill utilise that rare military opportunity of a simultaneous attack on the enemies while their major forces were engaged in a deadly war on the Russian front? Even the much-boasted and belated Libyan offensive ultimately faded into insignificance before the renewed offensive of Rommel. His excuse sounds far more pathetic

when he pleads about the menace of the "fascist Italy at their belly." Did not he and his valiant associates scorn so long the Italian jackals and boasted of crippling and even breaking the resistance of the Italian Navy and air forces? How then even that Italian jackal becomes suddenly a vital factor in explaining the reverses in the distant East? Does he believe that any excuse is sufficient to silence the uncritical people of Britain?

I have complete confidence in the military might of the Soviet Union in dealing crushing blows to the fascist gangsters both in the West and the East. I join with Churchill if he really means that. But the crucial question is what contribution he is making to that ultimate victory during this fateful period of the Hitlerite offensives? What is the good of waxing eloquent over the achievements of the U.S.S.R. or even of China if he fails to learn the biggest lesson of the people's war in Russia and China and doggedly refuses to practise it in his own sphere of action? Will he contribute to that victory by surrendering strategic position after position and assuming from the very beginning that they were indefensible even by better preparation and mobilisation of forces and war materials?

It did not occur to his astute mind that if there is not the slightest chance to stand up against Japan alone (?), against her comparatively smaller number of forces even after 2½ years of ceaseless mass production of planes and tanks and other armaments both in the U. S. A. and in Britain and in spite of all the advantages of the deadly Nazi-Soviet war and the Chinese war, what chance he has to fight the Japanese when they will be far stronger with the immense gains in foodstaffs and all necessary war materials and by consolidation of all strategic positions from one end of the Pacific to the gates of India and Australia? Once again, our only hope lies in the striking power of the Soviet Union in the East while fighting the Nazis in Europe and the resistance of the Chinese people. But the tragic fact remains that he has abandoned within a few weeks all the strategic citadels of the East, thereby not only menacing India and Australia but also his new ally China.

I do not doubt as well that the gigantic preparations of the U. S. A. will be a big factor in resisting ultimately the Axis military machine. But is there any indication that he and his Government have a realistic appreciation of the heavy losses and its menacing consequences in the near future and of the tremendous gains the Japanese have made thereby enabling them not only to inflict far greater losses on them but also to continue a long-drawn war which was not otherwise possible? Did he realise that the failure to defend these citadels was primarily due to his own illusion about the madness of the Japanese venture and his own terror of an imminent Nazi invasion which had no basis in fact?

In an earlier statement he pleaded that his Government could not possibly afford to send so very vitally-necessary tanks and planes to defend Singapore and other outposts against a problemetical Japanese attack. But was not during this fateful period the danger of a Nazi invasion of Britain, which has evidently scared him and his redoubtable friend Beaverbrook and the entire Cabinet out of their wits in piling up major portion of tanks and planes there, far more problemetical and imaginary than the very real menace of the Japanese invasion in the East? The unchallengeable military position remains that there was not the slightest chance of a large-scale invasion of Britain so long the major portion of the Nazi forces remained engaged in the Soviet front. Yet Churchill played that trump card again and again in scaring the wits of the British public away by talking of the Nazi invasion in and out of season. Mr. Arthur Moore was quite correct in stigmatising this attitude as "defeatist" in a recent outspoken article against Beaverbrook. But why should he condemn the "defeatist" attitude and the great obesession of Beaverbrook alone? All the Ministers who upheld that plea deserve the condemnation.

I have made this rather lengthy examination of the so-called 'masterly' analysis of Churchill to expose the self-contradictory logic and unscientific approach and treatment of the entire problem of the War. He is that determined type of 'diehard imperialist' who has the audacity to go down fighting but not the open mind to learn from bitter experiences and historic lessons even for the sake of winning the war. Ever at this critical moment when the Japanese forces are battering at the gates of India, he does neither show the slightest intention of relaxing the iron grip of imperialism over India nor does he make any real attempt to mobilise the vast man-power and resources of India even to defend the precious possessions of Britain.

His anti-Soviet outlook blocked the possibility of an earlier Anglo-Soviet Alliance for long and resulted in disastrous loss of all allied positions in Europe which could not be defended

without the military aid of the Soviet Union. These failures have made a world of difference in the relation of forces in Europe in fighting the Nazis. However, at last, only sheer forces of events have led even the diehard imperialists to sign a military alliance with the Reds which diplomacy, statesmanship and commonsense failed to achieve so long.

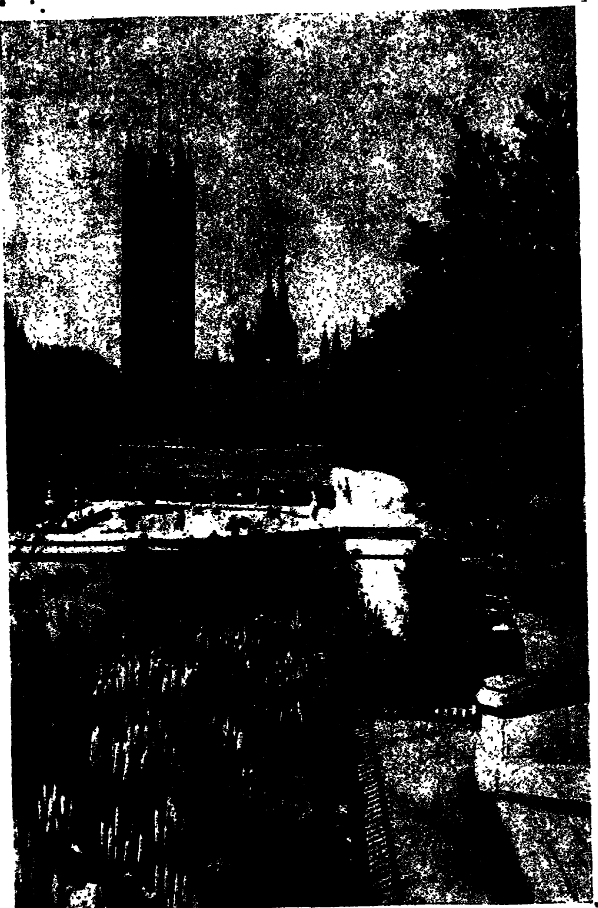
Still the same type of anti-Indian outlook or more truly, of imperialist outlook blocks the only way of an effective defence of India by immediate democratisation of war efforts and mobilisation of the popular forces against the anti-fascist war. Churchill still refuses to see the hard truth staring at his face that it is impossible to fight a people's war without the real fighting strength and backing of the people. He still cares not a bit for the democratisation of war efforts in India which he, in all probablity, considers positively dangerous for the vested interests of Britain. In the memorable words of Beaverbrook, as Mr. Arthur Moore points out ominously,—"I will be mad to do it." But both of them forget to their own peril that history might record in its sombre events at a later period that they were really mad not to do it, knowing well that that was the only way not only to save India, but also the British people as well. All this is but a grave pointer to the complete bankruptcy of the British statesmanship at this perilous period of history. Will Britain yet learn to take the only way to fight the Fascist menace in and outside India?

It is also no less tragic to realise the dangerous consequences of the short-sighted negative policy of the Congress leadership and the effect of its loose talk of utterly-ineffective war-resistance and of moral support to the anti-fascist war in the same breath. It has the courage and means to fight against the military power of British imperialism but it pleads its helplessness in fighting the fascist menace or giving any aid to the people's war of the U. S. S. R. and China. It considers Britain's unwillingness to transfer any substantial power to the Indian people as the sufficient excuse for its inability to help itself and defend India against the fascist aggression. It expects that the British imperialism must go on a voluntary liquidation and set the Indian people free to fight a people's war. It can not fight fascism because imperialism will not let the Indian people fight it. It is a curious position, indeed.

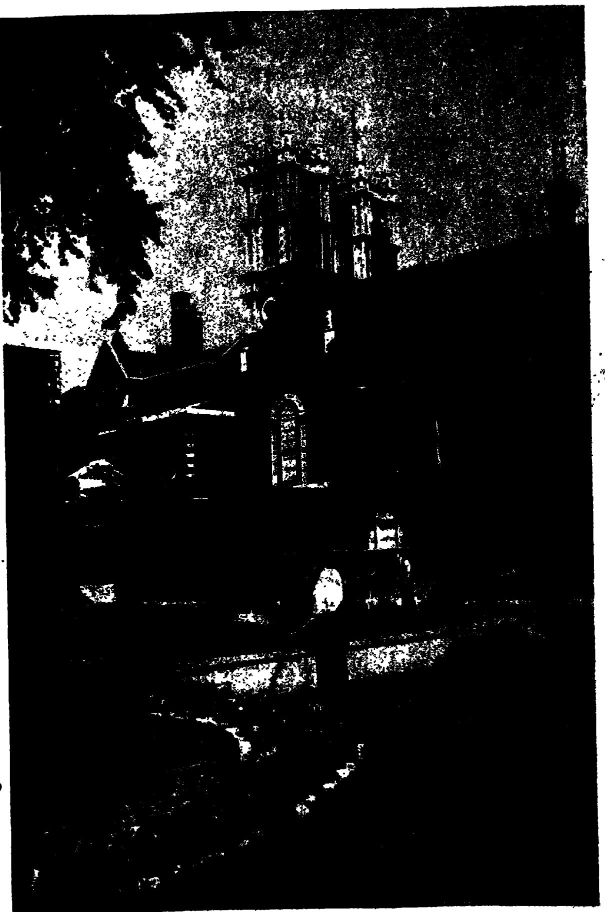
If the Congress leadership really means to fight for Indian freedom why should it pursue so long a suicidal policy of wait and see and an ineffective plan of extremely-limited war-resistance which breeds only widespread sense of complacency, helplessness and surrender and results in a defeatist mentality and reaction? Where is that heroic assertion of the popular forces even for the cause of Indian freedom, in the high-sounding name of which it seeks to mislead the people into a blind alley? If the Congress has the means and resources to fight against imperialism, why should it falter so long in mobilising the popular forces in fighting the barbarous fascist aggression? Why should the 'internationalist' Jawaharlal behave as a narrow nationalist in the crisis and fail to realise that it is impossible to fight imperialism in this epoch without fighting our immediate and most ruthless enemy—Fascism, the brutal defender of the tottering imperialism, of the decaying capitalist system?

Even in consistency with its very policy of non-violent resistance, why should the Congress fail at this critical hour to mobilise the entire man-power of the country to resist the fascist menace with all its might? Why should its spiritual leader falter and fail at the first cruicial test in putting his theory of non-violent resistance to actual practice in fighting the very real danger of a foreign aggression? Was it never seriously meant to be carried into action except in its very limited sphere but rather to be used as a slogan to counteract the unwelcome revolutionary action of the people that may strike at the interests of the classes? It is high time that the Indian people should see the truth.

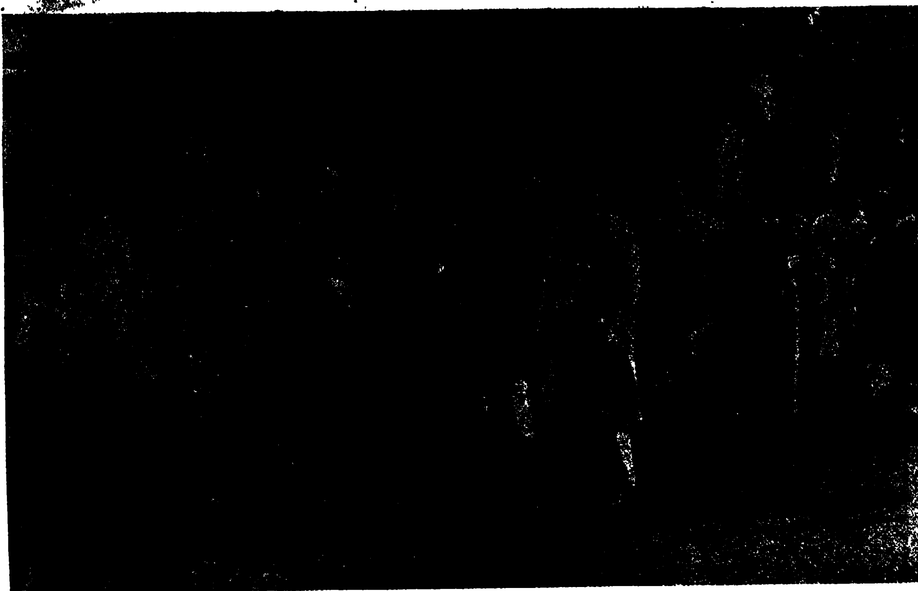
No doubt, any effective defence of India is surely dependent on the reciprocal attitude and actually-democratic war efforts of the Government. But what prevents the Congress and the people from standing up as one man on their own independent initiative against the fascist aggressor? What can stop them to educate and prepare the people for every emergency and to resolve with iron determination never to submit once again to any foreign rule, far less to any fascist domination? What prevents us from making independent efforts to mobilise the popular forces for that only objective and to bring an irresistible pressure on the Government and the British people to remove the obstacles in the way of our effective defence? That is the foremost task of the moment. *The Statesman* has the belated foresight and courage to plead for arming the Indian students and people without any further delay. Let the Indian people demand in one irresistible voice that they want arms and ammunitions to defend their hearth and home, to fight for their right for complete freedom against the menacing



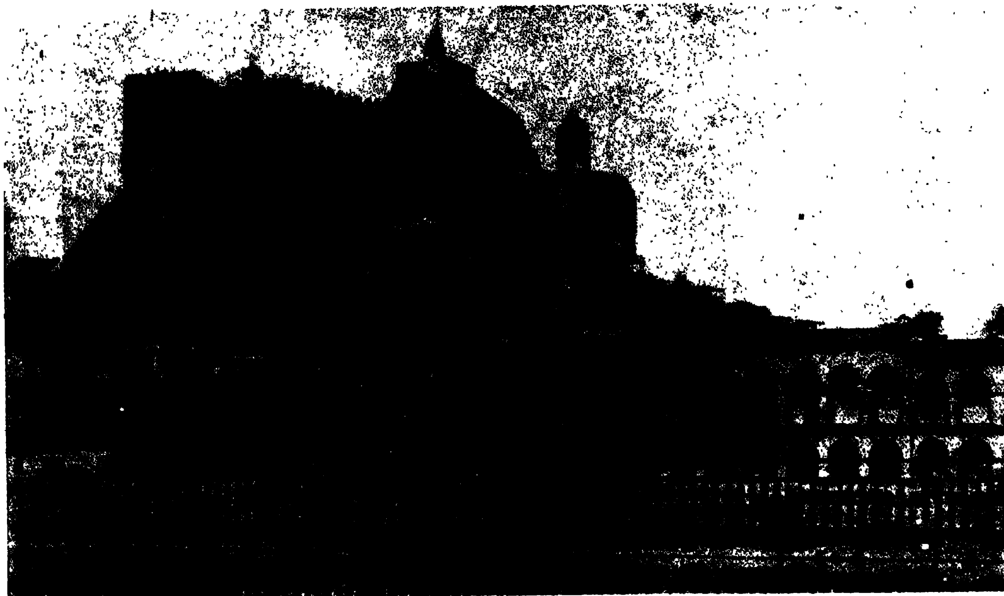
Houses of Parliament from the Victoria Embankment gardens



The gardens of the Westminster Abbey



On the eve of their departure, Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, accompaned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prof. Tan Yun Shan and others



Rockfort, Trichinopoly

fascist aggression. If British statesmanship has gone bankrupt, will Indian statesmanship also go equally bankrupt and fail to play its own role in this historic clash of the forces of progress and reaction, revolution and counter-revolution? Will the Indian people, in its indifference and blind apathy towards imperialism, act as an unconscious instrument in culminating the tragedy, the British imperialists are enacting in their equally-blind urge for self-protection, by paving the way for the fascist occupation of India? Will it permit India to be once more a pawn in the game of fraud and force by the fascist gangsters? Let the manhood and womanhood of India answer the call of historic forces in the only honourable way they can to end the exploitation of a people by a people and of the masses by the classes.

February 19, 1942

THE ROCK-CUT CAVE TEMPLES AT TRICHINOPOLY

By L. N. GUBIL

Of the more important historical centres of South India, Trichinopoly has a leading place. Here there are cave temples which contain inscriptions of early times. The Pallava dynasty contributed not a little to the history of South India and of Trichinopoly in particular in the 7th century. They patronised the fine arts of architecture, and the monumental relics of their age are found even today in almost all the places where they held sway. And perhaps the most important of these both from the historical and architectural point of view are the cave temples at Rockfort in Trichinopoly.

There are two cave temples in the Rockfort, the upper and the lower. The carvings of images out of the rock in the temples is a distinct feature of the Pallava civilization. People say that these carvings have a Buddhistic air dating back to the 5th or 6th century A.D. But it is now an accepted fact that these cave temples are the work of Pallava kings who ruled over the Chola kingdom in the 7th century A.D. During the reign of the Pallava kings Simha Vishnu, Mahendra Vikrama Varma and Narasimha, various cave temples were built. And the cave temples at Trichinopoly were the work of Mahendra Varma, the Pallava king, who reigned between 600 and 625 A.D.

The upper cave temple in the Rockfort is situated on the way to the Ganesa temple at the top of the Rockfort. It is a low hall of unpretensious dimensions containing some sculpture notable for its excellence. This hall is supported by pillars of special shape, which are about 7 feet high and 2 feet square. The length of the hall is about 30 feet and the width 15 feet, and the hall is 9 feet in height.

The whole cave is beautifully worked out with statues and inscriptions. On the western wall of the hall is a fine piece of group statuary. The central figure is Siva with four arms. One of them supports the figure of the Goddess Ganges, who according to mythology once threatened to deluge the whole world. The right



Group statuary in the Upper Cave Temple

lower arm holds a serpent. On the left arm is a rosary while the lower left rests on his hips. Siva's right foot crushing a dwarf is slightly bent, while his left foot stands straight. Four Rishis kneel about him in order to sing his



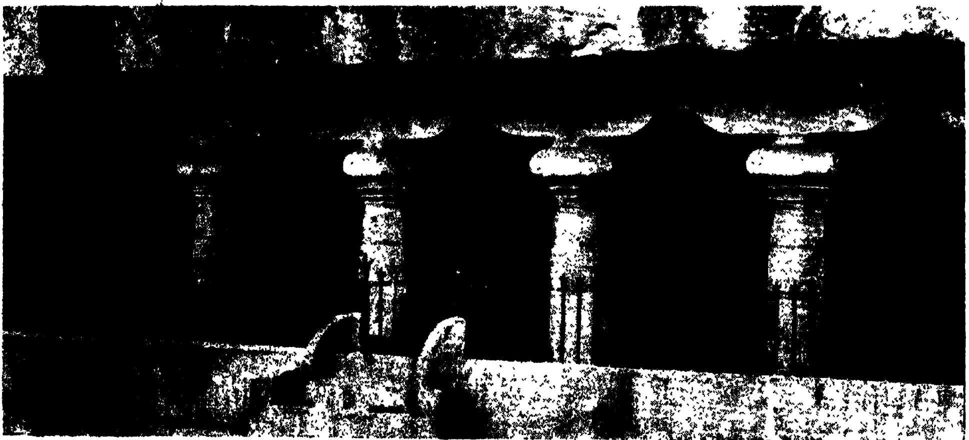
Upper Cave Temple, Trichinopoly

praise; and there are also two Gandharvas with hands raised in supplication. The pose of all the figures is beautiful, and the panelling is highly exquisite.

At each side of the entrance to the shrine a Dwara-palaka or door-keeper is carved. The guardian leaning on a huge cub and facing the visitor with an aggressive lifelike look seems to deliver a message and a warning.

There are inscriptions on the pillars both in Sanskrit and Tamil. On each of these pillars four Sanskrit verses are seen inscribed. And on the lower part of the left pillar are found a few unintelligible words and a much defaced group of inscriptions in old Tamil script.

There are several inscriptions carved on the northern wall of the cave, which eulogise the beauties of the Cauvery, of the temple and of the glories of the Pallava kings. They also describe the apprehensions of the Goddess Parvati who was afraid that Siva her consort might fall in love with the Goddess Cauvery (the name of the river flowing adjacent to the Rock in the North). Some of the verses state



Lower Cave Temple, Trichinopoly

the reasons why Parvati came over here from her father's house. Thus the upper cave temple is rich in ancient inscriptions besides possessing architectural beauty and grandeur.

There is yet another cave temple which is at the foot of the rock. It is situated to the western side of the main entrance to the temple. It is generally known as the lower cave temple. This has also been designed in the same manner as the upper one. This lower cave temple seems to be later in date than the upper one, and is somewhat incomplete. And the pillars of this temple are different in shape and size when compared with those of the upper cave temple. But here we find a greater number of figures scooped out of the rock in a variety of lovely poses. Another peculiarity is that the hall possesses two side chapels. There is an image of Vishnu in the eastern chapel, which is supported by eight pillars. On the northern side facing the south we have a group statuary containing the figures of Brahma, Surya, Indra, Siva and Ganesha. It is no doubt true that panels of this lower cave temple cannot stand comparison with those of the Elephant Caves, and though these figures are not of the same excellence as those of Mahabalipuram, the serenity of their pose and their expression are really beautiful. Thus the lower cave temple has also a beauty of its own.

These two cave temples are important also because they confirm the story of Appar's conversion of Mahendra Varma from Jainism to the Shaiva faith. They are the standing monuments of Pallava workmanship. The two rock-cut cave temples of the Rockfort are interesting objects of close study, which no student of art or archaeology could ever afford to miss. Really they are things of beauty which are a joy for ever.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By JAMES WALTON, B.Sc. (London), *Dip. Ed.* (Leeds).

AMONG the many racial problems confronting South Africa today the position of the Asiatic community is of absorbing interest, particularly in Natal where the majority of the Indians reside. Almost immediately after Natal was proclaimed a British Colony in 1843 the settlers began to cultivate the land and during the fifties sugar cane and the cotton plant were introduced, to which were added in later years tea and coffee, subsequently destroyed by the Ceylon coffee disease. Development was rapid and by 1872 the export of sugar had risen to £154,000, but these semi-tropical plantations brought a fresh want, that of patient, cheap and experienced agricultural labour. In spite of the fact that the native Zulus outnumbered the whites by ten to one they could not be called upon as a source of labour, for they were accustomed to relying on rich supplies of wild game and produce and the womenfolk were responsible for the meagre amount of agriculture which was practised.

As the sugar cane was introduced from Mauritius so the idea of employing Indian coolies, already taking place in the Mascarene Islands, naturally followed and in 1860 the first indentured coolies arrived in Natal. A Protector of Indian Immigrants was appointed to safeguard their interests and during the first fifteen years their numbers swelled to over 12,000, many of these settlers had meanwhile terminated their indentures and remained as servants, gardeners, traders and hawkers or found employment on the railways. Here and there they mingled with the kafirs to produce a fine looking hybrid similar in appearance to the black Portuguese, resulting from inter-marriage between the Zambezi Negroes and Goan settlers.

This permanent Indian settlement resulted in increased competition with the whites and in 1911 legislation was introduced to prevent further immigration but meanwhile the cooli population had been augmented by an influx of petty traders belonging to the Tamil and other Dravidian races of Southern India and partly to coastal tribes from Western India, mostly professing the Khoja faith. The restriction of immigration was strongly opposed by the Indian Government but in spite of this legislation the Asiatic population increased in numbers and importance until in 1936 nearly 220 thousand Indians were living in South Africa, of whom 84 per cent were in Natal. The majority of these were born within the Union and in Natal now almost equal the white population.

From 1911 onwards many efforts have been made to introduce anti-Asiatic legislation by



Impression of Indian Settlement. Umgeni riverside, North Durban, Natal

restricting trading facilities and the ownership or occupation of land, the latter applying particularly to the mining areas of the Transvaal. Attempts were also made to enforce residential segregation and the adoption of a "civilised labour" policy and an Area Reservation Bill was proposed in 1925 to oppose which the Indian Government sent a deputation to Cape Town. Their efforts met with some success in this direction and the Bill was withdrawn but local segregation has been effected by restricting certain residential areas to non-Asiatics, as in the case of the modern Durban suburb, North Durban, where 12,000 acres have been reserved for whites only. There the Indian population has settled along the steep northern banks of the Umgeni, their corrugated iron "shacks," with the adjoining patches of mealies and bananas, stretching in a scattered array from the shops and school by the roadside to the very summit of the hill. Dotted among the scrubby vegetation they present a rather picturesque scene and although a certain amount of squalor is usually associated with such dwellings it is not particularly evident among these squatters. Contrary to the general complaint made by the Europeans, the interiors of these one roomed dwellings are very clean, as are the clothes of their owners.

The outcome of the 1925 and 1926 deputations was the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 by which both Governments agreed to co-operate in a scheme of assisted emigration for those Indians wishing to return to their native land. The South African Government admitted their responsibility for the Indians remaining and agreed to withdraw the Areas Reservation Bill whilst the Indian Government recognised the right of South Africa to use all just means for the maintenance of western standards of life. To achieve this end the emigrants were granted free passages with a monetary allowance of £20 per adult and £10 for each child and the Indian Government appointed a representative in South Africa to control the scheme.

The incentive was hardly sufficient and during the succeeding ten years only 16,000 availed themselves of the opportunity. At the

end of the first five years it was realised by both Governments that the scheme had reached its limitations and they agreed to explore the possibilities of settling Indians in other countries. In May of 1932 further restrictions were imposed by the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act which forbids the future ownership of land or the occupation of proclaimed land by Indians in Transvaal except when permission is granted by the Minister. Later, the Feetham Commission spent four years investigating the problem of Asiatic occupation of land and they submitted to the Government their recommendations of areas where Asiatics may be franted ownership.

Throughout the last thirty years all efforts to slove the problem have enjoyed but limited success. The Europeans claim that the Indians are capturing their trade and clamour for their ejection whilst the Asiatics insist on the rights which their numbers merit. Segregation has taken place naturally in the big towns, as in Durban, where the Indians congregate in the north-western part of the city and have their own market, recreation ground and other facilities. Outside Cape Province, however, they have no political or municipal franchise, the latter being taken away in Natal in 1925, but the aged and infirm do receive a certain allowance and child welfare centres have been established in several of the larger towns.

In Cape Province and Transvaal primary education is free although not compulsory but in Natal it is neither. There are a few Government schools but the majority are merely state aided, a subsidy being made to each school based on the number of pupils and this in 1935-6 amounted to over £86,000 in Natal. Secondary education was introduced in 1930 by the opening of Sastri College in Durban which also serves as a training college for teachers. More advanced education is provided by the technical colleges at Durban and Pietermaritzburg whilst a number of students proceed to Fort Mare for an Arts degree course. A commission appointed by the Natal Provincial Administration has more recently recommended the gradual introduction of free and compulsory education for Indians and, in spite of increased residential restrictions, their lot is undoubtedly being improved.

Unfortunately no real solution has been put forward to overcome the friction resulting from trade competition and the major problem remains unsolved. As Sir H. H. Johnston has pointed out, the Indian element is strongly unpopular with the white colonists for purely selfish reasons and the claim that the Asiatics are lazy and dirty is merely an unfounded guise. It seems definitely unjust that Indian subjects should not be allowed to move as freely as Europeans especially when their numbers warrant much greater consideration. The native Zulus mix quite freely with the Indians and the idea of an eventual fusion between the physical qualities of the native and the mental strength of the Indian would hardly be viewed with pleasure by the colonist, as such a hybrid population would provide a virile race far outnumbering the whites and capable of making a still more dangerous bid for supremacy. Probably the best solution is that put forward by Sir H. Johnston who suggested that Indian immigration should be drawn to those countries to the north of the Zambezi which have a similar system of administration to India rather than to the southern region where the white colonists could then expand without interference

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The illustrations appearing on the two plates facing pp.276-77 in *The Modern Review* for March should have been acknowledged to *Asia* magazine.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for March, 1942, title of the picture facing p. 277 : *Read* "Yangtse" *for* "sea."

LAST THREE MONTHS OF THE LIFE OF DINBANDHU C. F. ANDREWS

By SHRI RAM SHARMA

COMPANIONSHIP of the good and the saintly is a reward for one's meritorious acts. When God is kind and when one's sins come to an end, a man enjoys the company of saints through the dispensation of the Kindly Power—the Creator. Blinded by self-interest, man often fails to see the guiding hand of God behind the various ups and downs, dangers and difficulties of his life. He looks through his circumscribed vision and does not perceive the glorious sun of benediction concealed behind the clouds of trials and tribulations. He also forgets, that disease is a pointer to health, as mental suffering is to self-purification.

When the writer confessed to the late Dinbandhu Andrews, of this realization, in the light of his hair-breadth escape from a murder plot against him in the Katiari Estate (Hardoi), where he had put a stop to corruption in administration, the latter embracing him, said with tear-bedimmed eyes, "God is Great."

Three attempts were made on the life of the writer and every time there was a providential escape. When the details of the plot were made known, there was a feeling of disgust, hatred and contempt in the heart of the writer over the working of God's method. Sometimes the plot of the intended murder was attributed to actions of past life and sometimes it was described as an event pregnant with meanings for the future. But it was in the beginning of January 1940 that the secret of the murder plot was revealed by the writer's conscience that the plot was arranged in order to bring the writer into a closer contact with the late Dinbandhu Andrews and to give him an opportunity to serve the Dinbandhu owing to the good actions of the past life of the writer. Owing to this plot and through good fortune the writer had to come down to Calcutta to take up the *Vishal Bharat* and incidently to serve Christ's Faithful Apostle, and the writer not only heartily forgave the plotters but thanked them most sincerely for having enabled him to come in closest contact with Sadhu Andrews.

It was in December 1939, when some friends and I visited Santiniketan, that through the good offices of Pt. Banarsi Das Chaturvedi, we had the rare privilege and pleasure of talking to the Dinbandhu for about an hour in Hindi Bhawan, which had been recently built. About noon Dinbandhu Andrews approached Hindi Bhawan with a slow gait. Referring to the various requirements of the Bhawan he observed, "The body is ready, it now only needs the soul. How can a carpenter work without tools? Without them it is useless to expect him to do any good work. We ought to have soon a very good library so that research work may also be commenced. There should also be a guest-house close by. Almirahs, carpets and books must be forthcoming soon."

Thereupon I remarked, with a smile, "Why not come to Calcutta for three or four days, when we could get up a tea party, write to friends like Ram Deva Chokhani and Bhagirath Mal Kanodia and request them to have our different wants fulfilled?"

"No, no, I shall not go to Calcutta. I don't like to go there. Last year I had to stay in Calcutta in the month of April. I cannot put up with the Calcutta heat," answered Mr. Andrews remorsefully, his facial expression betraying signs of fatigue. He asked Pt. Hazari Prasad Dwivadi to get him a cup of tea. The request for tea was immediately complied with and a cup full of tea to the brim was brought in.

He sipped his cup and conversed on a variety of topics. While drinking tea, his lips glued to the cup and his ears all attention to the talk amongst friends, his posture gave an idea that his heart was aching for the removal of human sufferings. I brought out my camera and quietly "clicked" him. He saw this and then at once with charming grace and boyish glee, he asked Pt. Banarsi Das Chaturvedi to hold the cup. When turning to me, he said, "Quick, snap Barnarsi Das in this pose, I shall show this snap to Mahatmaji. You know, Bapu (*i.e.*, Mahatmaji) considers tea to be poison. Ba (*i.e.*, Kasturbai) always prepares tea for me whenever I am with them."

As it was getting late the Dinbandhu then stood up to go away, but as he walked out of the Hindi Bhawan, he told us that he would shortly be writing an article for the press pertaining to the vital needs of the newly added

section of the Visva-Bharati so that the largest number of people might know the needs of the Hindi Bhawan for their fulfilment.

Watching the Dinbandhu at work at the residence of Gurudev from early morning to late at night, day after day, with his table littered with letters, which came from all parts of the world and from people of all shades of thought and belief, I could not help feeling that his many friends had been rather callous towards him, inasmuch as they had never thought of lightening the burden of the great friend and servant of humanity by placing permanently at his disposal the services of a competent steno-typist. So I suggested that every week-end my steno-typist Jagdish Prasad Sharma would go to Santiniketan and relieve the Dinbandhu of a portion of his heavy work. To this, the Dinbandhu agreed thankfully.



Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews
He sipped his cup and conversed on a variety of topics

Accordingly this arrangement came into force from the second week of January, 1940 and we used to go to Santiniketan every Friday morning and would return every Tuesday evening. Our idea was to help the Dinbandhu in getting his articles for the press typed and write to dictation for foreign and Indian press.

We could not go to Santiniketan in the first week of January, 1940. Pt. Hazari Prasad told me that Dinbandhu in his anxiety had asked him many a time why we had not been to Santiniketan. From the second week of January, 1940 our visits to Santiniketan became very regular. Jagdish Prasad and myself used to go with all the paraphernalia—the typewriter, carbon paper, sheets of paper—and would stay at the guest-house. After depositing our luggage I used to go straight to his residence. He would always enfold me in his affectionate arms and I felt that he had the heart of a mother. His affectionate embraces reminded me of motherly caresses. His behaviour convinced me that God had made him a man perhaps by mistake and he was a mother in the form of a man. He was in no way less affectionate and less tender-hearted than any cultured mother in the world.

During the days when I paid regular visits to Santiniketan I found the Dinbandhu working

at least ten hours a day. He would go on writing without caring for the strain the work brought on him, and in spite of the assistance of Jagdish Prashad to turn out four copies of his articles he would stick to work like a leech. Most of the arrears were finished. Once when I showed him the snap which I had taken in Hindi Bhawan, as he sat taking tea, he laughed and said, "You are very mischievous. Let me have four copies. I shall send one to my sisters, and another to Bapu and the other two some other friends could have." And I readily complied with his wishes.

In February,1940, I asked him where he would stay in summer. In reply he said, "I shall leave this place in March and shall stay for about ten days in Delhi. I have to deliver the Convocation Address this year at Delhi. I shall write out the address next week. Kindly get it typed."

With humility I answered, "I shall come over to Delhi, if you like, with Jagdish Prashad. I shall have in this way an opportunity to serve you. You will stay in May and June at Solon. I may also stay there. I shall be serving you and at the same time editing the *Vishal Bharat*.

In this way a reference to the *Vishal Bharat* cropped up and he expressed his great satisfaction with my work and told me that he was highly delighted that I had undertaken the *Vishal Bharat*.

I told him that I wished to stay in Calcutta only six months in a year and wanted Pt. Banarsi Das Chaturvedi for the remaining six months.

Immediately, he responded and said, "That's alright. If you like I may write to His Highness the Maharaja of Tikamgarh to spare him for five or six months. Or, Banarsi Das may come every three months."

"You need not write at present to His Highness the Maharaja, I shall have a personal talk with Chaturvediji. I have fullest cooperation with him. I have taken up the *Vishal Bharat* mainly on account of the personality of Ramananda Chatterji, the invariable kindness of his son Shri Kedar Nath Chatterji and my own connection with *Vishal Bharat*," said I in reply.

"By the bye," then asked the Dinbandhu, "do you know what my relationship with Ramananda Babu is?"

"All that I know," I replied humbly, "is that both of you are old affectionate friends and that your friendship is based on truth, and love of India."

"It is not only that," said the Dinbandhu with joy and legitimate pride, "I look upon him as my elder brother and it is to him that I owe not a little of my love and understanding of my people of India."

"How?" I enquired out of curiosity,

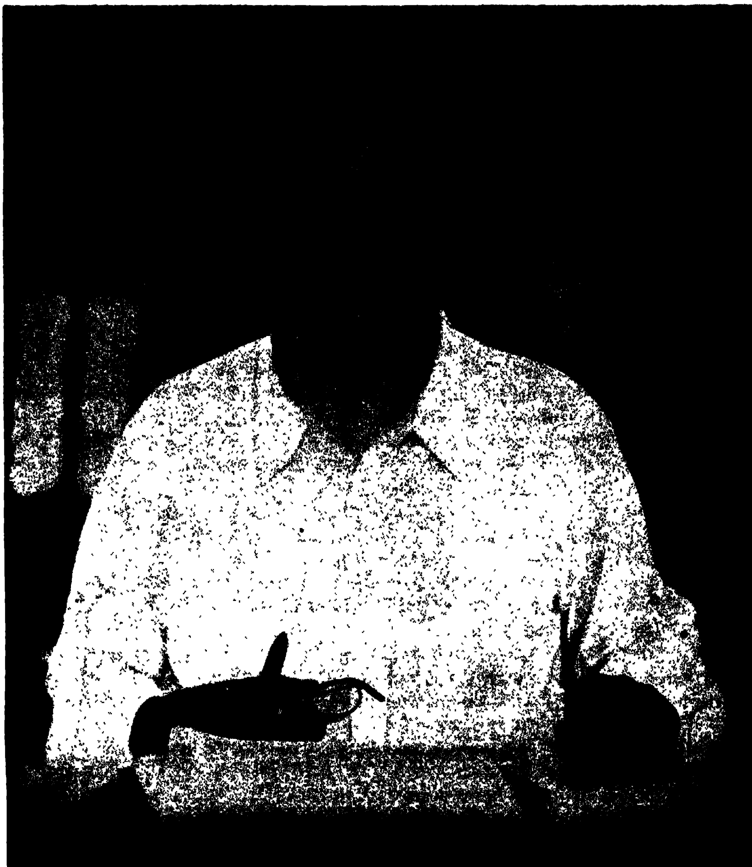
"It was in this way," said the Dinbandhu. "In 1905-6 I went to the Punjab as a military chaplain. At that time the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore published an article blaming "a handful of educated Indians" for their agitation against the British administration, and adding that the majority of the people were with the Government. It was very insolent in tone. In reply I wrote a series of articles over the *nom-de-plume* of "a military chaplain" which caught the eagle eye of Ramananda Babu. He managed to locate my identity. And ever since, he has always staunchly supported me with his pen and paper in my mission on behalf of the Indians overseas as well as in my other international work."

"When you return to Calcutta, please ask him to come to meet me. For I am afraid of going down there lest I might fall ill."

Thus our weekly visits to Santiniketan continued for some time. Mr. Andrews was very anxious to write twelve articles for *The Modern Review* and to have them typed before handing them over to *The Modern Review*. He wished to complete some fifteen articles for the Foreign Press also. He talked about the *Vishal Bharat* for about an hour and a half and promised to give at least six articles specially for it.

Pt. Banarsi Das Chaturvedi and the writer of these lines had an idea that letters of introduction from Mr. Andrews for England, America and Australia, should be taken so that if foreign travel should materialise, these letters might assist us in exchange of views and prove our bonafides. I mentioned this idea to him and told him that amongst my most intimate friends was Mr. H. N. Brailsford. Mere mention of the name of Mr. Brailsford thrilled him and he said, "Brailsford is also a great friend of mine. When you write to him next, please mention this to him." He promised to give twenty or twenty-five letters of introduction in March or April and then busied himself in work.

Once while going to Santiniketan with Jagdish Prashad, I could not purchase any daily paper in the morning at Calcutta. At Burdwan we read in one of the papers that the Dinbandhu had been admitted into the Presidency General Hospital in Calcutta, and was in the European Ward for treatment for dysentery. I was shocked at the news. He wanted to avoid Calcutta from March to September and the same



Charles Freer Andrews

Calcutta had drawn him to it. Many doubts and apprehensions came to my mind and we hurried back to Calcutta.

On the following day, I went to the Hospital to see him. He was given injections for dysentery. As dysentery and small-pox are often fatal to Englishmen, I was very aixious for the Dinbandhu. The moment I saw him lying on the cot, my heart was full of emotion. As he saw me, he extended his arms. On approaching his bed, I touched his feet reverently. In return he embraced me and patting me on the back said gently, "That is good. You have come. My blessings to you."

I then asked him how he was feeling. He replied rather sadly, "God's will be done." A copy of the Bible was beside him. Some letters lay scattered on the table close by. The luggage was placed in one corner of the room. The nurse was busy in nursing him. There were some restrictions for visitors, but I was allowed to have half an hour for the interview. And as, a few minutes after, I stepped out of the ward, the nurse and the doctor told me that the condition of the Dinbandhu was one to cause anxiety. But even in that weak condition, he talked to me about some of his Calcutta friends.

"Is Ramananda Chatterjee here?" "Yes," I answered.

"Please tell him to see me," he said.

"Is Ghanshyam Das Birla here?"

"I read in the papers that he is away at Delhi," I said in reply.

"Is Jugal Kishore Birla here?" he asked further.

I replied that most probably he was in town,

but that I would find out by telephoning to his people.

"Then please call him here to see me."

At this stage the nurse beckoned to me to stop and leave. And as I took leave of the Dinbandhu, I felt as if his eyes, full of tenderness, were silently begging of me not to leave him.

I telephoned to all his friends from my office. I daily visited the Presidency General Hospital. The Hospital authorities were tired of responding to telephonic calls about inquiries of the Dinbandhu's condition. Perhaps they did not realise that a precious gift of God had been committed to their care for treatment. His condition steadily grew worse. No sooner was he free from dysentery than he fell into the clutches of prostate gland trouble. The idea was that he should be operated upon for prostate gland trouble. How could the operation for this trouble rid him of the malady at the age of 70 years! But the weakness of the Dinbandhu necessitated the postponement of the operation and a minor operation took place and a rubber tube was inserted for the free passage of urine. But this minor operation reacted badly on his body and mind. The poison due to stoppage of urine began to affect his mind. When I met him after this minor operation, his condition was decidedly worse. His voice was extremely feeble and one had to take one's ears close to his lips to hear him. He would also go into a state of unconsciousness.

During the interval whenever he regained consciousness from his spasmodic fits of "coma state," he asked me to keep Gurudeva (Rabindranath Tagore), Bapu (Mahatma Gandhi) and his sisters informed of his condition. I wrote off at once to the first two, but I could not do so in the case of his sisters, because I did not know their address, and even on my asking the Dinbandhu about it and his best efforts to write it out in his faltering hand, I could not decipher it. However, I assured him that I would see to it that the needful was done.

In the course of my daily visits to him he more than once inquired about Babu Ramananda Chatterjee.

One day he asked, "Is Bhagirath Mal Kanodia here? Where is Ramananda Babu?"

"Ramananda Babu has some trouble in his eyes and Kanodiaji is here. But he, too, is unable to move; but he has sent message that you should not have any difficulty for want of money," I said in reply.

"Well then, Ramananda Babu should not stir out. But Bhagirath Mal should see me," falteringly uttered the Dinbandhu.

After some days I asked him whether he required anything.

"Yes," he replied, "I want some envelopes and a few writing pads."

"I shall bring them to-morrow with me," I said.

"Anything more that you would like to be brought?"

"I want two 'ograne' daily—" his tongue faltered.

I could not understand what 'ograne' was and so I inquired, "Do you want oranges."

"Yes, yes, oranges and one grape fruit also" his feeble voice assured me. On inquiry the nurse told me that he needed oranges and grape fruits.

That day I covered the whole distance of about six miles on foot from the hospital to the *Vishal Bharat* Office. I was walking like one in trance. The Victoria Memorial and other palatial buildings were standing as symbols of mammon worship. There was merry-making in the city and one of the finest jewels of humanity lay groaning in the hospital. That devotee of God was not an ordinary being. Meagre reports of his illness used to appear in the press. Vernacular reporting is said to be bad; but the English press, too, was no less faulty in reporting daily the course of his illness. No bulletins appeared about his illness. In disgust I wrote several letters to friends and the one to Chaturvediji contained trenchant criticism of Indian rich men.

On another occasion the nurse who was attending on the Dinbandhu told me that essence of chickens had been recommended as food. This, too, of course, was supplied—thanks to the generosity of Sohan Lal Pachisia.

When, at one stage, he showed signs of slight improvement, I told him that after his recovery, I would like to accompany him both as his bearer and his private secretary to Solon or South Africa, wherever he would like to go to recoup his health. "Certainly," he remarked, "I shall take you with me."

One day the nurse informed me that two days after it would be the anniversary of the birthday of Dinbandhu Andrews.

So that particular morning Jaguish Prashad, Rajendra Sharma of the *Yogi*, Ajudhya Singh and I bought some flowers and fruits on the way to the hospital. On arrival there we all touched his feet reverently and then sat down, the good nurse joining us to celebrate his birthday anniversary, and prayed silently to God to bless

the Dinbandhu with long life, while he, all the while lying in bed, watched us with deep love. Thus we celebrated his 70th birthday anniversary, in simple and reverential manner. After some time we rose to take leave of him and as I bade good bye to him, I could not refrain from feeling that even if tens of thousands of people like me were to sacrifice themselves, India's debt of gratitude to the Dinbandhu could never be liquidated adequately.

Just then an important engagement called me away to Agra for a fortnight. And the Dinbandhu was so considerate that he willingly let me go, saying, " Of course, you should go, for I am now steadily progressing."

On my return to Calcutta, to my great delight, I found him much better, so much so that he was able to move about in his room. I suggested, therefore, that he should plan to go to South Africa for convalescence. " No, I shall not go away from India," replied the Dinbandhu, " The doctors now advise a major operation for my prostate gland trouble, for in their opinion any further delay would be detrimental to the chances of ultimate recovery."

" But," I interrupted impatiently, " cannot the operation be postponed for some time ? "

" No, because afterwards I might be too weak to stand the operation. By the bye, give me eight copies of my photograph, because some people in the hospital want them."

" Then could I take a new one to-morrow ? I shall bring along my camera, if you like," I asked.

" Do please," he replied.

It will not be out of place to mention that after Mahatmaji's visit to Dinbandhu Andrews in the hospital everything was done for him through the good offices of Mahatmaji and the Metropolitan Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Lala Girdhari Lal was specially deputed for the service of the Dinbandhu. The hospital authorities, too, did their best for his comfort.

On March 30, when taking my camera I went to the Hospital, the Dinbandhu could not be even recognised easily, for his beard and moustaches had been shaved in preparation for the operation. As I approached his bed, he saw me and with deep pain, he said " Please do not take my photograph in this condition." Then he took my right hand in his and made me sit beside him and read Mahatmaji's telegram to him, which had been received overnight :

" *All praying for successful operation. Arranging have news on Sunday. Love. Mohan.*"

After a while the Dinbandhu looked again at the telegram and said, " I am not worried at all. Once when Mahatmaji was observing one of his epic fasts, and his condition had become very weak, I suggested that he might consult a doctor. Then, a little troubled in his mind, he observed, ' Charlie, why do you not have faith in God ? He is the greatest physician.' Thus did Bapu dispel my delusion. Today, therefore, I am thinking of Him (here he pointed upwards with his hand). The Metropolitan the Lord Bishop is like my father to me. For whatever God will do will be for my good, and in my death, if it comes to pass, India and the world, too, will gain."

Then he was very much overwhelmed with emotion and, embracing me, he said, " My heartfelt blessings to you." I touched his feet in reverence and love. And then as my eyes fell on his face, I felt as if I stood in the presence of the Christ.

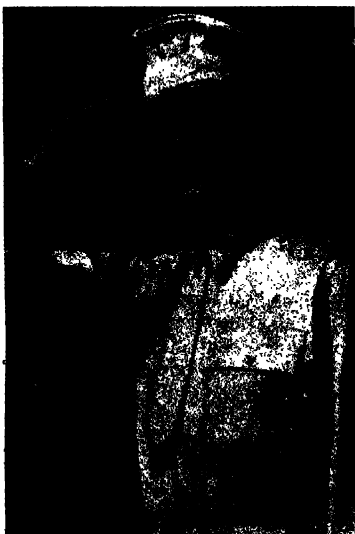
Alas ! On April 5, the Dinbandhu left us all carrying with him not a little of the burden of woe-stricken humanity. But he entered the peace and silence of Eternity. In the St. Paul Cathedral lay the cortege bedecked with flowers. Candles were burning and our hearts were heavy. The Lord Bishop offered prayers. Some portions from the Bible were read, which touched our hearts. The whole atmosphere reminded me of the sacrifice of the Christ. My heart heaved. The affection of the Dinbandhu had lent support to emotions through eyes. Pindrop silence was broken by Lord Bishop's service. It seemed God himself was looking pleased through the windows at the salvation of His devotee. That evening, as the large number of mourners followed his cortege, covered with wreaths, to the church and later attended the *Requiem* service, conducted by the Lord Bishop, most of them felt sure inwardly in that solemn and spiritual atmosphere that God was blessing abundantly the soul of the dear departed.

After the dead body of the Dinbandhu had been laid low in the grave, we retraced our steps homeward. On the way our hearts overflowed over and again with gratitude to the Dinbandhu for his devoted love for us, our country and humanity. But at the same time we could not help feeling as if the walls of the graveyard were saying to us : " O ye mourners, after two days you, too, will forget him whose earthly remains you have consigned today to Mother Earth."

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The Spring offensive is imminent on the Russian front. At the time of writing (27th March) the initiative is still fully in the hands of the Soviets' forces. The main question there, as in all other theatres of war, is that of supplies and reserves. The Nazi programme for a supreme peak of war production is now probably proceeding at a fortissimo pitch, and that of the Allies is fast approaching parity with the Axis production, if it has not already caught up with it. In the case of the Allies however, the position is complicated by the matter of communications, the shipping available being hardly sufficient to cope with the demands for supplies from the furthest corners of the earth, the routes being the longest way round in every case. It is to be hoped that the production centres in the Urals and in the Baikal region are by now tuned up to capacity. The Persian Gulf ports and the roads and railways leading from Bandar Shapur and Basrah to Bandar Shah and Khaniquin on the Iran border respectively have probably been fully organised by now and therefore the bottleneck in communications may have been cleared to a certain extent.



General MacArthur

On the issue of the Spring and Summer offensive depends the fate of the nations of the earth. At the present moment there is hardly any country or nation on earth that is not involved, directly or indirectly in this war. No spot on the earth is really safe or immune from the effects of war and for the present peace may be considered an exile from this planet. This state of affairs cannot continue for any length of time for obvious reasons and therefore the supreme effort for the determination of the final issue is being made by both sides at express speed. Time has been so far on the side of the Axis, thanks to the muddle-headed methods of the democracies who have persistently taken a long view of urgent and imminent causes of action and vice versa. The recent speech by M. Maisky, who has stressed the point that the war will not wait until the Allies have stitched on and polished the last button on the last soldier, and the comment in the House of Commons that a fighter air craft factory in India might have saved Singapore are illustrations of the shortcomings of Allied war planning. To descend from the sublime to the ridiculous one has only to quote the recent utterances of the



Japan's Tojo

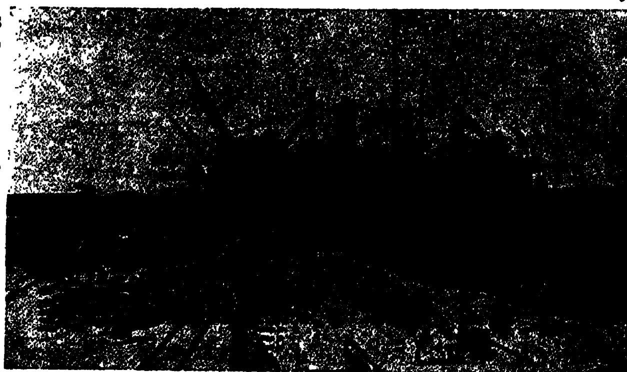
Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council in India, who has tried to whitewash the incomepetence of those who have been in charge of Indias defence, by blaming the non-official critics of the army budgets, to expose the befogged condition of the brains of officialdom.

Three or four years back a former Commander-in-Chief of the Armies in India revealed before a distinguished audience in London that the Army in India was organised to cope with any warlike situation that might develop internally, and no preparations had been made to defend India from any attack by foreign powers. Needless to say the people of India had no voice in the matter—nor have they any now, for that—they could only protest against uncontrolled expenditure of a very large percentage of the country's revenues, and their protests went unheard. Here in this country, we have a heaven for incompetents. One incompetent praises another and the more bitter the protests of the Indian Nationalists, the more laudable are considered the actions of the Heaven-born. The post World-war I Army and defence budgets of India taken together, would bear comparison with that of Japan upto 1936, but what is there to show against it ? No amount of whitewashing can disprove facts, and a barrage of drivel may confuse or even silence the representatives of a helpless and dependant people but it would only elate the invader and add strength to his propaganda. It is about time that officialdom in this country realised that in the present critical situation their actions and utterances may help the Axis more than the activities of any non-official " Fifth columnist " real or imaginery.

* * * * * *

In Russia the sand is running out fast. The situation, though no longer as favourable to the Axis forces as it was in the middle of November last, is still full of menace to the Soviets' forces. The Nazis still have the spring-boards in the centre and the South from which to launch their offensive. The sole considerable gain of the Russians is that there is no chance of their being caught unaware and overwhelmed.

In the North the Soviets' forces are fighting hard to release Leningrad from its investment. There and in the Lake Ilmen area the Russian progress, though very slow, has been consistently and systematically undermining the German plans for an offensive on a large scale aimed at the linking up with the Finns and isolating the Soviets from its Arctic ports. If the Leningrad area can be cleared and held before the end of April then the shortest route for supplies to Russia would be re-established. This would relieve the pressure on the shipping to a great extent and accelerate matters in every respect.



Unloading U. S. Arms supplies to Russia at Bandar Shapur in the Persian Gulf

In the centre the main track of the Nazi offensive against Moscow is still being commanded by the Germanic forces. This front is no longer held by the Nazi forces along an uniform short line and a lot of straightening up will have to be done before a major assault can be staged, which means that a sudden thrust on a gigantic scale is not very likely unless the Russians are very much in an inferior position regarding tanks and planes. The period of thaw will probably suspend major operations on both sides and then it would be a question as to which side would be able to seize the initiative first.

In the South the position is most critical. There is not the slightest doubt that it is here that the Axis forces would attempt to get a decision against Marshal Timoschenko's forces, as a preliminary to a gigantic offensive aimed at the crushing of the Soviets' armies.

The situation in Russia is complicated by the fact that the Soviets are now dependent to a large extent on external supplies and will continue to be so for some time to come. The opening of a second front to relieve pressure on the Soviets' forces has now become an impossibility until Japan's advance in Asia can be checked. The renewal of air attacks on Germany on a large scale is undoubtedly an attempt to create a new air-front and if it succeeds in its object of diverting a substantial portion of the Luftwaffe to the western front



Honolulu barracks, Hawaii, where hundreds of American soldiers died



Hickam Field Aerodrome, object of the first *blitz*

then aid to the Russians would be given in some measure.

The renewal of the battle of the Atlantic means that the Axis realises to the fullest extent what American aid to the United nations can mean within a few months time from now. Special attention is being paid to American shipping firstly because the American mercantile marine as yet is inexperienced in the combating of submarine warfare and secondly to create a panic situation amongst the merchant navy personnel. If a major disorganisation can be effected by these means then the sending of aid during the most critical period of this war would be badly hampered, much to the advantage of the Axis powers.

* * * * * *

In Egypt the stalemate still continues. There are still two months of campaigning weather ahead, but it is doubtful whether any of the parties would venture on a major offensive at this stage. Whichever side does it, will have to depend to a very large extent on its stocks of war-material, as with the approach of the Spring, it is unlikely that any reinforcements or war-supplies on a major scale would be diverted to North Africa. As matters stand neither side has gained the upper-hand though the advantages are at present somewhat in favour of General Auchinlech.

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In the South Pacific war, which has now spread into the Indian Ocean with the capture of Lower Burma and the Andamans by the Japanese, the position of the United Nations is still critical and serious. The situation in Australia is somewhat better with the arrival of American reinforcements and with the arrival of General Douglas McArthur. There is no doubt now that the morale of the Australians has received a great stimulus by these events and the repatriating of a part of the war-wise veterans of the A. E. F. from Libya has no doubt added to the confidence of the peoples of Australia in their power to resist aggression and to fight back.

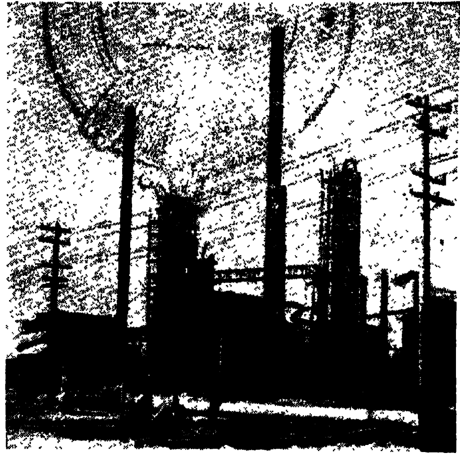
The renewal of an attempt to liquidate the last of the heroic defenders of the Phillipines is now in progress. Bataan peninsula and the fortress islands of the Manila Bay are now being subjected to the most violent aerial and artillery bombardment possible by the Japanese forces. With the elimination of these last outposts of the United Nations in that part of the Pacific the communication lines of the Japanese, now strung out over thousands of miles of sea-lanes, would be secure against any thing but a very long term counter-offensive. Japan has to replenish her stocks of raw materials for war-production and this can now be done only from the conquered areas. On the safety of the convoys taking out the reinforcements and supplies and bringing back the raw-materials depends the existence of the Japanese war-machine, and Japan is losing no time over the completion of these arrangements. With the collapse of the Dutch East Indies, Japan has now access to the sources from which the world drew a major part of its supplies of some of the most valuable raw-materials for war-production. The scorched earth policy will undoubtedly retard the winning and intermediate processing of these raw-products but that would mean delay for some few months only, if the Japanese can organise production in those areas safe from external disturbance.

In New Guinea the Japanese progress is slow. This is no doubt partly due to the terrain, over much of which aerial transport was the order of the day even in peace-time, and partly due to transport difficulties. The shipping

available to Japan is variously estimated at between six to eight millions of tons and most of it is old and slow. To maintain regular supply and transport over the immense area now under control of Japan with this tonnage is undoubtedly a strain, and if further expansion takes place—and now there is no option before the Japanese in this matter—then the communication lines would become very vulnerable, if and when the United Nations can muster sufficient naval and air forces to challenge Japanese supremacy in these areas. Japan is not taking any chances in these matters as can now be seen from the steps her naval and military forces are taking in consolidating her gains.

To consolidate her position completely and to hold it finally against any counter-offensive, Japan has to bring Australasia and India under her domination, and her armies cannot halt—though they may pause for re-fitting and re-inforcements—until that is accomplished. For the taking of Australia the Japanese forces must break the links across the Pacific with America. This means that Fiji, New-Caledonia, Samoa, Canton, Howland, Johnston and other South Pacific Islands must be taken and held by the Japanese. For the conquest of India the Andamans the Nicobars the Laccadives and the Maldives and the island of Ceylon must also be taken before the isolation of India can be completed.

By the taking of New Zealand and Australia, any offensive projected by America will be foiled for some considerable time to come. The Australian Government was right in stressing this point and the "most substantial re-inforcements" from the U. S. A., if really substantial, has been the first step in the right direction taken by the Pacific War Council. If these re-inforcements can be augmented and the supplies kept up then at least one bastion of the United Nation's fortresses in the Asiatic war will be held till the full strength of the American forces can be brought to bear upon the Far Eastern theatres of war. And unless this counter offensive starts before the Japanese have time to consolidate their gains, all chances of dislodging them will be lost so far as the near future is concerned. There are immense handicaps in the way of such an offensive, but the handicaps are no greater than what the Japanese have faced already, if the comparison be made purely on the basis of resources and near-potentialities. Success or failure will rest on the relative capacities for organisation and the comparative qualities of the opposing forces



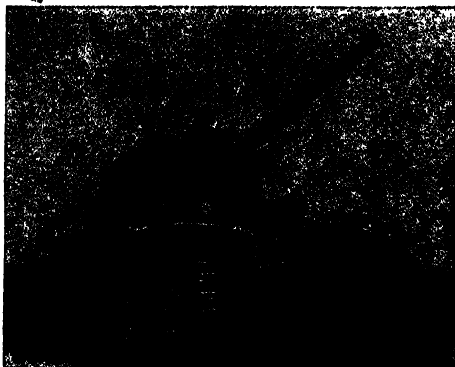
Oil Refinery at Bahrein

specially with regard to the determination and endurance of the fighting forces. A fighting nation that is staking everything on one all-out campaign of conquest can be defeated only if its opponents are equally determined to go all-out regardless of cost or consequence.

If the overrunning of Australia means a devastating blow to the cause of the United Nations, the fall of India would mean a catastrophe. For with the fall of India would go all the remaining oil resources of the British Empire—in Burma, Assam and the Persian Gulf —all the refuelling facilities, all the revictualling arrangements and all the potential resources for man-power and armament. It may be taken for granted that realisation of what that would mean has come to the powers that be. But the hour is very late and those responsible for this situation are still in many positions of trust. Sir Stafford Cripps may succeed or fail, but the real solution lies elsewhere so far as the rectification of this present desperate situation is concerned.

If the democracies want to avoid *defeat* they must be prepared for the immediate and ruthless pole-axing of all incompetents.

A lot has been said about prestige in the past. Prestige has been the talisman of all incompetents, all intriguers and all dealers in bribery, corruption and unconscionable waste. It may be taken for granted that the "prestige" has diminished in geometric progression accordingly and the only way to restore it would be in an honest attempt at re-orientation of the viewpoint.



New Heavy American Tank

The situation in Burma that is at the very gates of India—is very serious indeed. The most serious aspect of the affair is that as yet the men in charge of the country—the actual armed forces and their commanders excepted—do not seem to have recovered their equipoise after the series of disasters following the fall of Singapore. We quite understand that a government that is almost completely divorced from the people of the country concerned and is guided solely by a bevy of "yesmen" has a very difficult task before it when it is put in such a helpless situation. So far it has been working along a line of its own, latterly with the aid of a group of hand-picked non-officials. On almost every action taken by this Government, approval has been showered from "Home," and applause has followed from the chosen few amongst the Indians to whose voice the august ones listen. The best men with the right shade of complexion—political and otherwise—were placed in charge everywhere and the Advisory Boards, Civil Defence Committees, etc., were flooded with the "right type" of men. In short the Government has done its best according to its own lights, and now that things have gone wrong everywhere and no prospect pleases, what is it to do? Well, instead of exhorting the people of this country to show courage and determination the Government can set an example.

A show of calm fortitude and an open declaration that the Government, Central and Provincial alike, is determined to carry on come what may, is infinitely better than a thousand plans of "scorched earth." And if the Government is to carry on, then it is about time that a few officials showed an inclination to shoulder responsibilities where the civil population was concerned. "Passing the buck," in the shape of endless red-tape bound files flung from department to department is a rotten sort of a game at the best of times. Now that this country is face to face with grim realities, such a procedure cannot be condemned too strongly. Responsibility lies heavy on the shoulder of officials and "leaders" of non-official groups, there is no denying of that. But does that really entail pronouncement of such counsels of despair like the "sauve qui peut" advice given to those who live and earn a livelihood in the great coastal cities, without any arrangement as to how the civil population is to live and to carry on after the evacuation and after the "scorching"!

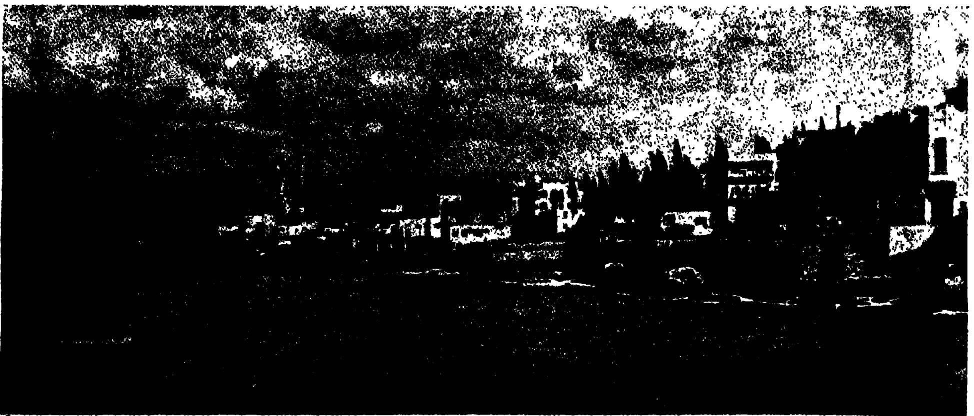
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The situation in Burma is very obscure at the moment of writing. The valiant Chinese forces are putting up an example of determined resistance against the Japanese at the centre. Further west the British troops have not yet gone into action. A very great deal depends on the measure of aerial support given to the ground forces on either side. The Japanese are evidently trying to organise a kind of guerilla warfare in conjunction with the infiltration by regular armed forces. It is evident that no stabilisation has yet been attained near the Irrawaddy. But it seems unlikely that the Japanese would move very far so long as the Chinese resistance continues.

Since the above was written the British War Cabinet proposals regarding India have been made public and Sir Stafford Cripps has broadcast his plea for acceptance of this offer. The proposals contain nothing new and it is hard to believe that acceptance or rejection by the Indian Public would affect the present war situation. A drastic overhaul of all official arrangements and personnel is urgent and has been indicated for some time past. The new proposals if accepted might render incompetence—and worse—still more immune from criticism than now. Unless inefficiency, profiteering, graft and shirking of responsibility is stopped the downhill trend in the war situation cannot be stopped. The inclusion of a few polished Indian ornaments in the official furniture would hardly do that.



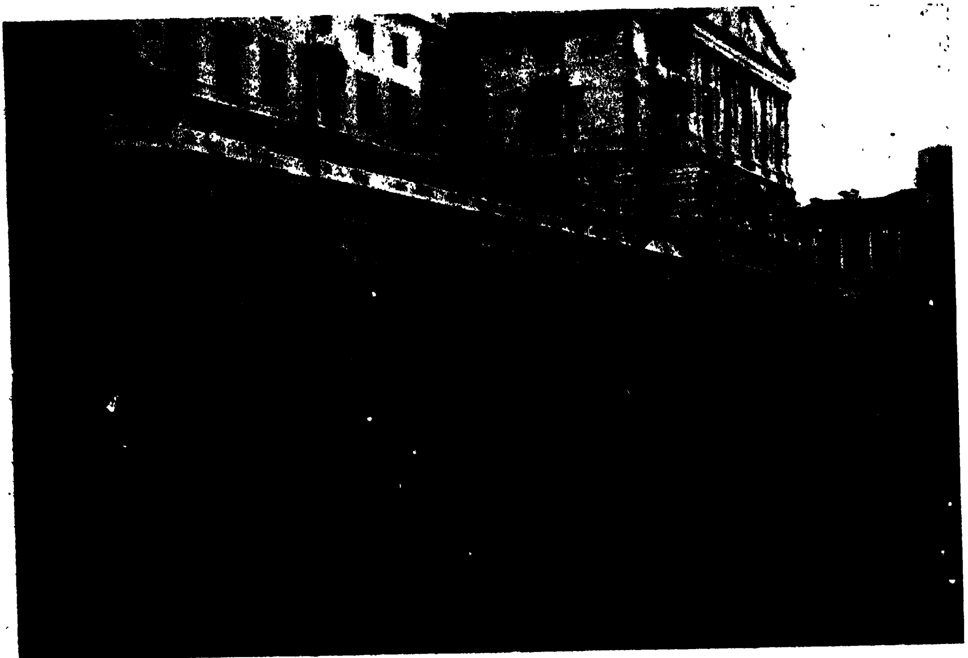




Top : Australian Houses of Parliament, Canberra
Middle : Iraq railhead town Khaniquin on Iran frontier
Bottom : Iranian Caspian port and railhead Bandarshah



The birth of a British tank



The Bank of England

NEW CENTRES OF SOVIET INDUSTRIES

By S. UPADHYAY

Six months back Germany invaded Soviet Russia; and the war rages over the vast front across the continent of Europe. During this short period numerous cities have fallen; industries have been destroyed. Germany has taken possession of the regions that were supposed to be the lever of national economy. Hitler's march has occasioned criticism about the Soviet military strength and economic potentialities. This is all natural, for the world does not care to know much about the Soviet system, and our knowledge is far from accurate. The sinews of war, we know, are men and materials. The Soviet Union possesses both. That the Soviet army is not poor in equipment is a fact. About its efficiency there is no question; experts who had no word of praise in the past are showering eulogium upon the Red Army. The loss of industrial centres, many think, has stripped the Soviet Union of material resources. The loss, though severe, is no heavy drain upon the Soviet resources, and war-supplies can be continued for years. This is a hard fact and can be proved to a certainty.

Soviet industrial centres are grouped into old and new. Of the old industrial centres the most important are Moscow and Leningrad. The new centres are spread over the Ukraine, Volga Districts, the Urals, Eastern Siberia and Central Asia. The Ukraine has already passed under German control; old centres have fallen within the war zone and their productivity is likely to be hampered to a certain extent. By comparing the total output of all the industrial centres actual potentiality of each can be brought out. And the table below is a study in the distribution of industries.

Capital Investment in National Economy
(Percentage of the Total for the U.S.S.R.)

Districts	All National Economy	All Industries	Heavy Industries
Old Industrial Districts .. (Moscow, Leningrad and Ivanov Regions).	18·97	19·50	17·18
Ukraine ..	17·21	18·52	19·80
Volga Districts ..	10·91	9·99	9·62
Ural-Kujnestk Combination ..	21·37	25·37	28·98
Urals ..	10·18	13·81	17·37
East Siberia and Far East Territory ..	6·51	4·77	5·02
Trans-Caucasian S.F.S.R.	5·31	5·30	5·71
Central Asia ..	5·72	4·61	3·32

(*The Second Five-Year Plan*, Moscow, page 412).

About the Ukraine there is an exaggerated notion. In fact, the Ukraine covers only 2 p.c. of the Soviet territory, though its population is 18·2 p.c. of the total. The Soviet Union extends over the continents of Europe and Asia. By rapid industrialisation the Soviet Government has raised productivity to a higher level. This can be well demonstrated by the fact of the rise in the town population from 17·2 to 32·4 p.c. between the years 1927 and 1939. Agriculture, too, has been transferred to the East and Soviet Union does not depend upon the Ukraine for the supply of grains. In 1937 the area under cultivation in the Ukraine was about 17·8 of the total agricultural land in the Soviet Union. Now that the Ukraine is ravaged by war, industrial and agricultural production can not be carried on the pre-war level. Thus the conquest of territory would never meet the vital needs of Germany. The wheat fields of Ukraine will remain a symbol instead of being a granary. For we have to remember:

"The Ukraine is not a granary, in fact, the granary of the Soviet Union has moved more and more to the East." (*The Economist*, London, June 28, 1941).

Territorial conquest can not bring Hitler near to the realisation of his objective though the Ukraine and other parts have been wrested from the Soviet Union. For this is a People's War and Hitler can not calm down their anger. Industrial production presupposes normal time and co-operation of the local people. These Hitler can not expect when he is stealing away the life and liberty of the people. The children of the soil are determined to hound out the barbarous Huns.

"The successful guerilla tactics of the Soviet forces on the one hand and systematic execution of Stalin's scorched earth policy by the Russians on the other are robbing the greedy Germans of the fruits of victory." (*The New Statesman and Nation*, July 26, 1941).

Hitler can not have an easy time of it in the occupied Soviet territory. For we must remember the words of a great German General —Ludendroff; "Only a People's War raging up all over the country can rob the victor of the fruits of his victory." Today Hitler is the victor though he treads the earth barren and finds the ground slipping from under his feet. Time alone will show the greatness of the victor.

The important fact about the Soviet industries is the principle of even distribution all over

the Republic. Soviet industries are run on broad principles: the greatest possible uniformity in the industrial development of every part of the country, the utilisation of raw materials for manufacture at or near their sources of origin and then the bridging up of the gaps which still separates the industrially advanced city from the rural countryside in respect of technical and cultural developments.

In order of importance first come the industries of the Urals. The Urals are a wooded region dividing Europe from Asia. Its ridges are parallel to each other and spread from the Polar seas to the sultry deserts. The Urals are rich in minerals. There are deposits of pure iron, copper, oil, nickel, bauxite and gold. And in the Ilmen Preserve about one hundred minerals have been discovered, the only thing scarce in the Urals is coal. During recent years the Ural region has been industrialised in a maner nuprecedented in the history of the U.S.S.R. About two hundred new industrial centres have been constructed. To the extreme north lie some important centres and on the river Kama stands the Berezniki Chemical Combitant. The Combitant is a city in itself and produces huge quantity of nitrate-fertilizers, soda, acid, etc. Not far from Berezniki is Solikamsk. Solikamsk produces large amount of potassium oxide and metallic magnesium. In 1938 Solikamsk's product of potassium oxide totalled 18,400,000,000 tons.

The Coal district of Kizel lies to the south of Berezniki. In Kizel 43,60,00,000 tons of coal were mined in 1939 and on this coal the 'Tagil' plants work.

There are some metallurgical plants completely mechanised. The biggest stands near Chusovaya. It has the largest charcoal furnace in the world. Important industries are located in Tagil. Copper is produced at the new Krasno-Uralsk works. Heavy structures for bridges are built in the works at Verkhnesalda. Sulphur is extracted at the Kirovgrad Copper Works. In 1939 a new copper combitant was under construction at Revda. Asbestos is extracted in the new town of Asbest and gold is mined in Berezovo. At the end of the Second Five Year Plan the capital investment in the region had increased by 300 p.c. compared with the First Plan. The electric power stations generated 2340 million Kilowatt hours.

In the Urals the ideal industrial city is Chelayabinsk. This city has produced the largest number of Caterpillar Tractors. There is a huge electro-metallurgical plant that produces Ferro alloys required for the production of steel. East of Chelayabinsk lies the centre of high grade metal. Here the iron ore of Bakal is transformed into steel. To the south lies Magnitogorsk. Magnitogorsk presents a panoroma of blast furnaces, tall chemneys, metal structures and automobiles on the streets of the new city—the *Iron mountain*. In 1936 Magnitogorsk combitant produced 2·5 times more pig iron than that of Poland and the output was to be raised to 4·3 million tons a year.

By the city of Orsk new industries are growing up. An oil refinery refines the oil of Embaa fields on the Caspian Sea. Large deposits of iron and nickel have been discovered and are being worked.

Beyond the Urals lie the Western Siberian low lands. Western Siberia is rich in coal deposits. The Kurznetsk coal basin has immense reserve. It is estimated at 450,000 million tons, about two and a half times more than that of England. The coal lies near the surface and its extraction is cheaper. Kuzbas coal has little sulphur and small ash contents. At present Kuzbas is dotted with collieries, electric power stations and blast furnaces. In 1938 Kuzbas produced 16,800,000 tons of coal. This is about 13 p.c. of the total coal produced in the Soviet Union. There are chemical industries and zinc producing centres. Electric power stations have been installed and the whole region is threaded by a network of railways.

Round the city of Stalinsk numerous industries have come into being. There is a huge metallurgical plant that produced the rail for the Moscow Underground Railways. In 1936. 14,00,000 tons of pig iron were smelted here.

The principal gold mining centre is in Eastern Siberia. Gold is mined in Khakassia Badaiboo and Burguz in Tiga. Large quantities of tin and coal are produced in Eastern Siberia.

The Volga region is an important industrial base. Before the Revolution it was an agricultural country and industries were limited to flour-milling and distillery. Now there are a large number of industries functioning all over the land. Years back a chain of oilfields were discovered along the Volga. In 1938 the Volga oil fields yielded one million tons of oil. It is 4·3 of the total output in the U.S.S.R. Oil industry is developing rapidly and the region is to be turned into a second Baku. The excessive sulphur content of the Volga oil is compensated for by its richness in hydro-carbon. The oil can be used as fuel as well as raw material for chemicals.

Stalingrad is the chief industrial city and over 31 miles stretch in unbroken series the metallurgical plants, power house and shipbuild-

ing yards. The city stands at the junction of the Volga and the Don and will be brought in close contact with the Donetz coal basin through the canal under construction.

The Trans-Caucasus presents an amazing variety. Barren rocks are alternated with soil abounding in sub-tropical flora. Close to the swamps there are tracts scorched by the sun. Beyond the snow-capped mountains can be seen the green forests where industries function.

From Baku an electric rail runs into the interior of the Asheran peninsula. This is an oil region of world importance and its total deposit is estimated at 2·5 billion metric tons. In 1938, the output of oil amounted to 22,400,000 metric tons. Eighty per cent of the oil was extracted from the new fields. Oil is refined in neighbouring towns and many chemical industries are run on the by-products. In addition to the oil industry Baku has a number of industries—engineering, textile, etc.

Kazakstan is a vast depository of minerals. Its deposits of copper, lead, zinc are half the total the Soviet Union possesses; its oil is one-third of the total. Besides these, gold, potassium are found in abundance. Kazakstan is an important base of non-ferrous metallurgy. Oil deposits of the Emba field are over one thousand million tons. Oil of the Emba field is sent to Orsk through a pipe line 432 miles long. In 1934, borax deposits were discovered near Lake Inder and are being worked. In addition to this there are large deposits of chromo-nickel and potassium. Some years back phosphorite deposits amounting to 250 million metric tons were discovered in the mountain of Kara-tau.

By the Altai mountain numerous plants have been erected to exploit the minerals. The Soviet Government has spent 150 million roubles on the expansion of the industries. There are hydro-electric stations, ore-separator plant and lead factories. In the centre of Kazakstan is the Karagonda coal basin where deposits amount to 53 billions metric tons. In 1938, Karagonda yielded 450,000 metric tons of coal. By the lake Balkhas there is a huge copper plant and the deposits are estimated at 3,700,000 metric tons.

In the past Central Asia was an agricultural country, and the progress of industries there is not on a par with other republics. At present Soviet Central Asia is the chief agricultural centre and its cotton production is huge. Now the Soviet Union is in a position to run the textile industry on its home products. This has been made possible by large scale cotton production in Soviet Central Asia. In cotton production Uzbekistan stands first and in 1938 its total crop amounted to 15,042 thousand centners.

Deposits of minerals have been discovered in various parts of Central Asia. Coal and Oil are mined in the Feragna valley and lead is extracted from the mountain near the Chu Valley. In Khirgiz Republic radium, antimony and mercury have been found in large quantities.

Far from the city of Ashkhabad there is a huge sulphur plant in the Kara-Kum desert. The plant supplies the largest quantity of sulphur and the Soviet Union is no longer in need of importing the chemicals. On the gulf of Kara-Bagaz-Gal a chemical plant has been constructed to organise the deposits of soda, sulphur and other chemicals.

In the Tadjik Republic industries are situated in the cities of Stalinabad, Leninabad and Kurgan-Tilbeh.

This, in short, is the economic geography of the Soviet Union. In order to have the correct estimate of the progress of Soviet industries since the completion of the Second Five Year Plan we have to turn to the third plan adopted in March 1939. The Third Five Year Plan fixes the value of capital production in national economy at 192,000 million roubles as against 114,700 million roubles during the previous plan. The Third Five Year Plan concentrates on the following important works :

(I) *Machine Building.*—In conformity with the programme of production set up for the Third Five Year Plan, which considerably exceeds the general rate of industrial development, to extend widely the construction and to accelerate the putting into operation of new plants, especially machine-tool and power equipment plants. To complete the construction of three plants manufacturing heavy machine tools and of a milling machine plant in Gorky, of an automatic lathe plant in Kiev, and to extend the building of a number of new machine-tool plants of medium capacity for the production of grinders, gear cutters, planers, vertical boring mills, horizontal boring mills and automatic machine tools, as well as plants for producing equipment for forging and stamping. To build in the course of the Third Five Year Plan period and to put into operation four steam turbine manufacturing plants, one each in the regions of Sverdlovsk, Ufa, Novosibrisk and Kaluga. In addition, to begin construction of a steam turbine manufacturing plant in the district of Novocherkassk and a hydro-turbine plant in the district of Kuibyshev. To build and put into operation plants for manufacturing boilers and auxillary power equipment, including a boiler plant in Orsk, in conformity with the steam

turbine manufacturing plants. To organise mass production of wind-driven engines. To complete the construction of the Gorky and Moscow automobile plants. To build a plant for the manufacture of low-powered automobiles, a number of new automobile assembly plants (including one in the Far East) and to promote the construction of new plants for the manufacture of trucks in Siberia, as well as a number of auxiliary enterprises of the automobile industry and automobile repair shops. To establish in the East a base for the production of agricultural machines and for assembling and repairing tractors. To build a plant for the production of textile machinery in Kursk and one in Western Siberia. To complete the construction of the Saratov ball-bearing plant and to promote the construction of two new ball and roller bearing plants. To build a plant for the manufacture of machinery for paper mills. To begin the construction of a new locomotive factory. To build two or three plants for the manufacture of heavy and medium chemical machinery. To accelerate the construction of the ship-yards for the building of sea and ocean-going ships already begun, and in addition to begin the construction of new shipyards for the building of sea and river going vessels.

(2) *Coal Industry.*—To promote the opening of both coal and lignite mines. To develop properly the new coal districts, especially in the Urals, in the Tatar and Bashkirian A.S.S.R.-s, Eastern Siberia, the Far East, Kazakh S. S.R., the Ukraine and the Kirghiz and Tajik S.S.R.-s. To construct mainly collieries of medium and small capacity, in every way reducing and accelerating the period of construction. In all, during the Five Year Plan period to sink new coal mines with total capacity of 170 million tons, with the putting into operation of mines with a capacity of 160 million tons.

(3) *Oil Industry.*—To ensure the putting into operation of new oil refineries with a capacity of 15 million tons and, in addition, cracking plants with a capacity of 4,500,000 tons. To consider the establishment of another large oil base in the region between the Volga and the Urals. To ensure development of geological exploration and prospecting work in the new oil districts between the Volga and Urals, in Siberia in the Far East, in the Ukraine, in Central Asia and in the Kazakhstan.

(4) *Iron and Steel Industry.*—To complete the construction of the Magnitogrosk Combitant, to comprise six blast furnaces and two blooming plants; Nizhni-Tagil and the Petrovsko-Transbaikal plants; the Amur Steel Plant; the Zaporozhye Steel Plant; the Azov Steel Plant; the Krvoi-Rog Plant; the Novo-Moskovsky Tin Plant; the Novo-Uralsk and Nikopol tube works. To start building of new iron and steel plants in Southern Urals and Eastern Siberia; a welded tube plant in the Urals; a tube rolling plant in Siberia and a tube casting plant in the centre. To launch, on the basis of the utilisation of scrap and waste metal, the construction of small plants for local needs in Central Asia and Trans-Caucasus. For improving the preparation of ores for smelting to build not less than 17 agglomeration belts. In all operating plants to complete mechanisation of operation requiring heavy labour and widely introduced automatic process. To launch the sinking of mines in the district of Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, to serve as a suplementary base of the iron and steel industry of the centre and to carry out preparatory measures for building an iron and steel works in the district of Kursk Magnetic Anomaly.

The Third Five Year Plan has been worked with amazing rapidity. By 1940, 2900 new factories, plants, mines, electric power stations were launched. These include new collieries and their total output is estimated at 51 million tons. New blast furnaces are capable of turning out 2·9 million tons of pig iron. The engineering industries produce machine-tools; chemical, electrical, mining and metallurgical instruments; tanks, tractors, automobiles, aircrafts, arms and ammunitions. The foundries at Kramatorsk have a capacity double that of the Krupp's. The tractor factories at Stalingrad and Chelayabinsk are the largest in the world and can be turned over to small tank productions. At the end of 1940 there were 356 factories manufacturing air-engines and instruments and accessories. These factories are capable of turning out 3000 'planes a month. There are about 375 secret armament-producing centres lying all over the Republic. Soviet chemical plants produce explosives, drugs, synthetic ammonia and toxic gases.



MOSCOW OR WARDHA ?

BY BIJOY LAL CHATTERJEE

It Can't Happen Here is an interesting novel written by America's great writer, Sinclair Lewis of Nobel Prize fame. Doremus, the hero of the book, is by profession a journalist who wields a mighty pen in defence of the ideal of liberty and human solidarity. The word "domination" is hateful to him and his heroic soul refuses to submit to the will of the tyrant who is no other than Windrip, the Fascist President of America. Indefatigable Doremus at sixty continues to fight against the forces of darkness to keep the flag of freedom flying and at last pays the price for his love of liberty. He is imprisoned in a concentration camp where he has to suffer inhuman cruelties at the hand of the tyrant. At last he escapes from the prison and his fight for freedom continues, "for a Doremus Jessup can never die." Doremus stands for all that is glorious in the history of human culture and civilisation. He belongs to the group of those superb men and women whose indomitable spirit nothing can conquer, whom laws, theories, conventions can never master, who belong to truth and are loyal to themselves, who stubbornly refuse to accept anything as truth unless it has an appeal to their intellect, who protest against every attempt of the tyrant to imprison the human mind and thereby turn men and women into mere puppets in his hands.

"More and more, as I think about history," he pondered, "I am convinced that everything that is worthwhile in the world has been accomplished by the free, inquiring, critical spirit, and that the preservation of this spirit is more important than any social system whatsoever."

This unflinching faith of our hero in the ideal of freedom of the human mind turns him into an uncompromising opponent of both Fascism and Communism. And through the mouth of Doremus we hear remarks that would not seem very palatable to the ears of a Communist or a Fascist. Doremus finds his co-prisoner Karl Pascal, an avowed Communist, intolerably narrow in his outlook. The Holy City of Moscow ! Karl looked upon it with exactly such uncritical and slightly hysterical adoration as other sectarians had in their day devoted to Jerusalem, Mecca, Rome, Canterbury and Benares. Doremus did not mind Karl's worshipping Holy Russia. But why then should the Communists object to his considering as sacred his father-land America ? If the City of Moscow is holy—the City of New York is equally holy. But Karl and his comrades are incapable of seeing anything good in American culture and civilisation. Anything that bears the sign of Russia would be considered by the Communists of America as something really great but that very thing when practised in America loses its value and is looked down upon as something not worthy of a cultured people. Thus Karl spoke often of photographs in the Moscow *News* of nearly naked girls on Russian bathing-beaches as proving the triumph and joy of workers under Bolshevism, but he regarded precisely the same sort of photographs of nearly naked girls on Long Island bathing-beaches as proving the degeneration of the workers under Capitalism. It is for this fanaticism that Doremus looked upon Karl and his followers as mentally retarded. Doremus, though by no means a jingo patriot, cannot forget that America is his father-land. Says Doremus to Karl Pascal :

"The real difference is that you Communists serve Russia. It's your Holy Land. Well. Russia has all my prayers, right after the prayers for my family and for the Chief, but what I'm interested in civilizing and protecting against its enemies isn't Russia but America."

Again says Doremus :

"Communists, intense and narrow; Yankees, tolerant and shallow; no wonder a Dictator can keep us separate and all working for him !"

If Sinclair Lewis, instead of being an American, had been a powerful Indian writer and had depicted the picture of contemporary Indian political life instead of American political life, Indian Communists would have shared no better fate. They would have been criticised as narrow and fanatical like their brethren in America of Karl Pascal type. They would have been frankly told by the Indian Doremus that by trying to be too much international in their outlook they had made themselves denationalised and that their excess of love for humanity had made them forget their own father-land. They would have been further told that blind infatuation for Russia had turned them into so many imitators of foreign culture and that imitation is suicide, as Emerson has put it. It is because we are not interested in our own

national culture and do not try to know all that is great in our own civilisation that we look to a distant land with wistful eyes and think that only Russia could save mankind. It was to stop this suicidal attempt to imitate the West and belittle our own culture that Bankim Chandra wielded his mighty pen and wrote in *Dharma-Tattwa* that Indians would again be the leaders of the world if they would only combine Science with the spirit of disinterested Karma that Gita preached through its immortal verses. Vivekananda also warned us again and again against the danger of imitating the West and made it a mission of his life to make us see the majestic beauty of our own culture. Did not Rabindranath preach the same Message of the Forest to a war-weary world and like a true sentinel tell his countrymen not to commit national suicide by imitating the West? And why should Mahatma Gandhi put so much stress on the non-violent aspect of our fight for freedom? The answer is given in his own words:

"I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly."

The Saint of Savarmati also like the Poet of Santiniketan warns India not to commit the fatal blunder of following in the wake of the West.

Thanks to kind Providence the days of imitation we have left far behind for good. The spirit of Nationalism has gathered sufficient strength to save India from blindly imitating a culture that is not her own. Thanks to Rammohun and Bankim Chandra, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, Rabindranath and Gandhi, we are now sufficiently grown-up to understand that India has a magnificent culture of her own and also a mission of her own which alone can save herself and humanity from an impending doom. The attempt of our Communist brothers to take us back to the days of Derozio when everything European seemed good in our eyes and everything Indian bad is nothing but anachronism. It cannot but fail. God has mercifully sent us a leader who, though an internationalist and an out and out humanitarian, does not forget the claims of his beloved father-land. He is both a nationalist and internationalist. As a nationalist he is an uncompromising enemy of the imperialism which wants England's gain at India's cost. As an internationalist he wants free India to be friendly towards all other nations on the earth. The choice before him was never between patriotism and internationalism but between enlightened patriotism and jingo patriotism. Whatever he may be, he is not a great theorist, for a great theorist is seldom a great leader. He always listens to the angel of common sense and knows where to stop. He would make us wear Khadi, for that would give bread to the hungry men and women of our country and does not hesitate to throw foreign cloths into the bon-fire. He toured through the countries of Europe in simple Khadi, for that is his national dress. Clad in Khaddar he saw the British King in Buckingham Palace. If Englishmen do not wear Indian dress in India, why he, being an Indian, should wear English dress on English soil, Gandhi in his Wardha Scheme of Education would not allow English to be the medium of education. Education must be imparted to Indians in their own language. Speechifying in foreign tongue from Congress platforms is no more to be encouraged; Hindusthani and not English should be used by the speakers so that even the illiterate villagers of Hindusthan may understand what their leaders speak to them. Chairs are no longer considered necessary in the Congress pandal. The delegates clad in simple Khaddar sit in right Indian fashion and shape the momentous decisions of the National Congress. When a group of people is possessed with the spirit of nationalism, that spirit finds expression in every sphere of national life. Romain Rolland in his book entitled *Mahatma Gandhi* has very aptly made the significant remark that there can be no leader who does not incarnate the instincts of the race. Mahatma Gandhi is a leader not by the magic of his loin-cloth, nor by the magic of Birla's money but because he represents in his personality all that is best in the national soul. The people understand his message—the message of truth and non-violence, of chastity and self-sacrifice, of plain living and high-thinking. The small figure clad in loin cloth brings to their minds the hallowed memory of Buddha and Chaitanya, Mahabir and Nanak and other saints of whom they have read in sacred books and heard in songs sung by the village ministrels. The hungry millions look upon him as their true representative—because he is fighting for a Swaraj that would bring bread to their mouths, give milk to their famished children, provide them with cloths and spread joy to their cheerless homes.

"According to my definition of Swaraj even the poorest Indian should have enough milk, ghee, vegetable and fruits. Every man and woman must get balanced diet and decent house."

He can not only give you a very fascinating ideal of Swaraj in such beautiful language but he can also work for the ideal with the unabated zeal of a fanatic. His soldiers carry Charkha to the homes of the poor and the wheel gives

them work and food. The untouchables find in him a faithful friend who ceaselessly fight for their legitimate rights. The women find in him a chivalrous man who like Rabindranath and Ibsen proclaims that they are as much human beings as men are and, therefore, should have as much freedom to realise the best of their personalities as men have. They are grateful to him because he has not only recognised their rights in his writings and speeches but has also given them great opportunities to fight for the freedom of their mother-land side by side with their men-folk. The Mussalmans find in him a true friend of their own, the Hindus do likewise.

The Communists represent Mahatma Gandhi as an enemy of the freedom of the proletariat and call themselves the true friends of the masses. But no amount of condemnation of the Gandhian leadership from public platforms has made their own position enviable in the Congress. It is because they talk in a language which the people do not understand. When they speak of economic democracy and social justice, no doubt they strike the right cord and the people appreciate them. But when they talk about economic interpretation of history with the zeal of a missionary, they only utter a broken truth like the Freudians who explain all the activities of life in terms of sex. Below economic conditions there lie the psychological factors which determine these conditions and even these are by no means the only conditions that mould life. Aldous Huxley rightly says :

> "For nothing could be more chimerical than the notion that Man is the same thing as the Economic Man and that the problems of life, Man's life, can be solved by any merely economic arrangement. To suppose that the equalization of income could solve these problems is only slightly less absurd than to suppose that they could be solved by the universal installation of sanitary plumbing or the distribution of Ford cars to every member of the human species."—*Do What You Will*, pp. 178-79.

The Communists say that there is no God because the existence of God cannot be proved by science. Again writes Huxley :

> "Science, we have come to realize, takes no cognizance of the things that make life worth living, for the simple reason that beauty, love and so on, are no measurable quantities, and science deals only with what can be measured. One psychological fact is as good as another. We perceive beauty as immediately as we perceive hardness; to say that one sensation is illusory and that the other corresponds with reality is a gratuitous piece of presumption."

Truly intellectual people recognises the value of science but they are not willing to give it more value than it deserves. When the Communists in the name of science preach Atheism, they simply laugh at them. For they know that Atheism is dogmatism. The only scientific attitude of mind is to observe respectful silence about God, for the existence of God can neither be proved nor disproved. He can only be felt in the innermost sanctuary of the heart.

The Communists are equally dogmatic in their attitude towards machinery. Machinery may be good but the utility of machines has also its limit. We should know where to stop, for as Chesterton has rightly said : "True progress consists in looking for the place where to stop." Cottage industry has also its use and it is rational to recognise its utility. Chesterton writes :

> "All this fallacy of false progress tends to obscure the old common sense of all mankind, which is still the common sense of every man in his own daily dealings: that everything has its place and proportion and proper use, and that it is rational to trust its use and distrust its abuse."

The Communists cannot hope to make much headway in this country unless they are inclined to respond to the demands of reality and cease to be fanatical. Theories should not be allowed to drive away the angel of common sense. Moreover, every nation has its peculiar culture. India also has its own special culture. When we refuse to respond to the call of the national soul we cease to belong to a life greater than our individual lives. This greater life is called the National Being by A. E. Writes A. E. in his book *The National Being* :

> "In the highest civilizations the individual citizen is raised above himself and made part of a greater life, which we may call the National Being. He enters into it, and it becomes an oversoul to him, and gives to all his works a character and grandeur and a relation to the works of his fellow-citizens, so that all he does conspires with the labours of others for unity and magnificence of effect."

When we refuse to make ourselves part and parcel of the National Being we become foreigners in our own country. The people begin to distrust us. We become suspects. The Communists by trying to be too much international in their outlook have ceased to be patriots. They are not sorry for it; for patriotism to them is a sign of narrowness. The inevitable has followed. They have lost living contact with the national soul. Their sacred book is the Communist Manifesto. Their bearded God is Karl Marx. They do not object to the dictatorship of Lenin but Gandhi's dictatorship they abhor. Moscow has a great fascination for them but Wardha is simply intolerable. So long as this mental narrowness continues, they can hardly expect the people to follow their lead.

In Gandhism we find the harmony between

two principles—the principle of socialism and the principle of nationalism. The principle of socialism means the application of the ideal of non-violence in the economic sphere. Gandhi stands for equal distribution. In his famous essay *The World of To-morrow* Gandhi wrote :

> "Equal distribution—the second great law of to-morrow as I believe it will be—grows out of non-violence. The real implication of equal distribution is not an arbitrary dividing up of the goods of the world. It is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply his natural needs and no more."

Gandhiji's other principle is the principle of nationalism. Gandhi stands for all that is indissolubly linked with our national culture. His principle of Swadeshi implies that those who are nearest to us must be served before all else. Gandhi is the last person to sacrifice the interests of his countrymen at the altar of internationalism, just as he would never jeopardise the interests of other nations for the good of India. This capacity for harmonising socialism with nationalism has made Gandhi's position unassailable in the Congress. Communism has no appeal to the sentiment of patriotism and thus has failed to stir the national soul. So long as love of one's own country is not dead in the human heart it would be difficult for the Communists to cast Gandhism into the shade.

MID-DAY MEALS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN



Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the British Board of Education, has lately announced the start of a new Government drive to provide good free or partly-paid meals for all school children. The obligation on a child of having a medical certificate or recommendation before meals could be granted has been abolished, and good meals will now be made available for all children. This picture shows children receiving their dinners through the serving hatch at a London County Council School where their meals cost them the nominal sum of 4d.



Abdool Raman Osman, Additional Substitute Advocate-General, Mauritius

PRINCESS KRISNAKUMARI AND THE CONFLICT AMONGST THE PRINCES OF RAJASTAN

A New Study

By N. B. ROY

"Krisnakumari (the Virgin Krisna)" wrote Col. Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*[1] "was the name of the lovely object, the rivalry for whose hand assembled under the banners of her suitors (Juggut Singh of Jeipur and Raja Mann of Marwar) not only their native chivalry but all the predatory powers of India; and who like Helen of old involved in destruction her own and the rival houses."

A similar sentiment was echoed in the report of the *Asiatic Annual Register*[2] which said that the death of the Princess

"settled all their (Rajput Rajas') pretensions and terminated the ten years' war which this second Helen had excited."

These words of James Tod and of the *Asiatic Annual Register*, written more than a century ago, have lent a romantic halo to the name of the Princess Krisnakumari and have given currency to the view that her beauty and the rivalry for her hand threw Rajputana into the vortex of an internecine conflict. The contemporary records preserved in the Alienation Office,[3] Poona, and Imperial Record Office, Delhi, throw light, on this dramatic episode and supplemented by other sources, they dispel the mist of romance that has gathered round the name of Krisnakumari.

Princess Krishnakumari was the daughter of Rana Bhim Sinh of Udaipur and was first betrothed to Raja Bhim Sinh of Jodhpur[4] but the Raja died prematurely in 1804 A.D.[5] On his death the Princess was affianced to his successor Raja Mansinh. But the latter offended the Rana of Udaipur by ejecting his relation Kishwar Sinh, from his appanage of Khalirao which was obtained as a gift from the ancestors of Rana Bhim Sinh.[6] Exasperated by this conduct of Raja Man, Rana Bhimsinh proposed the hand of his daughter to Raja Jagatsinh of Jaipur.[7]

The kingdom of Jaipur was administered at this time by the masterful Dewan Raichand;[8] he was a man of ambitious political views and he saw in the proposed matrimonial alliance an opportunity for the extension of the Jaipur Raja's authority over the kingdom of Udaipur.[9] Moreover, this matrimonial alliance tended to exalt the Raja of Jaipur over the princes of Rajastan. Says Malcolm :

"The Sisodiya Kings of Mewar enjoyed the highest rank among the Princes of Rajastan and an alliance with it was esteemed the greatest honour to which a Prince of that tribe could aspire."[10]

Actuated by these double considerations, the Dewan accepted the marriage proposal and sent Khūsh-hāl Sinh with an army to Udaipur in July 1805[11] for a final settlement of this matter. In September 1805, Dewan Raichand despatched a reinforcement of "four battalions of regular infantry, a body of irregular infantry and about two thousand cavalry" towards Udaipur. These developments galled the pride of Raja Man and he appealed to Sindia for assistance.

Such was the beginning of the conflagration which enveloped the whole of Rajastan in flames and laid it desolate. It is obvious that this conflict cannot be tracd to rivalry in love but to motives of political aggrandisement on the part of the minister of Jaipur and the personal enmity between the warring Rajas.

Expelled from the valley of the Jumna by the British arms, Sindia was now dreaming the

1. Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*, popular edition, Vol. I. p. 366.
2. *Asiatic Annual Register*, Vol. XII, p. 50.
3. The letters referred to in this paper will be published in a volume of the Poona Residency Correspondence under the General Editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Associate Editor-in-Chief, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.
4. Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*, p. 365. Gaurisankar Ojha's *Udaipur Rajyaka Itihas*, Part II, p. 695.
5. Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*, Vol. II, p. 104.
6. Prinsep's *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 296, 1832. Prinsep's translation (that Kishwar Singh obtained Khalirao as a marriage-dowry) is not supported by the Persian text. (Sarkar MSS. p. 341).
7. *Ibid*, p. 296.
8. *Memoirs of Amir Khan*, p. 296.
9. Capt. Sturrock's letter to Lieut.-Col. Malcolm, 24th September, 1832.
10. Lieut.-Col. Malcolm's *A Memoir of Central India*, Vol. I, p. 330.
11. Capt. Sturrock to Lieut.-Col. Malcolm, 24th September, 1805. Amir Nama (Sarkar MSS.), p. 342.

dream of a new order in Central India. He therefore eagerly accepted the offer of Raja Man and proposed an amicable settlement of the dispute and urged

"that the two chiefs should each have one of the Rana's daughters in marriage or they should consent to an arbitration of the neighbouring Rajas on the subject."[12]

This proposal was rejected by the Rana who was "held in control" by the Jaipur troops.[13] Sindia was, therefore, compelled to resort to arms. Attacks were delivered upon the city of Udaipur from two different directions.[14] The Rana's opposition was swept aside and Jagu Bapu encamped under the walls of Udaipur on the 27th April.[15] The Rana bowed before the storm; he met Sindia in two friendly interviews, on the 5th[16] and 7th May; on the latter occassion, the meeting took place in the temple of Ekalingaji near Udaipur.[17]

Sindia was now young, barely twenty-nine. Of medium statute, five feet five inches in height, he was a keen, gay and pleasure-loving youth; he was now slightly inclined to corpulence but had not yet developed the stolid rotundity of which titled chiefs and potentates are often made. He became a suitor for the hand of the princess Krisnakumari. But this matrimonial proposal with a Maratha aroused a storm of indignation in Udaipur and threatened

"to unite both the Chundawat and Saktawat clans to which the principal persons in Raja's durbar belonged."[18]

Meanwhile, the arrival of Holkar at Sambhar and his demand of a share of the Udaipur tribute in April[19] steadied the Rana. He rejected not only the matrimonial proposal, but evaded all demands for money. The maimed tiger of Central India had bounded all the way to Udaipur in high hopes, but they ended in a fiasco. Discomfited, he retreated from Udaipur about the end of May,[20] leaving his ministers Jagu Bapu and Madhuji Huzure to realise the sum of money from Udaipur.[21] Their threats and blandishments alike failed, and in exasperation they seized some of the chiefs and carried them to Sindia's camp.[22] Meanwhile, Holkar carried on the ravages of the Jaipur territory.[23]

12. G. Mercer to G. H. Barlow, 22nd April, 1806.
13. *Ibid*, 22nd April, 1806.
14. *Ibid*, 28th April, 1806.
15. *Ibid*, 28th April, 1806.
16. *Ibid*, 14th May, 1806.
17. *Ibid*, 12th May, 1806.
18. *Ibid*, 26th May, 1806.
19. *Ibid*, 28th April, 1806.
20. *Ibid*, 1st June, 1806.
21. *Ibid*, 1st June, 1806.
22. *Ibid*, 18th June, 1806.
23. *Ibid*, 12th May, 1806.

The violence of Sindia and Holkar had already made the Rajput Rajas

"sensible of the folly and danger of allowing the Marathas to interfere in their domestic disputes."[24]

Good sense prevailed in the councils of Jaipur and Jodhpur. Raja Jagat Sinh made a rapprochement with Man and sought the latter's mediation in his dispute with Holkar.[25] And they composed their mutual differences on terms of intermarriage between the two royal families,[26] under which Raja Mansinh was to be wedded to the sister of Raja Jagat Sinh who in return was to marry the daughter of Mansinh.[27]

If it is true, as Busawan Lal leads us to believe, that Raja Jagat Sinh burnt with love for the Princess at the sight of her miniature sent to Jaipur by Khush-hal Sinh,[28] he could not possibly sacrifice love to diplomacy and go in for a marriage de convenance, in cold calculation. The fact is it was not a romantic passion, but political motives and ambitions, along with a spirit of mutual rivalry, love or no love, which drove the princes to arms against each other.

In August, 1806 the two Rajas had been reconciled with each other and the episode of alarums and excursion seemed to be closed. But there was a sudden flare-up of the old feud which was mainly brought about by an arch-conspirator, Sawai Sinh, chief of Pokaran, a considerable chieftain of Jodhpur. Dreaming of his own dominance in the Jodhpur State by elevating Dhukol Sinh, the posthumous son of late Raja Bhim Sinh to the throne, he fomented dissension between the two Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur. He sedulously instilled into Raja Man's mind the impression that the unsettling of his settled marriage with the Udaipuri Princess was the height of dishonour; on the other hand, he opened clandestine intrigues with Raja Jagat Sinh and incited him on to accomplish his marriage by effecting the overthrow of Mansinh.[28a]

Counting on the resources of a kingdom that was "compact and populous and contained some of the strongest fortresses in Hindustan,"[28b] the Jaipur Dewan calculated, that

"if Mansingh could be deposed, then his influence would rule both the principalities, besides having the ascen-

24. *Ibid*. 29th March, 1806.
25. *Ibid*, 12th May, 1806.
26. *Ibid*, 7th November, 1806.
27. *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 299.
28. *Ibid*, pp. 296-97.
28A. *Ibid*, pp. 297-298, 303-304.
28B. Capt. Broughton's letters written in a Marhatta Camp, p. 133.

dancy at Udaipur through the marriage of the Raja with the Princess."[28]c

In other words, visions of the hegemony of Jaipur over the whole of Rajastan floated before the Dewan's mind; the Dewan enlisted the support of Sindia on his side on promise of a large sum of money[29] and obtained the offer of help from Sarji Rao Ghatge who had now gained great influence at Udaipur. A section of Rathor thakurs headed by Sawai Sinh was already in secret league with him. Amir Khan the Pathan chief joined the standard of Jaipur with his contingents.[30] Even Surat Sinh, the Raja of Bikaner, rallied to the side of Jaipur.[31] A formidable confederacy was called into being against the Raja of Jodhpur. Raja Jagat Sinh assumed the righteous role of avenging the wrongs of the minor prince Dhukol Sinh. The Jaipur troops marched to Shekhawati in December, 1806, and brought over Dhukol Sinh to Jaipur in January, 1807. He was publicly received by the Jaipur Raja, and war flared up again. Raja Man gathered together as many soldiers as he could and marched to Parbatsir, to hold up the advance of the mighty army rallied under the flag of Jaipur. While the Jodhpur Raja awaited in suspense the grim contest at Parbatsir, Sarji Rao Ghatge, reinforced by a body of Jaipur troops under Jiwan Chela, in Dec., 1806[32] attacked Jodhpur territory from the south. He marched as far as Pali,[33] but was worsted in an engagement and driven back. Raja Man's spirits revived as a result of this victory, but an event now occurred which completely upset his calculations.

"He discovered a treacherous communication between his Thakurs and those attached to Dhukol Singh."[34]

Already overawed by the gigantic coalition, he lost faith in his commanders and withdrew from the battle field in a headlong retreat to his capital, leaving even the ensigns of royalty—his silver howda, palanquin, behind.

Without firing a single shot, Raja Jagat Sinh found himself master of the situation; his troops pushed forward unopposed to Nagaur, captured the city and fortress and proclaimed Dhukol Sinh, ruler of that province. The exultant Jaipur army occupied other fortresses and swept forward to the city of Jodhpur. The city yielded in May, after a month's siege, the fortress alone held out,[35] the state of Jodhpur was about to dissolve into fragments and the star of Raja Man's fortune appeared to be sinking.

In this state of affairs, Raja Jagat Sinh's indiscretion caused another startling and dramatic turn in the tide of the war. The Raja's unqualified success was due to the grand coalition that he had organised by a prodigal use of money. The protracted operations and siege of Jodhpur told on the resources of his state. He, therefore, proposed to disband the subsidiary troops, and to rid himself of the expenses of maintaining Dhukol Sinh and his adherents.[36] At this the Rathor thakurs became estranged from him.[37]

The Pathan chief Amir Khan became jealous of the Jaipur Raja's sudden rise to power. His influence depended on the maintenance of a balance of power among the Rajput princes. When he saw this balance overthrown, he deserted to Raja Mansinh, on promise of a large sum of money, assignments of territory and employment of a body of Amir's troops in his service. Allied with Sarji Rao Ghatge, he burst upon the Jaipur territory and began to plunder it. Raja Jagat Sinh was compelled to detach his commander Sheolal Bakshi against them.[38] Victorious in the first engagement near Kishengarh, he was signally defeated in the second encounter that took place at a distance of thirty miles from Jaipur.[39] This diversion altered the course of the war; the confederates already estranged, saw the sun of Jagat Sinh's fortune declining, and they broke away from him. Apprehensive of the safety of his capital, Raja Jagat Sinh himself began his retreat to Jaipur, leaving Dhukol Sinh in charge of Sawai Sinh in the fortress of Nagaur, backed up by the arms of Bapu Sindia and Baptiste.

Raja Mansinh now gained the upper hand; he stormed the Jodhpur fortresses, which were evacuated by the Jaipur garrisons, but it was beyond his strength to recover the fortress of Nagaur, enclosed by a double chains of walls and garrisoned by Sindia's battalions. Accordingly, he entered into a fresh compact[40] with Amir Khan for the recovery of the fortress.

28C. *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 312.
29. G. Mercer to G. H. Barlow, 7th December, 1806.
30. *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 312.
31. G. Mercer to G. H. Barlow, 6th February, 1807.
32. *Ibid*, 27th December, 1806.
33 *Ibid*, 15th March, 1807.
34. *Ibid*, 28th March, 1807.
35. *Ibid*, 26th April, 1807.
36. *Ibid*, 7th April, 1807.
37. *Ibid*, 7th April, 1807.
38. G. Mercer to Lord Minto, 7th September, 1807.
39. *Ibid*, and *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, pp. 332-37.
40. *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 348.

Allied with the Jodhpur army, under Ananda Rao Bakshi, Amir Khan marched to Nagaur. He first compelled Baptiste and Bapu Sindia to withdraw from the place, by employing all the arts of chicane of which he was capable.[41] He then feigned a complete breach with Raja Mansinh and offered to desert to Sawai Sinh. Amir succeeded in completely hoodwinking the Rathor chief. The latter entered into a pact with Amir and was induced to visit his camp, "under the most solemn oaths and assurances." Attended by the Rathor thakurs, one thousand strong, Sawai Sinh visited the camp of Amir on an appointed evening; the customary entertainments arranged on such occasions were in progress, when the shrill note of a fife was sounded. In accordance with a pre-concerted plan, the cords of the canvas canopy under which the Rathor Chiefs were seated was let loose at this signal; the guns sited conveniently, boomed simultaneously and pounded the entrapped victims; picked bodies of cavalry rushed in an instant upon the mangled remains of humanity. A melancholy, gloomy silence came upon the spot which had been gay a few moments before.[42]

Meanwhile, Raja Jagat Sinh was flirting with his pet scheme for effecting the long-deferred marriage with the Princess of Udaipur. After his retreat from Jodhpur, he had kept his forces outside the capital in readiness for a march to Udaipur.[43] The time was not unpropitious. Mansinh was engaged in a fight against Himmat Sinh and Salim-Sinh, sons of Sawai Sinh, who had fled to Bikaner with Dhukol Sinh on the murder of their father; Sindia's forces were scattered in diffrent theatres of war. But before any headway could be made, the Jaipur Raja's plan was upset by a counter-revolution in January, 1808, which brought the party headed by Ratanlal into power.[44] Pro-Holkar in character this new administration offered to pay Holkar in February 1808, ten lacs of rupees for his assistance in facilitating the Raja's marriage with the Princess of Udaipur.[45] But the Jaipur Raja had grossly miscalculated Holkar's strength; the magic of his name was already gone; his army seethed with discontent and had dwindled "to only seven battalions of infantry."[46] Dauden Khan was plundering his territory of Chuly Maheswar. Moreover, Sindia turned the full weight of his arms against Jaipur for the past delinquencies. During 1808-9 Sindia's commanders, Bapu Sindia, Ghatge and Hira Sinh ruthlessly ravaged the Jaipur territory. Rai Chand Sinh, the Jaipur commander was signally defeated in an obstinate engagement, in June, 1808. Thereafter, Sindia's hordes carried every thing before them; desolation stalked particularly across the southern and eastern parts of Jaipur which presented woeful scenes of

"crops all laid waste, the beams and thatch of the houses carried away, the doors and door-posts broken down, and of villages smoking in ruins."[47]

As a result of the batterings of Sindia's commanders, Raja Jagat Sinh's prospect of union with Krisnakumari vanished away like a day dream. Under the leaden gloom of defeat and disappointment, the Raja lost all interest in life, and surrendered into the arms of a courtesan, Raskaful, "essence of camphor," on whom he showered queenly honour and untold riches.[48]

But if the kingdom of Jaipur fell on earth, that of Jodhpur revived again. Raja Mansinh dictated terms to Surat Sinh, Raja of Bikaner, in December, 1808, after a bitter fighting lasting from May to December, 1808.[49] Rid of enemies, he now sought to wreak vengeance on his rival Jagat Sinh and to accomplish his wedding with the Udaipuri Princess.[50] He courted the alliance of Sindia and sent his vakils to the latter's court with promises of rich prizes. Sindia, however, kept up negotiations simultaneously both with Raja Man and Dhukol Sinh. But while he spent weeks and months in bluffing Raja Man, a political revolution took place in Central India.

In the early nineteenth century, Central India was a kaleidoscope; political scenes shifted with surprising rapidity, and the curious onlooker was often lost in amazement at their novelty. One of such changes in the political film of Central India occurred when Amir Khan seized the government of Holkar by a *coup d'etat* in April, 1810. The great captain Yeshwant Rao Holkar whose lance once spread alarm in the British camps, had now gone out of his mind and his government had fallen into the worst confusion; discontent was rife in the army; disorder rampant in his territory. At this juncture, Amir "seduced a part of army" from allegiance to Holkar; "seized his minister Balaram Seat (Seth). Dharmaji Koor, and Subaram Choudhury of the artillery." He put the last two ministers to death and usurped the authority in

41. G. Mercer to Lord Minto, 30th January, 1808, and *op. cit., Memoirs of Amir*.
42. *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, pp. 358-59. *Amir Nama* (Sarkar MSS.), pp. 427-28.
43. G. Mercer to Lord Minto, 26th October, 1807.
44. *Ibid* 30th January, 1808.
45. *Ibid*, 29th February, 1808.
46. *Ibid*, 29th February, 1808.
47. Capt. Broughton's letter, pp. 75, 81 and 83.
48. *Ibid*, p. 273.
49. R. Close to Lord Minto, 24th December, 1808.
50. *Ibid*, 24th December, 1808.

Holkar's government.[51] The passing of the Holkar's government into the hands of Amir was an event of momentous significance. It not only upset the political balance, but entirely changed the complexion of Central Indian politics. Even after the disaster of 1802-3, Sindia like the rocky fortress of his capital soaring into the sky, towered above the petty chiefs of Central India. But the establishment of Amir's influence in Jodhpur, in 1807, in Bhopal in 1809,[52] supplemented by the seizure of Holkar's government raised him to greater power and threatened to degrade Sindia into a secondary power.[53]

After the usurpation of Holkar's government Amir assumed the role of Holkar's deputy and demanded tribute from Mewar and Jaipur. At first the Rana of Udaipur, came in for reckoning.

Famed once for the heroism of her kings and people, Mewar had now sunk into utter degradation. Tributary to Mahadji Sindia at first, it practically passed under the joint rule of Sindia and Holkar by the treaty of Sabalgarh, in 1804.[54] Ever since that time, the subahdars appointed by the two chiefs continued to reside in Mewar and make pitiless exactions and constant interference in the administration.[55] The result was that the Rana was deprived of every vestige of authority and political adventurers and predatory chiefs poured into this kingdom and made confusion worse confounded. Sarji Rao Ghatge, Hira Sinh, the regular troops of Sindia and the Pindaries of Holkar all fell upon the kingdom; Ghatge plundered the commercial town of Bhilwara and marauded his way to the south of Chitor, in November, 1806.[56] About the same time, Holkar was encamped to the south of Shahpura;[57] early in 1808, Holkar's Pindaries plundered two parganas near Udaipur.

This unchecked rapacity led to the complete break-down of the Rana's authority; Gakul Das, thakur of Deogarh, Sangram Sinh of Lawa, Padam Sinh of Salumber, the "three karbaries of the three districts" were engaged in a bitter rivalry for power[58] and the Rana had to invoke the arbitration of Rana Zalim Sinh of Kotah,[59] to put his house in order for him. Ambaji Ingle also became a supporter and adviser of the Rana at this time. He assisted him in collecting revenue and managing the administration[60] but nothing could stay the depredations of Holkar's and Sindia's hordes, who continued to prey upon the kingdom as before.[61] In 1809, the Rana reached the nadir of destitution and subsisted on the daily dole of 500 Rupees paid generously by Sindia's subahdar in Mewar.

Such was the distressed state of Mewar when Amir Khan made a thrust, with his own and Holkar's troops into it, for collecting tribute. Holkar's army reached Naldev on the 6th May,[62] Bahmanpur in the Udaipur pargana on the 24th May;[63] Amir Khan himself offered to recover the fortress of Kumbhalgarh, held by Sindia's commander Yeshwant Rao Bhau on condition of payment of twelve lacs of rupees as tribute.[64] He farther proposed to the Rana to entertain a body of troops under the Amir's dewan Raja Bahadur, in his service.[65] For a final settlement of the matter, Amir expressed a wish for an interview with the Rana in his capital. Suspicious of his intention the Rana declined the proposed interview.[66] Irritated at the Rana's stubborn attitude, Amir forced his way to the capital through the Dubari pass, while his lieutenant Jamshed Khan moved forward to Udaipur by the Chirwa pass.[67]

As the Pathan troops swarmed into the capital by the winding roads, the Rana humbled himself before Amir. He agreed to maintain the body of subsidiary troops and submit to Amir's yoke.[68] The story now enters its last tragic phase. Amir was now in a position to dictate his own terms to the weak-kneed Rana. At first he tried to play the peace-maker by advising the Rana to give his daughter in marriage to Mansinh for the sake of mutual reconciliation. But the Rana had meanwhile developed a rooted aversion against Mansinh owing to his act of unprovoked aggression, and thought he would compromise his honour by

51. G. Mercer to B. Close, 5th April, 1810. *Amir Nama* (Sarkar MSS, p. 467).
52. R. Close to Lord Minto, 16th June, 1809.
53. G. Mercer to Lord Minto, 16th April, 1810.
54. *Ibid.* 14th November and 11th December, 1807.
55. Capt. Broughton's letters, p. 235.
56. G. Mercer to G. H. Barlow, 6th October, 1806.
57. *Ibid,* 7th December, 1806.
58. *Op. cit.,* Capt. Broughton's letters, p. 207.
59. R. Close to Lord Minto, 17th September, 1806.
60. *Ibid,* 17th September, 1808.
61. J. R. Carnac to F. Warden, 14th May, 1808.
62. G. Mercer to Lord Minto, 20th June, 1810.
63. *Ibid,* 20th June, 1810.
64. *Ibid,* 29th June, 1810.
65. *Ibid,* 7th July, 1810.
66. *Op. cit.. Memoirs of Amir Khan,* pp. 397-398.
67. Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan,* p. 372.
68. Busawan Lal says, that when Amir Khan met Rana Bhim Singh, he told him that the Kingdom of Mewar was utterly ruined on account of marches and counter-marches of the predatory troops across it and on condition that a brigade of his would be taken into service and a portion of the revenue of the country be assigned (for its support), he made a solemn compact and signed a covenant for the maintenance of order, and protection of the country against the march of (predatory) armies. Prinsep's translation is prolix. (Sarkar MSS, pp. 478-79.).

this surrender. Amir then gave the Rana a choice between two evils with a cynical brutality surprising even in a bandit chief; he must either send his daughter to Jodhpur under his (Amir's) escort for her marriage to Mansinh or she should be put to death as an effective check against further complications.[69]

The Rana came out of these negotiations without the least shred of credit to redeem his already contemptible role. He was vain without strength, bullied into abject surrenders by predatory cheifs like Ghatge and Amir Khan and bolstered up as Sindia's puppet with a pension.

This languid voluptuary who had fathered a numerous progeny of ninety-five children[70] in his swarming harem was not likely to feel much tender concern for any of them. But even for him it was inhuman to undertake the cold-blooded murder of his daughter under a bandit's pressure. The crime was not excused by any sensitive regard for family pride that marked the high-mettled Rajputs of old. It was the result of a sordid bargain. The Rana was anxious for the recovery of Khalirao, the fortress of Kumbhalgarh and subjugating the rebellious thakurs with Amir Khan's help. As Busawan Lal says,

> "The Rana agreed to contrive to get rid of his daughter, . . . provided Amir Khan pledged to wrest Khalirao from Mansingh."[71]

The Princess Krisna was a girl of sixteen when the tragedy was brewing. Her virginal beauty moved Busawan Lal to lyrical raptures.[72] It is touching to fancy her frail, pathetic figure drifting into the very storm-centre of the greedy passions of rough and brutal men.

It is not possible from the extant materials to give a faithful description of Krisna's end. It appears she had got no inkling of her impending doom until she discovered poison in her food. She came to realize the situation on pressing her father with enquires and chid him gently for concealing the facts from her. She was set upon self-immolation for her father and country.

The land of her birth provided Krisna with a grim setting for the final tragedy of her death. It was the height of summer in July.[73] The sky was brass and the earth was iron; the lakes went dry and lay under a steamy haze; the granite masses of Udaipur were cracking up in the intense heat. On an appointed day the Princess bathed and put on a new robe. She was prepared for her martyrdom, she took up the cup of poison with a steady hand and quaffed off the contents.[74] This virgin martyr may be said to have redeemed the history of her country in its most disgraceful phase by this act of heroic self-sacrifice.

But her death did not bring peace to her distracted land for a long time,[75] yet when peace came, it was the imperial peace of the British which came to dominate the Indian scene.

Krishnakumari is indeed more a legend than a historic figure. She has come down to us as one of those "brides of ancient song" whose tragic fate suggest the Tennysonian lines.

> "Beauty and anguish walking hand in hand
> The downward path to grave."

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69. *Amir Nama* (Sarkar MSS, pp. 478-79). This is Amir's own version of the affair. It is difficult to divine Amir's real motive in offering to escort the Princess to Jodhpur; the contemporary materials at our disposal, only state that Amir wanted to promote a reconciliation between the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur. (*A Memoir of Central India* by Malcolm, p. 339).

70. Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*, p. 370.

71. *Amir Nama* (Sarkar MSS, p. 478).

72. Busawan Lal describes the beauty of the Princess in a couple of dozen verses (Sarkar MSS) which have not been translated by Prinsep. Malcolm who visited Udaipur in 1821 says, that he could have no doubt of the beauty of Kishan Kowar, after seeing her brother Juan Singh, the present heir to the Musnud, whom she is said to have exactly resembled. (Malcolm's *Memoir of Central India*, F. N., p. 341).

73. According to Gaurisankar Ojha (*Udaipur Rajyaka Itihasa*, p. 698) her death took place on the 21st July, 1810. Metcalfe, the Resident in Sindia's court communicated this news to Lord Minto, in a letter written on the 10th August, 1810.

74. All our sources agree in ascribing the death of the Princess to poison. (According to the *Asiatic Annual Register*, Vol. XII, 1810, pp. 48-50, and Col. Malcolm's *A Memoir of Central India*, p. 340), poison was served to the Princess by her aunt (Chand Bai). Col. Tod, on the other hand says (*op. cit.*, *Annals and Antiquities*, p. 369), that poison was offered to her by a female inmate of the Rana's harem. Col. Tod makes the account more sensational by saying that the Princess took poison thrice, yet it produced no effect. A powerful opiate—the Kasoomba draught was then prepared at the instigation of Amir Khan and Ajit Singh Chandwat and served to her. *The Memoir of Amir Khan* is more authoritative on this matter than the other sources. The Amir was then personally present in the capital and according to his narration the Princess cheerfully drank off the cup of poison. (Vide *Amir Nama*, Sarkar MSS, pp. 479-480, *Memoir of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, pp. 399-400).

75. Strachey's letter to Col. Hewitt, 5th October, 1811, describes the continuance of hostilities in Rajastan and refutes Prinsep's statement that the death of the Princess led to the pacification between the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur, removing "the great source of quarrel and confusion from one end of Rajastan to another."

2. *Amir Nama*. Persian MSS, and English translation by J. Prinsep, 1823.
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[Grateful thanks are due to the General Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the kind loan of English translation of *Amir Nama* to Sir Jadunath Sarkar who initiated me into the study of Records and helped me by loan of his *Amir Nama*, and to Dr. R. C. Majumder, for allowing facilities to borrow books from the Dacca University Library.]

THE STRATIFICATION INTO CLASSES IN U. S. A.

By C. L. SCHANZLIN

Like in all industrialized countries the population of the United States is getting more and more stratified into classes. Unlike the classification in other countries, England for instance, this classification has for its chief characteristics not race or blood, nor landed property, but property in the wider sense of the word, wealth in a general way, or its total absence, poverty. The selling of government lands from Thomas Jefferson's time to civil war times and later, prevented the building up of an aristocracy of large land owners. Such a beginning had been made in Dutch times, in New York state, but the system could not hold itself against the democratic sweep of the new practice, which tended to build up all over the country homesteads on comparatively small holdings, a system of small landed proprietors, rather than tenant farmers.

One wonders, whether with all the talk on the triumph of democracy in this country, this one foremost and fundamental fountain of democracy, the evenly distributed proprietorship of the soil, has not been greatly overlooked. The principle worked in the population of towns and cities as well, people both in town and country lived largely on their own properties.

If the possession of land was not one of the factors in the stratification of the people into social layers, we must look for other causes which produced this result.

With the more and more complete industrialization of the country, a movement beginning to function in full force around the eighties and reaching its highwater mark in our own time, there has come a profound change in the social system. While it was true for a long time, and to some extent still is true, that the ideal and pattern of owning a home or a farm still persists over large sections of the country, there can be no doubt, that the classes who do not possess any real estate at all, have been growing in numbers during the last decades. Prior to the problem of the migratory groups, berry pickers and others, there have grown up varieties of industrial workers, miners, and even agricultural labourers in the great farming states of the Union, who have become diversified from the rest of the population by the fact that for their support they are solely dependent on whatever they can earn in agricultural or industrial jobs which were largely jobs of unskilled labour. Being landless they are more footloose than other classes, and tend to become migratory, subject to conditions, the ups and downs of the labour market. It is not unlikely that the coming of cheap motor cars has been an important factor in this development.

All the workers who had the better paying occupations requiring a certain amount of skill, mechanics of all sorts, bricklayers, carpenters and up to the clerical and teaching professions, have consolidated their social positions, as groups, in a fairly well established system of professions, in each case guarding and watching over the interests of their respective bodies. While these occupational or professional classes have been flexible enough never to solidify into a rigid caste system, the tradition which has built up itself around each group have certainly contributed a good deal toward a social stratification. Their chief assets were clearly not their acquired property as classes or individuals, but their recognized standing as necessary and essential components of the nation. Their secured position in the body politic is more due to their ability, professional skill and experience, plus personal qualities of character and reliability, than to the share which they individually or otherwise may possess of the national

wealth. To that extent they are outside the circle of the larger commercial or purely financial concerns as well as of the chief stock holders of the great industrial concerns. They share many of the advantages of the capitalistic system, but they can hardly be said to be an integral part of it.

One is inclined to overlook the significance of national armies as social factors in the history of a nation. Of the more recent and dramatic changes that have taken place in the economic, political and social systems of modern countries, the military elements in each proved to be decisive factors. The Russian revolution, having threatened for a generation or two, became a fact when the regiments of the Czarist regime fraternized with the workers in rebellion. The German revolution in 1918 curiously started with a revolt of the navy at Kiel, spreading from there to some of the regiments of the army at home, rather than those still standing in France. In the Spanish revolution a few years ago the beginning was made by some officers dissatisfied with the communistic regime at Madrid. The first insurgent regiments were those stationed in Spanish Morocco.

The United States have never had the opportunity, nor have rarely felt the necessity of becoming a military nation. So it seems to modern Americans. One is in danger of forgetting the long and bloody wars with the Indians long before the separate existence of this nation, as also during the years of the republic. Nor should the various bodies of state militia be forgotten, on whom during the war for independence no doubt the greater share of the fighting fell. Again the continuation of the Union in the Civil War was almost entirely due to the loyal heroism of the northern armies.

While the world-war soldiers at the conclusion of the last world conflict were disbanded, the two associations formed by the World War Veterans, and the American Legion, have no doubt been influential in many ways in determining political and social questions of the day. How the army in training and preparation now will affect the history of this, not to speak also of other countries, the answer to that question lies in the dark and unknown future.

Upland, Indiana.

REST

By SERAPIA SAVITRY SPERA

Oh, come and cool my brow
With thy translucent hand
As soft and light as snow.
My hair lift, smooth each strand,
Appease my temples aglow
With pearl-cool finger-tips.

Thy voice so calm and low
Brings dreams of lotus-land
To charm away all woe.
Dark nightmare's spectre-band
Flees from the melodies that flow
From thine enchanting lips.

Oh, take not from my brow
Thy dear beloved hand;
To thee, to thee my rest I'll owe
While times relentless sand
With passionate and silent flow
Deep into fearful chasms slips.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S NEW POEMS*

By MARJORIE SYKES

At this time of crisis when every page of our newspapers speaks of the danger threatening the foundations of national life from without and from within, we accord a specially warm welcome to the recently published volume of "Poems" by Rabindranath Tagore. Here is a book to speak to the deeper needs of men in this "time of the breaking of nations," one that can do for the English-educated Indian what Robert Bridges' famous anthology "The Spirit of Man" did for thousands of Englishmen by its publication in the midst of the dust and heat of the Great War of 1914.

The volume contains English translations, the great majority by Rabindranath himself, of about one hundred and twenty of his Bengali poems and songs. Many have been published previously in various periodicals, not all easily accessible now, and many are printed here for the first time. They "have been arranged in four sections, which roughly correspond to four major divisions in the poet's writings," the fourth section consisting of a few poems composed during his last illness in 1940-41, among which are found the only translations not done by his own hand.† They thus cover a time span of over fifty years, and reflect the development of the poet's thought amid the tides of varying circumstance, personal, national and international, as well as in relation to the abiding realities.

Each reader dipping into the treasures of this Tagore anthology will doubtless feel himself gripped by a different poem, a different aspect of the poet's thought, from that which appeals to his neighbour. Many will find their deepest delight in the first section, perhaps in the magnificent closing series of Nos. 53-57, perhaps in the perfect simplicity of "They who are near to me do not know" (21) or "Blessed am I that I am born to this land" (33); or in the sensitive, passionate response to the pageantry of loveliness in "The dark-veiled June" (42) or "My heart dances" (20), and the clean cool stillness of "the primitive peace of the earth." "We toil from morning till night to plough the land" is steeped in the beauty and magic of "the sunny October hours," and the two exquisite songs in the second section (Nos. 72 and 75) redolent of the fragrant Bengal autumn, are proof enough—if any were needed—that the Master's vision did not grow clouded nor his touch less sure. Throughout the book there runs this lovely thread of delight in the "dear dust" of the earth.

"My heart sings at the wonder of my place in this world of light and life."

It is good for us to be reminded of those simple things of beauty that the noisy strife of man can neither give nor altogether take away, and to whose transcendent worth the poets can open our eyes.

But in this volume we are offered not only refreshment of spirit—*re*-creation in the true sense of that carelessly used word—but much more. The poet is no "escapist"—no true poet ever is. Everywhere in the book, most clearly in the second and third sections, is sounded the conviction, read by the poet with fresh and vivid reality in every corner of the living universe, that in the stagnation of an illusory security lies death, and richer and fuller life only in the reckless, adventurous plunge into an unknown future, in the daring of tempestuous seas, in the *tapasya* which accepts destruction and embraces renunciation for the sake of the new life bursting the old bonds. This exultant acceptance of life, in the assurance that it is gloriously worth the price in pain and sorrow that heightened powers of living exact, finds magnificent expression in the poem on "The Tempest" (68) and in the triumphant apostrophe to the Lord of Dancing (82) as well as in a dozen other passages.

From another point of view one may discern in this volume the increasingly tender vision of the significance of the utterly commonplace, the value of the despised, which in our lunatic times we so much need if we are to see life in some proportion. The note is struck very early in the collection, *e.g.*, in No. 13, but it is most marked in the third section. The poet leaves the majestic Padma for the tiny river Kopai, playing humbly and harmlessly, the friend of man; he writes of the passer-by, to whom he himself appeared "at the furthest limit of the unclaimed land of his life," each to the other a mere passing person, separated from his own warm self by the grey mist of indifference. He shows us the girl *coolie* with the basket of earth on her head, a poignant symbol of the beauty and dignity of humanity insulted by our sordid social customs; the goat in its "majesty of goatliness," the Brahmin seeing Bhajan the tanner in a new and divine light, the hidden sanctity of a carelessly accepted love.

One might write of the powerful satire, only too topical, on those who call on the Compassionate for a blessing on the cruel blasphemies of war, or those who hope "to flatter their God into a feebleness of leniency" and thus escape the inexorable retribution of their selfish crimes against humanity. One might write much of the conception of the "terrible Truth" by which men and nations are judged—

"Hard is Truth.
That hardness I loved,
never it deceives"—

or of the proud and unshaken faith that the mind and spirit of man is infinitely greater than the body in which it is caged or the Death before which it shrinks. These and other treasures the reader will discover for himself. One other point only may be touched on here.

The provinces of India and indeed the world outside Bengal owe Rabindranath an incalculable debt for these most felicitously phrased translations of his Bengali work. Anyone who has ever attempted any similar work will appreciate the seeming hopelessness of trying to render the spirit of poetry in another language, and the magnitude of the difficulties which have been triumphantly overcome. It is no belittling of that achievement to say that a great joy awaits those who are led by the beauty of the English translation to discover for themselves the beauty of the Bengali original, and it is to be hoped that their number will be great. The notes at the end of the volume facilitate such an enterprise, and are altogether a valuable feature. It is to be hoped that in a future edition the crowding of the verses on the page, necessitating turning over often in the middle of a phrase, will be avoided; but in the present adverse conditions one must congratulate the printers and publishers on a simple and dignified production which it is a pleasure to handle.

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* "Poems" by Rabindranath Tagore (published by Visva-bharati Bookshop, March, 1942. Price Rs. 2-8.

†These poems have been translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.—Ed. *M.R.*



Book Reviews



THE MENACE OF HINDU IMPERIALISM: *By Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj, B.A., LL.B., President, Hindu Missionary Society, Lahore. 1941. Pp. xv+334.*

This vigorous polemical work, aptly dedicated to the United States of America, "Liberator of Slaves and Defender of Democracy," is from start to finish a scathing condemnation of the caste divisions of Hindu social system. To the learned author burning with truly apostolic zeal, Hinduism (or rather Brahmanism) is "a system of socio-religious domination and exploitation of the Hindus based on caste, priestcraft and false philosophy" (p. 8), and this Brahman imperialism is worse than the much-abused British imperialism (p. 10).

The book consists of four parts, *viz.*, Introduction (ch. I), Historical Survey (chs. II-XV), Present Conditions (chs. XVI-XX) and Constructive Suggestions (chs. XXI-XXV). It is the chapters dealing with the ancient and mediaeval history of our country that form the weakest part of the work. Here the author's statements are not unoften inaccurate and biassed. Of the former kind the following may serve as examples. "The Rishis [of the Rigveda] were also doughty warriors who fought with the aborigines and killed them in hundreds and thousands" (p. 17), "The caste system did not exist then" (*Ibid*), "The vice of drink and cruel anim[illegible] sacrifice increased to so large an extent as to create a split in the [Rigvedic] community. One party left the country in protest, and went to Iran where they formed the Parsi race and the Parsi religion" (p. 18). On p. 98, there is a grievous slip ascribing the Delhi iron pillar to Asoka's time. Equally erratic is the statement (p. 110) that the Brahman Nagarjuna became Head Priest of the Nalanda University and from his Presidential chair advocated the worship of Brahma, Visnu, Siva and Tara. The author is content to talk of the Shah Kings of Saurashtra (p. 125) and the Gupta Emperor Harshavardhana (p. 128). As instances of biassed statements we may mention the author's attempt bordering on the grotesque to extract the history of Brahman tyranny from the legends of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata (pp. 25-27) and the Puranic legend of Visnu's incarnations (pp. 60-61). Equally prejudiced and out-of-date is the attribution of the Sati rite to Brahman machination (pp. 47-48). It will no doubt be news to many to learn that Pulakesin I Chalukya destroyed the monastery at Amaravati (p. 126) and that in the "Dark Age" between the eighth and the tenth centuries after Christ the Rajputs and the Brahmans were engaged in Northern India in stamping out Buddhism (p. 138). Repeatedly in this part of the work we find even proper names misspelt, of which perhaps the most irritatingly frequent example is C. V. Vydia (in place of C. V. Vaidya).

The author is on much safer ground when he deals with recent history and especially with our existing conditions. Here his array of facts and figures often fortified by high authority, his tone of passionate conviction born of a burning sense of wrong, and, last but not the least, his racy forceful style cannot fail to open our eyes to some of the plague-spots of our social system, notably the evil of priestly tyranny and the abuses of our temples and monasteries. The author's remedy for all these ills is "a democratic Hindu Congress with the threefold aim of making the Hindu a free and united nation on the basis of absolute equality of rights; of reconstructing Hindu life and institutions in harmony with India's political ideals, and of co-operating with other organisations for the realisation of Indian nationality and human brotherhood" (p. 318). In the same context the author makes (pp. 321-2) a series of sensible proposals for consolidating Hindu society, while his suggestions for promoting Hindu-Muslim unity (especially the one requiring public worship to be strictly confined to buildings licensed by the Government) are more open to criticism. On the whole, while fully sympathizing with the author's programme, one cannot but feel that its immediate success is likely to be considerably hampered by the low intellectual, economic and even spiritual status of the masses for whose uplift it is intended.

The author concludes his timely and thought-provoking work with a trumpet-call which is worth quoting in full: "The Hindu masses who want real freedom should with one voice raise the cry—'No freedom with caste.' Let every one who dares to demand Swaraj or independence for India publicly pledge himself to root out caste" (p. 334).

U. N. GHOSHAL

REPORTS ON THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL (1835 AND 1838): *By William Adam. Edited by Anathnath Basu. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1941. Price not mentioned.*

William Adam, a friend and follower of Raja Rammohun Roy, was a true well-wisher of India. He resided in the country for about two decades and participated in most of the progressive movements of early nineteenth century. Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of the Indian territories, wanted to ascertain the true state of native education, especially vernacular and all that it connotes. He found in Mr. Adam a very fit person for the task and appointed him early in 1835 just a few months before his depar-

ture from India, to report on the subject. Mr. Adam, in obedience to his command, undertook the task, pleasant for him but very laborious, and submitted three reports consecutively, the first on the 1st July, 1835, the second on the 23rd December, 1835, and the third on the 28th April, 1838. The General Committee of Public Instruction under whose behest Mr. Adam had to carry on his work, however, decided not to take any action on his recommendations as these were in their opinion not practicable at that time.

The reports were shelved in the archives of the secretariat for a long time. These contained a mass of information on the state of Indian education in all its aspects, not only on the vernacular education as the people were latterly constrained to believe, owing to the Reverend James Long's edition of them published in 1868. Long left out those portions which did not strictly concern vernacular education, and styled these reports as those on vernacular education. This edition again was out of print. We are thankful both to Mr. Anathnath Basu and the Calcutta University, for they have done a real service to the cause of Indian education as also to the students conducting researches in this subject by the publication of Adam's reports in *toto*, inserting those portions, too, which were left out by Long. We have in this edition a full view of Indian education—Vernacular, Sanskritic, Arabic, Persian and English—of both men and women. Though Adam was entrusted with the enquiry into the state of education of entire Bengal and Bihar, the task was so stupendous that, under the directions of the General Committee he had to confine himself to a few districts of these provinces only. The enquiry therefore was almost thorough and reliable.

Mr. Basu's introduction together with Long's *Introduction* and numerous tables, etc., given in the Appendix, has enhanced the value of the book. Only to one thing I should draw the attention of Mr. Basu. Adam was entrusted with the enquiry into the state of Native education, strictly of *non-official* brand. So he studiously left out those institutions from his reports which were directly or indirectly under the control of the Government. It is for this reason that he did not report on the origin and progress of the Hindu College, the Premeir English Institution of Calcutta, though he had had to refer to it in these reports on more occasions than one. But Mr. Basu writes in his *Introduction*, xxxii—"In this connection Adam gives some interesting details about the Hindu College, Serampore College and other similar institutions." Here "Hindu College" has crept in through inadvertance. We sadly miss an index which is extremely useful in such a work. Our thanks again to Mr. Basu and to the University for the publication of these very valuable reports in original, without any subtraction.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

METHOD IN ENGLISH, BEING THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN INDIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: *By M. B. Shaligram, English Master, M. E. High School, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona, Lecturer M. E. Society's Teachers' Training Institute, Poona. Published by Bapat Khadilkar & Co., 843 Sadashiv Pet', Poona 2.*

The art of teaching has received considerable amount of attention during the last few years in this country. The principle is unanimously admitted that no teacher should be allowed to enter the school-room without adequate preparation which involves practical training. And this manual, coming, as it does, from an expert hand, should be of inestimable value to pupils in training centres. Many still cling to the old slogan that teachers are born and not made. This slogan, not unlike most general statements, contains an element of truth distorted by exaggeration. It is unquestionably a hopeless task to transform a man, without a longing for teaching and an urge for the work into a devoted teacher by rules and curricula. A teacher does require above all love of the children he works for and this cannot be imparted in the training college. On the other hand, a teacher with a sense of vocation and love of the children would welcome any information leading to a better and more successful approach to the imagination, heart and mind of his pupils. For this reason we all look to the day when no one except properly trained and qualified teachers will be allowed to teach. In India at the present time it may be difficult yet to insist on this condition as there are not enough qualified men to take up the profession of teaching. It is hoped, however, that the situation will gradually improve and that larger number of trained men will be avaliable for this most important part in the social reconstruction of the country.

For this purpose we should welcome books like the one we are reviewing. The experiences of men like Mr. Shaligram should be made available to all in training centres.

P. G. BRIDGE

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JAIN BHANDARS AT PATTAN: *Compiled from the Notes of the Late Mr. C. D. Dalal by Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi. In two volumes. Vol. I. Palm-leaf MSS. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXVI. Baroda, Oriental Institute. 1937. Price Rs. 8.*

The late Mr. C. D. Dalal was a great Oriental scholar by whose untimely death the world of Oriental learning sustained an irreparable loss. His works are solid records of sound scholarship, hard labour and a sustained capacity for Research work. In the work at hand he has left for us a legacy which we must hold very dear, not only for the hallowed memory of the deceased scholar but also far its intrinsic merit. Descriptive Catalogues of MSS. are very helpful for Research work, unearthing as they do valuable records and throwing much light upon the facts that are not fully known. By collecting the materials published in this volume and to be published in the subsequent one, the compiler thus has laid the Oriental scholars under deep obligation. Several MSS. described by him are dated before 1000 A.D. and many before 1200. Two MSS. are written on cloth and several manuscripts are found in golden characters.

Much credit is due to Dalal for bringing to light a large number of Jain and Brahmanical MSS. to which Peterson and the subsequent workers in the field had no access. The MSS. noticed in the present volume range over many subjects and various languages including Marathi and Gujarati. There are many manuscripts in Patan which deserve scientific editing forthwith. The present catalogue also brings to light quite a large number of Apabhramsa Manuscripts which will, *if available*, immensely help intensive studies in Apabhramsa. The selected quotations supply us many bibliographical informations about the MSS. in question as well as about the works, their authors, etc. Patan has a long-drawn history of its own and the present catalogue will go a long way towards the reconstruction of the same.

The sore grief that eats into the heart of any Oriental scholar is that so much wealth should remain

uncared for in India. One only wishes that some good sense would soon dawn upon the possessors of these MSS., mostly merchants, so that they would oblige the scholars at least by acknowledging the receipt of their letters even though they may not care to part with any MS. whatsoever, even through the most reliable authorities such as the Provincial Government or Universities.

The prospective companion volume is an immediate desideratum, and the sooner it is out, the better for the world of Oriental learning.

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

THE MEANING OF ISLAM: *By Syed Jalaluddin Hossain Sekander, Advocate, High Court. Published by the Author from 5/2, Dilkusha Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

This is a neat little volume giving a synoptic account of Islam and its great founder in the course of sixty short pages. Paper and printing are good, and the style on the whole is racy and lucid. The author has succeeded in the difficult task of compressing a good deal of information in a short compass. For those who want to be told in a few words what Islam is and what it stands for we can heartily recommend this little volume. There are occasional misstatements of historical facts, and too much liberty has been taken here and there with original texts in the translations. In page 12, the learned author says, "The Arabs, though they became Muslims, could not tolerate the idea of the independence of women in society." This is not correct for free Arab women enjoyed considerable liberty before the advent of Islam. It was Islam that restricted their liberty of movement to a certain extent—but by no means to the extent to which such liberty is restricted in Muslim society at present.

These are, however, minor defects. On the whole the author is to be congratulated for the lucid manner in which he has presented the case of Islam in such a small booklet.

S. WAJID ALI

LAND SYSTEM OF BENGAL: *By Rai Bahadur M. N. Gupta, M.A., B.L. Published by the Calcutta University. 1940. Pp. xvi+300.*

Since the publication of Mr. Justice Field's well-known Introduction to the Bengal Regulations in 1875, no other book has been published embodying the researches of many erudite scholars into the social, political and revenue history of Bengal, especially of the earlier periods, during the last 60 or 70 years; and making good use of the vast mass of useful information and statistics collected during the cadastral survey and settlement operations regarding the various classes of tenancies and their rents—which operations have been practically completed in all the districts of the Province.

A study of the manner in which land has been held by various classes of persons and wealth from land has been distributed amongst them is essential for the correct and proper appreciation of the material conditions of the people at any given stage of their history. Judged from this angle of view, this "good little book on a great subject" to quote Trollope on Mark Pattison, from the pen of one who has made a systematic and almost life-long study of it and made the subject specially his own, whose researches have revealed much material hitherto unknown or uncared for and whose experience in the practical field is singularly wide and varied, is simply unique. Written in no spirit of partisanship and with no motive for propaganda, the book will open up new channels for reflection; and the Calcutta University is to be congratulated for having taken over its publication. Max Muller speaking of Colebrook once said that "he never allowed one word to escape his pen, for which he had not his authority." The same may be said of the present author; and the value of the book under review has been enhanced by the scholarship and the scientific method of its author.

THE BOMBAY VILLAGE PANCHAYATS ACT: *Edited by S. D. Joshi, B.A., LL.B. with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Mr. A. B. Latthe. Pp. 226. Price Rs. 3-2.*

This is a nicely edited edition of the Bombay Village Panchayats Act as amended up to 1939. Where necessary the old sections are given side by side. All the relevant rules framed by the Local Government from time to time are given under the appropriate sections—an arrangement, which enhances its usefulness to the lay readers and administrative officers. Unfortunately, there are several misprints.

J. M. DATTA

THE EDUCATION OF THE EMOTIONS: *By Margaret Phillips, M.A. Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London. Pp. 318 with an Index. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

This is a book on educational psychology. Apparently it is intended for the expert as well as the general reader. But it is not altogether free from technicalities and the author's handling of materials savours of the class-room. Besides, there is no suggestion in the book as to how our emotions *can* be educated; we are only told how they actually grow. To that extent, the name of the book is misleading. Although it is a book on psychology and not on ethics, yet as educational psychology it might suggest ways and means for the control and training of our emotional life. Children do not always know how to feel correctly; even adults do not. Any guidance for the emotions of self, not-self, society and country and the world at large would be of greater value to the general reader than what this book presents to him. And there is a certain amount of circumlocution in the enunciation of propositions and statements of facts and arguments, which could easily be avoided. What the book deals with is of interest to many; but the manner of its treatment will not compel the attention of the ordinary reader.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF SRI KRISHNA: *By M. R. Sampatkumaran, M.A. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.*

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF SANKARACHARYA: *By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Madras University. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.*

These two booklets form parts of the highly interesting and useful series entitled "World Teachers" in which books on the lives and teachings of Zoroaster, Buddha and Muhammad have already been published. Both the booklets are well-written and each gives within a small compass a mass of valuable information concerning Krishna and Sankaracharya presented in a popular form. The work on Krishna is divided into 18 chapters. The number reminds one of the number of books and chapters in the *Mahabharata* and the *Gita*—works dealing with the life and teachings of the great master. The first 13 chapters describe the life-

story of Krishna on the basis of mythological works in Sanskrit, while the remaining portions of the book deal with more or less controversial matters concerning his life and work. Chapter 14 discusses his historicity and seeks to establish that "Krishna was a statesman and religious teacher, who was in course of centuries accorded divine honours." In chapter 15, an attempt is made to explain the amours associated with the life of Krishna by means of an allegorical and spiritual interpretation. Chapter 16 proposes to summarise the teachings of Krishna, whose *Gita* is supposed to represent "*bhakti* and *prapatti* as Sri Krishna's special contribution to the thought of his age." An enquiry into the origin and development of Krishna worship forms the subject-matter of chapter 17 while the last chapter takes a bird's eye-view of the extensive literature that developed on the life-story of Krishna in different parts of old and medieval India.

The work on Sankaracharya is divided into three chapters of which the first gives an account of the life-history of the great philosopher, in so far as it can be reconstructed from his biographies which are unfortunately full of extravagances. The second chapter gives a brief reference to the works composed by or attributed to Sankar while the third, the biggest and most important, gives a summary of the philosophy propounded by him.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SPIRITUAL POWERHOUSE: *Edited by V. S. Sohoni and B. B. Keskar. With a Foreword by K. Natarajan. 1940. Pp. 541. Price Rs. 3.*

It is a book that "is intended to give its readers in an attractive form, food and refreshment for the mind and the heart and the much-needed strength of the soul." The editors think that the best method to enforce religious and moral truths on the mind of the ordinary person is to bring within easy reach the thoughts and words of those who themselves lived these truths. It selects for this purpose the Saints Tukaram, Kabir and Nanak, and Maharsi Devendranath Tagore, Raja Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen, Benoyendranath Sen, and many others belonging to the Brahmo Samaj It is an inspiring book and its readers are expected to derive the benefit which it intends to bestow on them.

N. K. BRAHMA

EMINENT CONTEMPORARIES: *By Sarin. With a foreword by S. Satyamurthi, M.L.A. (Central), Vidya Bhandar, Booksellers and Publishers, Nazirabad, Lucknow. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1.*

The inimitable work of Gardiner has evidently inspired this work, which covers 26 subjects in the course of 95 pages. The writer has tried to look fairly and without prejudice into the brighter aspect of things and his criticism is nowhere pungent. Sj. Satyamurthi's foreword is a just appraisement, and though one misses here the brilliance of Gardiner, one should be thankful for bits of information thrown in here and there. Is not "Abul Kalam Azad" the correct form, not "Abdul"? The frequent garnishing with quotations from English poets in the small compass of the book might well have been spared.

CONTINENCE AND ITS CREATIVE POWER: *By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Published by Sri Ramkrishna Math, Karachi, Oct., 1941. Pp. 44. Price annas four.*

A pamphlet in which the author has liberally quoted from the thinkers of the East and the West to prove his thesis in support of continence as a condition precedent to creative efforts. The writing is easy to understand and has not been much burdened by ancient lore and modern science. It will prove useful specially to the youth that wants to rise higher and higher in response to a noble call.

P. R. SEN

LIGHT ON THE PATH OF SELF-REALISATION: *Compiled by an Admirer. Published by Mr. Nagesh Vasudev Gunaji, B.A., LL.B. Sole Agents—The Popular Book Depot, Grant Road, Bombay 7. Pp. lviii+367+3 plates. Price Rs. 3.*

This book beings with the early history of the Nath Sampradaya with a long list of Guru-parampara and a short biography of the Saint of Nasik—Shri Gajanana Maharaj. Countless people in the world today, discontented with modern life, long to experience the blissful nature of the Self, but to achieve this end they need a technique from a real Yogi. The simple teachings of the Eight-fold Path with special emphasis on Dhyana Yoga (Raja Yoga) taught by this Saint will be helpful to all true aspirants. The mystic experiences of his 36 disciples described in this book are very encouraging to those who are earnestly treading the Path.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

PRATAP THE GREAT: *By H. S. Mordia, B.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S. (London). With a foreword by Amarnath Jha. Price Rs. 2-8.*

FATTA THE IDEAL: *By H. S. Mordia. With forewords by the Hon'ble Col. Sir George Ogilvie and Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha. Price Rs. 2-8.*

LOTUS-POOL: *By H. S. Mordia. With a foreword by Principal P. Seshadri. Mordia Book House, Udaipur, Rajputana. Price Rs 2-8.*

These three books from the pen of Mr. Mordia, a talented son of Mewar who has already made his mark in law and literature are welcome contributions to what is gradually and perceptibly forming itself into a separate and distinct branch of English literature, created by Indian authors and poets. Some of the Indian poets, chiefly of the preceding generation should be given a conspicuous place in the History of English Literature but others (and there are many Indians who regularly write and publish poems in English), I am afraid, will not be recognised as contributing something of value and permanence to English Literature.

There is no doubt that the reading public will find *Pratap the Great* and *Fatta the Ideal* thoroughly enjoyable and inspiring. No words of tribute, respect and adoration will ever be too high for these two of the greatest figures of Indian History. Mr. Mordia deserves congratulation for his noble and patriotic attempts to record the glorious achievements in English verse of Maharana Pratap and Maharana Fateh Singh.

Lotus-Pool is a small book of poems of different variety. Craftsmanship is far from perfect but most of the poems have really a poetic soul.

In conclusion, the reader cannot help feeling that all these three books are a little too much burdened by messages and opinions.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

SANSKRIT

KALASIDDHANTADARSINI (A TREATISE IN SANSKRIT ON THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS ON TIME): *By Haran Chandra Bhattacharya with a Fore-*

word by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A., 65-5B, Baghbazar Street, Calcutta. 1941. Pp. x+ 110. Price Rs. 3.

Pandit Haran Chandra Bhattacharya, better known as Haran Chandra Shastri, of Benares, now one of the prominent Professors of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, needs no introduction whatsoever as his erudition and versatility is well-known to the Orthodox Section of Sanskrit scholars all over the country. His present disquisition embodying the views on *Kala* "time" in different systems of Indian philosophy could be written by an author only of his calibre. It shows throughout his vast learning and extensive and intensive studies in Sanskrit. The reader will find in the treatise more than fifty views on time as maintained by Indian philosophers. Here is a very good instance to illustrate how the same thing is viewed in so many different ways. Some of the views discussed here are subtle, indeed, and as such are not easily graspable. Yet, the learned author has attempted to explain them in simple language and in most cases he has succeeded. Without the least hesitation it can be said that the book has proved to be a real contribution to Indian philosophical literature.

Is it not that the order of arrangement of the articles in the treatise could be made better following a definite system? We also wish Pandit Haran Chandra had added a chapter at the end giving a synthesis of the views discussed and showing their origin and gradual development.

The Foreword, though short, is of real importance, as usual in writings of Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Mahasaya.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARJEE

BENGALI

RANGALAYE AMARENDRANATH : *By Ramapati Datta. Published by Harindranath Datta, 139B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The stage, like many other things in Bengal, had its beginning in the early nineteenth century. It throve under the care and patronage of Bengal's aristocracy. At first it was an amateurish affair. It was not till the seventies that the Bengali stage became a public institution. As an expression of a nation's life the stage has a close inter-connexion with its culture. As such the subject of late has attracted the attention of scholars and treatises on the origin, growth and development of the Bengali stage have been written.

The pioneers of the public stage of the seventies were still in the land of the living and some of them were still at the helm of its affairs, when at the close of the century Amarendranath Datta, a youngman of twenty-one, handsome, genial and intelligent, resourceful, energetic and self-confident made his appearance on the stage. Born in 1876, a scion of a very respectable family of Calcutta, he was immediately hailed as a hero of the stage and for nineteen years remained an idol of the theatre-going public. As proprietor and manager of the Classic Theatre he introduced far-reaching changes and in a sense revolutionised the stage. Indicative of his many-sided activities for the advancement of the Bengali stage, his journalistic ventures in the shape of the publication of the weekly *Rangalaya* and the monthly *Natya-mandir* helped him not a little in the success of his cause.

He took the stage by storm, and for nearly nineteen years till his premature death in 1916, when he was barely forty, he remained the virtual dictator of the Bengali stage. He was an actor, manager, director and dramatist in one. The biography of Amarendranath Datta to a certain extent may be said to be the history of the contemporary stage. In spite of his faults and frailities Amarendranath Datta was intensely human. The author has delineated his character with sympathy and has shown considerable skill in dealing with the subject. His style is lucid and the book is informative. It forms an interesting chapter in the history of the Bengali stage.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

GRAME O PATHE: *By Sj. Ratanmani Chattopadhyaya. Published by Ajit Kumar Basu, 19, Hari Ghose Street, Calcutta. 1941. Price Re. 1-4.*

The book consists largely of the leaves from the diary of a prominent Congress worker in Bengal who has toured through several villages in a thickly populated district and whose experience may be safely described as typical of a considerable portion of Bengal. Almost half the space is devoted to the exposition of Gandhiji's doctrine in which apparently the writer has full confidence. The incentive to village work came to the writer and his co-workers about twenty years ago, and they have been carrying the message of the spinning wheel from village to village ever since. They have, as appears from the perusal of the book, succeeded in establishing mass contact, and they hold strong view, on such topics as intercommunal harmony, the machine age, untouchability, etc. Gandhiji's sketch, executed by the distinguished artist, Nandalal Basu, thus aptly precedes the book. Most of the pieces had been previously published in the pages of the *Patra*, a nationalist weekly, now defunct.

The writer has evidently been nursed on Aurobindo, Rabindranath and Gandhi whose thoughts and ideas colour the texture of the book to a certain extent. Some of the descriptive passages have a literary flavour about them.

P. R. SEN

NARI : *By Miss Santi Sudha Ghosh, M.A. Published by Saraswati Library, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1.*

Nari or *Woman* is a book of Bengali essays by a talented daughter of Bengal who in this book has tried to express her views on some of the burning problems of Indian Womanhood. The subjects dealt are : Three Aspects of Woman's Evolution; Indian Civilization and Woman; Signs of a married woman—Conch-bangle, vermilion mark and the veil; Right of dissolution of marriage; Woman's education; Maternity and its Education; Woman and Wage-earning; Modern love and Woman, and Real Probelms in a Woman's Life.

The writer does not believe that India was very fair to women. Although women were treated with kindness by certain ancients, they were never looked upon as superiors to men, not even as equals. Women in the past accepted this position in society without dispute but they no longer admit their inferior position and they are ready to assert and declare that they have a mission to fulfil and an ideal to achieve as individuals or as a class. In short, women are no longer a means to an end but an end in themselves. The writer shows the defects of the Hindu Marriage system and opines that there should be room for divorce or dissolution of marriage under certain circumstances although she admits that this new provision in Hindu married life will not solve all the difficulties as in the Western countries. She objects to special signs exhibited in the bodies and garments of the Hindu woman to show that she is unmarried, married or a widow. Why should women of all ages wear special signs when males of all ages—bachelor, married or a widower, do not wear any sign.

The questions put by the writer are certainly bold and it is not easy to answer them with reason. The writer takes a rational view of the Female Education and criticises the curriculum of the Calcutta University. The world of competition has brought women out of their hearth and home and it is now necessary for many women to earn bread, not always for themselves but also for dependants. It is not an easy problem to solve. The writer has replied some of the criticisms raised by male competitors and has shown that in some spheres women are more capable than males and as such are more welcome as workers and wage-earners. In the Chapter on "Modern Love" which is written in the form of a letter to a disappointed girl lover, the writer has advised the womanfolk to be more conscious of the importance in society and not to make them cheap for a man's greed or love-making. She condemns the modern girl for her foolishness. In conclusion, the writer says that the problem of women is not a problem of conflict between the man and the woman. The woman is an embodiment of love and sacrifice and as such she cannot quarrel with her male partner in society. Woman is an embodiment of sacrifice but she has a personality which has been ignored for ages and the present age will solve its problems by allowing the woman to come to her own.

The language is chaste and the thinking is clear and the printing of the book is excellent. The book deserves to be read by all thoughtful persons who are interested in woman's movement.

A. B. DUTTA

DHARMA-SADHANA : *By Svarna-prabha Sen, B.A., B.T. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. ix+113. Price not stated.*

This is a translation of Prof. Radhakrishnan's book *The Hindu View of Life* and it must be judged *as* a translation. In the translation of a book from one language into another, some freedom must be allowed to the translator; otherwise, the rendering will become either unreadable or unintelligible. But, we are afraid, in the present case, the translator has allowed too much liberty to herself. Even the name of the book has been altered. The name chosen in translation carries little of the meaning of the original name. In an introduction to the translation, Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, Head of the Department of Bengali in the University, justifies the new name on the ground that Prof. Radhakrishnan's discussion is non-sectarian and that, according to him, Hinduism is a way of life and not a form of thought (p. ix). We confess, we are unable to follow this logic. Whatever the nature of any discourse may be, the name given to a book by its author is its name; and a translator goes beyond his rights when he chooses a new name for it.

Besides, even if the discourse on the tenets of a particular creed or sect can be absolutely non-sectarian, we fail to see how the sense of "Hindu View of Life" is preserved in translation by leaving out all the three words of the name.

The translator has chosen the title of the first chapter as the name of the book also. If the original author wished it, he could do it himself instead of leaving it to his translator.

The name of this chapter in original is "Religious Experience. Its Nature and Content": We are not quite sure if 'experience' is best rendered in Bengali by the word *Sadhana*.

Besides the above, there are several other places where the translation could be more faithful and literal than it has been.

With this reservation, however, we are prepared to say that the language of the book is elegant and, on the whole, quite happy and makes easy and pleasant reading.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HINDI

HINDI KI PRACHIN AUR NAVIN KAVYA-DHARA : *By Suryabali Sinha, M.A., Sahityaratna. Published by Nandkishore and Brothers, Benares. Pp. 165. Price Re. 1.*

It is often remarked that modern poetry has no roots. To a certain extent this is true because our age, in its 'lust for novelty,' has not as yet formulated its faith in any new set of moral values or come back, like the prodigal son, to those which have held sway for generations. But inasmuch as the poet expresses his own reactions to the world of Nature to Man and to God, the substance of his feeling or thought or imagination remains more or less the same, only its form of expression varies from epoch to epoch together with a shifting of its emphasis from one aspect of life to another. For instance, the old school of poets had faith in God and Kingship, whereas those who belong to the modern school lack faith in both. The book, under review, is an essay in assessing the merits and demerits of both these schools, the main thesis being, however, directed to the pointing out of, and illustrating, the chief characteristics of the modern epoch in Hindi poetry.

Literature like life, is in its nature dynamic; so its movement is always assured, and what appears to be a set-back is but an absence of clear perception of the place and purpose of the literary output of a particular period in the perspective of the whole. There are, therefore, three stages in the adjustment of the 'new' with the old; namely, the existence of the old patterns in thought and in technique, the half old and half new (pendulum now swinging to this side, now to the other) and the coming into being of the new patterns in a definite manner. Surdas, Tulsidas, Bhushan belong to the first stage, Bhartendu, Pratapnarain and Maithlisharan to the second; and Prasad, Nirala, Pant and Mahadevi to the third.

The author deals at length (though disproportionately) with the achievements of the Prasad School of Poets. The latter observe the world of Nature or Life in its myriad forms, but are not able to fix upon any one aspect as a basis for their faith. They have set their faces towards Man as against God of the ancients; they throw a veil of the dream-world or mystic dogma over their creations, their humour is more a product of cynicism than of the pure spirit of amusement, their poetry is weighted with sorrow and pessimism, though it has patriotic fever and fervour, and sentiments of love and piety; it lacks 'unity of impression,' it has thrown overboard older restraints of rhyme and rhythm, it has abandoned the older idioms, while its new literary, sometimes quaint, coinage is increasing.

Thus *Hindi ki Prachin aur Navin Kavya-dhara* is a critical study of the modernist trends and traits in Hindi poetry, marked by the twin-principles of analysis and adequate appreciation.

G. M.

TAMIL

EDUCATION—SPEECHES OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : *Translated by T. S. Avinasilingam. Published by Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalayam, Coimbatore. Obtain-*

able from Sakthi Karyalayam, 48, Muthukumari Street, Madras G. T. Pp. ii+88. Price annas twelve.

A good translation of Swamiji's speeches on education. Swamiji's views on the education our country needs, principles of education, education and character, education for women and education for all deserve more than any other our best consideration and early adoption.

THAMIZHAR THIRUMAÑA NOOL : *By Thamizhars, Welfare Association. Pp. 56. Price one anna.*

This booklet describes in short the forms and ceremonies of marriage that prevailed among Tamils thousands of years ago and also the ceremonies that may now be adopted. The suggestions have the full support of very many Tamil scholars. They are further rational and well worthy of adoption.

MADHAVAN

TELUGU

HINDUISM : *By J. Purushottam, M.A., Principal, Sanskrit College, Kovvur. Printed at the Coconada Printing Press, Cocanada. Pp. 186. Price annas twelve.*

The author has given in a nutshell all the salient aspects governing Hinduism. He has dived deep into the Vedas, Srutis, Smritis, etc., and interpreted them in a comprehensive form. When there is much disruption in religious sentiments and ideals under the present conditions, such a book invariably clarifies many conflicting problems. The book is an authoritative one and deals concisely every controversial point with apt quotations. Through the medium of his book the author aims at restoring social harmony and unity among the Hindus in all its glory and splendour.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

RAKHNAN RAMAKADAN : *By Bhaskar Vora, Bhavnagar. Printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur. 1941. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-8.*

There are seven playlets, one Act ones, based on European one Act plays in this collection; some of them are founded on English plays, some have derived inspiration from them. As the author and the learned writer of the Introduction admit, they represent the dawn or rising period of his ability in this direction and therefore there is room for improvement in many places, e.g., he had better turn the lens of his camera towards the actual life lived by the world rather than towards dreamland, as is the case, for instance, in the final play *Shesha Nari.*

ATMA VINOD : *By Prof. H. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1941. Pp. 304. Cloth Bound. Price Rs. 2.*

Prof. A. K. Trivedi of the Baroda College, is a voluminous writer on varied subjects in Gujarati and English. A student of Logic and Philosophy his outlook on life and literature is wide and comprehensive. As a result of that outlook about sixteen books stand to his credit, on such widely different subjects as Travel and Ethics, Grammar and Psychology. The present volume contains a collection of his speeches and writings, connected with old and modern Gujarati poets, and contributions to magazines, all of which show that what he has had to say he has said intelligently and as befits a professor who believes that he is a student all his life.

(1) SAHITYADRASHTANE, (2) PANDANI : *By Prof. Shankarlal G. Shastri, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Mahavir Jain Printing Press, Junagadh. 1941. Pp. 210 and 175. Cloth Bound. Price Re. 1-12 and Re. 1-8 respectively.*

Prof. Shastri has adopted a novel method of imparting information and instruction to his pupils primarily and also collaterally publishing his views on various branches of literature by addressing long letters to imaginary correspondents, who are supposed to be college pupils. This is the form of the first book called "To an Observer of Literature." It consists of two sections : the first one deals with absolute subjects like the Form of Poetry, Principles of Novel-writing, An Ideal Critic and so on. The second one is an attempt at giving word-pictures of old classical poets and modern and living writers of Gujarat. The details given about their life, literary work, special characteristics and idiosyncracies, are on the whole correct and help the reader to appreciate their innate qualities, both as writers and individuals. *Pandani* (a receptacle for Betel leaves) is a collection of fourteen short stories, and a very readable one it is. In the preface the writer explains the difference and distinction between novels and short stories and faithfully follows the standard laid down for the latter. Where all stories are good as representations of various types of human nature, it would be invidious to pick out any one as particularly good but the second one "The Better Half of Kali Charan" would entertain the reader greatly.

PAN-SOPARI : *By Dr. K. D. Jila, Navsari. Printed at the Anand Sagar Press, Navsari. 1941. Paper cover. Pp. 26.*

The habit of Betel-leaf and Betel-nut chewing is universal in India. It has its advantages and disadvantages. In small doses it works as a digestive, but the chewing of these two articles in big and frequent doses, results in indigestion and various other ailments, which are given in details in this small book. Dental science attributes the disease of Cancer to the eating of rotten supari and lime, applied to pan. One has much to learn about the evils of the habit from what Dr. Jila says.

K. M. J.



SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION AND BRITAIN'S DUTY TO INDIA

By K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (London),
Barrister-at-Law, Reader of Law, Allahabad University

It seems that India is going to be very soon a theatre of war between the Japanese on the one side and the British on the other. Singapore, the fortress of the East, has fallen. A portion of Burma is under Japanese occupation, and now India is the bastion of the British power in the East. It is therefore quite appropriate for Britain to take stock of her position in regard to the resources and man-power which would be able to resist successfully the Japanese aggression. British troops in India are negligible in number, and today we have got a large number of Indian troops stationed in various parts of India. But even with the help of the troops available in India, the chances of giving a defeat to Japan here would be small unless more men equipped with brains and brawn be enlisted.

The present war is a scientific war, brawn does not count so much as brains and therefore in this titanic struggle soldiers with brains will acquit themselves much better than those endowed with mere physical strength. In order to enable a large number of Indians to fight India's battle within India's borders, it is essential that Indian manhood must realise that the fight they are engaged in, is as much their fight as Britishers', and this feeling can only be engendered if the people realise that the cause for which they are going to shed their blood is for the maintenance of the freedom of their country.

Mercenary soldiers can never be the best of fighters, in as much as they merely enrol themselves for the sake of pay. On the other hand soldiers recruited from the best families, educated, self-reliant, imbued with high idealism will only be available in large numbers to offer their lives in war provided that they realise that the war is for tne sacred duty of lighting the torch of freedom and keeping it burning in their motherland.

Idealism takes a man beyond himself and enables him to perform acts which he could not have otherwise dared to do. It is idealism which enables a nation to mobilise its whole strength—men, women and children—for the great cause of preservation of liberty. Idealism, however, proceeds upon concrete facts and the concrete facts must be that the nation must feel that the last man must be willingly sacrificed at the altar of that cherished ideal of all nations, *viz.*, its high name, its honoured position in the Commonwealth of Nations, and for the belief that no sacrifices are too great for that stupendous task, *viz.*, preservation of freedom.

Indians, however, unfortunately due to the short-sightedness of British politicians have not yet been able to feel that the war is their war. For this no blame can be fastened upon them. The persons who are responsible for the inadequacy of the war efforts of India are not the Indians but the Britishers.

On the outbreak of war from many a platfrom the cry went up that Britain must grant India freedom in order to convince her as also the rest of the world that Britain was fighting the battle of democracy and freedom. Deaf ears were turned to India's repeated requests to clarify the war issue. Two years and a half have been thus, in my opinion, been lost by Britain. Can any idealism spring up in such an atmosphere? Indians now scan with great care the political utterances of great statesmen, not merely of Britain but all the world over. To ask India to bleed white in men and money for upholding democracy in other countries, while denying these to her cannot be calculated to rouse her genuine enthusiasm for throwing herself wholeheartedly into the vortex of war.

The Viceroy in his recent appeal to the people of India urges the necessity of national front immediately. National front without the nationalisation of the Government of India is pure moonshine. The creation of the national front is only possible if and when there is a genuine parting of power by Britain, for it is preposterous for Britain to ask Indian people to mobilise themselves when the stream of omnipotence would continue to flow from the footsteps of Whitehall.

The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India has roused enthusiasm in Indian quarters that Britain might at the eleventh hour do what she

could and should have done at the outbreak of war, *viz.*, make the people of India free to choose the form of government as also to divest herself, *viz.*, England, of all power over Indian administration.

Sir Stafford's visit would be absolutely useless if he intends just to embellish the August Declaration of 1940 with slight touches. It must go lock, stock and barrel. He should decide for the meeting of the demands of the Indian people, *viz.*, the declaration of freedom to India immediately and unconditionally and not after the conclusion of the war. There must not be a mere declaration to that effect but concrete steps taken immediately which will show that Britain has left India to be governed by Indians.

Sir Stafford should not take into consideration the apparent disunity in India between the Hindus, Mussalmans and the Indian princes. Turning to Hindu-Muslim problem it may be stated at once that behind the apparent antithesis there is the complete thesis that the majority of Muslims in several provinces. Bengal, N.-W. F. P., the Punjab, U. P. and Sind are solidly with the Hindus. The Allah Bux and the Fazlul Huq Ministries have demonstrated to the world that the Muslim League is not representative of the Muslims of India. The N.-W. F. P. Muslims through their illustrious leader, the "Frontier Gandhi," have long shown the way to all right-thinking Mussalmans that the Hindus and Muslims are united to achieve their freedom. The Momins, whose number runs to forty-five millions, sent a cablegram to the Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, that they are poles apart in their political views from the Muslim League. There are other parties, *viz.*, the Ahrar and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, who are nationalists in outlook. The Azad Muslim Conference held recently conclusively shows the minds of the Muslim masses on the Hindu-Muslim problem. It would be idle, therefore, on the part of Mr. Amery to bloster up the pretensions of Mr. Jinnah to be the only leader of the Mussalmans of India.

The princes should not present a stumbling block to the freedom of India, if they do so, they will do at their peril. They must know that the people of the Indian states want complete democratisation of their administrations. They must give up their preposterous claims that they are the "Lords Anointed." The Divine Right theory of kingship they set their hearts on is an anachronism in the present world. They must regard themselves as the first servants of the people, and then alone will the people look up to them as their masters. They must know, they are to be sustained by love, affection and solidarity of their subjects. The treaty rights on which they want to harp incessantly do not exist anywhere except on paper. They have no status in International Law. No less a man than the late Lord Brikenhead, an ex-Lord Chancellor of England, in his book on International Law has stated that it is futile to say that they have any status in International Law. His opinion is suported by many authorities, *viz.*, Lewis Tupper, Oppenheim, West Lake and others.

The Butler Committee report which laid down the doctrine that paramountcy must remain paramount and must change according to the shifting necessities of the times conveys no meaning. Furthermore, in the said report it is stated that paramountcy is a special and distinct kind of prerogative which must remain where it is. The Crown cannot delegate paramountcy to any other body and that Parliament has no control over paramountcy. All these cannot stand legal criticism. In my opinion paramountcy is to be governed by the same principle which is applicable to the other prerogatives of the Crown; and since it is a cardinal principle of British Constitutional Law that there is not a single prerogative of the Crown which cannot be abolished or abrogated by Parliament, it would be perfectly legal and constitutional, if the whole content of paramountcy be transferred to the Indian Governement immediately and unconditionally. By Indian Government I mean, Government controlled by Indians exclusively without any dictation from Whitehall.

Mere Indianisation of the Executive Council is not calculated to be a step forward; there must be a complete nationalisation of the Central Government, *i.e.*, the Executive Council must consist of the men who must be responsible to the legislature. The Viceroy must occupy the same position in relation to the Indian affairs as is occupied by the Governor-General in regard to a Dominion.

If Sir Stafford holds the view that during the pendency of the war constitution-making would not be feasible, he can at any rate nationalize the Central Government in the way indicated above. But it is essential that there must be the declaration of India's freedom not after the war, because the war may continue for some years more, and Indians cannot possibly wait for an indefinite period.

The protection of the minorities and other interests may be left in the hands of the Indians themselves unreservedly, *i.e.*, to the Central Legislature, and to some extent the provincial

legislatures must be in control over the matter.

It has been given out in some English papers that Sir Stafford's proposals will carry the whole weight of the nation behind them, and that they would be accepted by Parliament. It is, therefore, all the more necessary for Sir Stafford to take a realistic view to the whole matter. Delays would mean disaster not merely to Britain but to India. Half-measures would be as useless as no measures. He should try to get to the bottom of the Indian questions and if he does so, he will find that there is one paramount desire in the minds of the Indian people, *viz.*, India should be the mistress of her own house immediately and unconditionally. Sir Stafford must not allow his mind to be side-tracked to the alleys of Indian communal and sectional politics, but must concentrate upon the fundamentals of the Indian situation, and must go to the root of the unrest in the Indian mind—the hunger for political freedom, which he must satisfy with the least possible delay. Boldness and courage are essential ingredients in a statesman who would be able to satisfy Indian aspirations. If Sir Stafford meets different self-styled so-called leaders of organisations which more or less exist in paper, he will delude himself as also his own nation. Many of them have little following and yet they masquerade as leaders, such leaders can safely be ignored and their proposals can be relegated to the waste paper basket.

It is the cardinal duty of the British Government to conciliate India, and the heart of India will respond to Britain's call for help only if India sees that Britain has ceased to have control over Indian affairs, and would be content with the knowledge that India can control her affairs completely.

Sir Stafford must ignore altogether the August Declaration of 1940. He should substitute in its place the Atlantic Charter. I do not know what precious words of wisdom are contained in the August Declaration which makes Mr. Amery and British Parliament so fond of it. Sir Stafford should be prepared to give nothing less than the Charter of Freedom to India.

Let the British Parliament and Sir Stafford rise to the full stature of their responsibility. They should have one motto now in regard to the Indian question: "Conciliate India: Give India freedom."

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Too Many Scripts in India

In an article under the caption "Daughters of Sanskrit," Mahatma Gandhi had suggested that all those languages, which have different scripts of their own, should take to Nagari script. But it seems that that suggestion has not attracted the attention it deserved.

It is true to say that so many different scripts in India are so many barriers in the way of the people living in different provinces and of their closer mutual relations and understanding. A common script would disclose to us how nearer we are to each other in thought, word and deed. Although, the different scripts and languages are so many variations (of the common source of origin), yet the way in which they are written and pronounced make them look so different. A fair knowledge of Sanskrit would convince any one how the Sanskrit words with their numerous synonyms have found their way into the different dialects; albeit with variations suited to their tongues.

In this connection, it would be useful to point out, how Gurudev Tagore's poems in Bengali language presented in Nagari script by *The Modern Review*, reached the people outside the province in its original form. The poems were not only well received but were understood by a large majority in its essence of thought, once the great barrier of script was removed.

As a first step towards a common language, a common script is a prime necessity, with great potentialities for the future. Will the daughters of Sanskrit respond to the appeal to return to their mother from whom they have drifted far and wide?

M. R. Udyaver

Language of the Hindu University

In *The Modern Review* for March, 1942, under Notes ("Language of the Hindu University.") on pp. 228, you write:

"Mahatma Gandhi wanted Hindi or Hindustani to be the language of instruction in that University. . . . the change may and should be made. *But then that University would cease to be an All-India University, as Hindi is not the mother-tongue of students from all provinces.*" (Italics mine).

Your last sentence clearly implies that the medium of instruction in an All-India University should be "the mother-tongue of students from all provinces," which is obviously an impossible thing. Secondly, it implies that the language hitherto accepted and used as the medium of instruction, *i.e.*, English, which made the University capable of bearing the name of an All-India University, is the mother-tongue of students from all provinces! You, thus, seem to believe that we cannot have an All-India University or any other All-India Institution, if we aspire to replace a foreign language by a native language which is most developed of the most popular languages of our own land. Do you really believe it yourself and draw your readers to believe it?

Hindi never demands its preference by students to their mother-tongue. It only claims what English occupies today. If India is one country—as you and I believe, she is and shall remain as such—she must develop herself round a common thread of language. Without it, there is no chance (I think you would agree) of the country remaining intact. You may certainly sug-

gest some other language than Hindi to take this place of a common language.

Mahatma Gandhi, I think, had this supplanting of English by Hindifin his mind when he uttered the above words. And, in that case, I don't see how you can deny an institution to have an All-India character, if it uses Hindi as the medium of instruction.

Devendra K. Vedalankar

University, Gurukul Kangri

Editor's Note.—We invite our critic's attention o the following opinion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, which is quoted in the Note criticized :

'The policy governing State education should be that education is to be given in the language of the student. In each linguistic area education from the primary to the university stage will be given in the language of the province."

Provided that good text-books in sufficient numbers are available in Hindi, the medium of instruction in the Benares University should be Hindi, as that is "the language of the province" in which the Benares University is situated.

At present that University is an All-India University receiving students from all parts of India because in all provinces the recognised High Schools which prepare students for officially recognised universities and their affiliated colleges, teach English up to a sufficiently high standard. And English being the medium of instruction in the Benares University, students from the abovementioned High Schools in all Provinces can join that University with profit. When Hindi comes to be taught in all the recognised High Schools in all Provinces up to the standard to which English is taught there, the Benares University will be able to receive students from all parts of India even after making Hindi its medium of instruction. So long as the knowledge of Hindi does not become sufficiently widespread, as indicated above, any University which makes Hindi its medium of instruction must be content to teach, *for the most part*, those students whose mother-tongue is Hindi.

The Cinema and Culture

In the course of a very thoughtful and fair-minded review of the effects of the British impact on Indian culture from the pen of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee in the February issue of *The Modern Review* occurs a rather surprising statement about the cinema, which, coming from a person of the authority and standing of the author, may create a serious and altogether undeserved prejudice in the public mind. "The Cinema," writes Mr. Chatterjee, "is an entirely non-Indian form of entertainment introduced into India. But there does not seem to be any fine type of culture in it."

With all due respect to Mr. Chatterjee I feel constrained to remark that he does not seem to have fully understood and appreciated the position of the cinema in India.

Let us consider first the charge that it is an entirely non-Indian form of entertainment introduced into India.

Cinema films are an altogether new form of entertainment throughout the world. It was in a more or less experimental stage only a few decades ago. And attempts to adopt the discovery of moving pictures to Indian conditions were made almost as soon as it was perfected in America, the land of its birth. The first full-length Indian picture was made about 1912 and the subject selected was from the Ramayan, which no one can say is un-Indian in its content or outlook. Since then every film that has been made in this country has shared these characteristics. Each one has been thoroughly Indian.

No doubt a great number of extraordinarily silly pictures have been made and are being made. But the same is true of literature also. A vast number of very foolish books of all descriptions are being turned out by our presses in every vernacular in this country, most of them being bare-faced imitations or plagiarisms of foreign publications. Yet no one can say that vernacular literatures are un-Indian and therefore of no cultural importance. Many great films, the cultural value of which will be admitted by anyone who has seen them, have been made in this country.

American inventors, no doubt, perfected the mechanism of the moving picture. But though English engineers did the same in respect of locomotive engines, we do not think of dubbing railway travel as an altogether "un-Indian" thing. The most typically Indian form of locomotion would, probably, be on the backs of elephants. However picturesque this might be, it will be difficult to find anyone recommending it in preference to the railway or the motor car.

As regards the Indian or un-Indian aspect of films, it is a fact worth noting that almost everyone of the leaders of the Indian Film Industry has had nothing but Indian training quite unlike what is the case in most other industries and pursuits in this country. The slave mentality ingrained in us by the system of education we undergo usually makes us attach too great a value to everything that comes from abroad. A foreign degree, experience in foreign countries and so on, are usually the passports to good positions in every calling. But this is far from being the case with the cinema. Here we find some of the positions being occupied by men like Shantaram and Mehboob, men racy of the soil, who have risen from the lowest rung of the ladder by their own efforts and genius.

The cultural importance of the cinema does not lie merely in its ability to make pictures that stir the emotions of the spectators and make their lives fuller and richer. The cinema does this. But it does something more also. Whereas other cultural media have a limited field of appeal consisting of a few thousands of people, the cinema appeals to millions and goes into even the the most out of the way villages. To take a practical instance, music is a very high form of culture. But before the talking pictures came, how many people could enjoy this art as practised by people who really counted ? May be, a few thousands. But now many great musicians sing for the films and they are heard throughout the country. It cannot be denied that this has a great effect. Similarly, the film is working steadily in the interests of national unity. The success of Hindustani as the national language, in areas where it was not known before, is due to a large extent to the fact that it is the main language of the film industry.

In fact, the film can with justice claim that it is one of the greatest of the cultural medias of modern India and we who are serving it should like to see the adoption of a more charitable view about it by great leaders of thought like Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee.

Y. A. Fazlbhoy

Editor's Note.—In saying that the cinema is an entirely non-Indian form of entertainment, we did not mean any reflection on it;—we merely stated a fact.

We continue to think that there does not seem to be any fine type of culture in it.

EDUCATION IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

By S. RAMAN, M.A.

THE intimate connection between the constituents of a plural society is founded on economic circumstances and only to a slight degree on religious, racial and linguistic bonds. Though the plural society is politically a homogeneous unit, in other respects, it consists of many worlds and education alone can bridge the gulf between them.

A European can educate his children as well in the Indies as in Europe but little has been done, much less accomplished, to improve the educational standard of the children of the soil. in 1900, out of 30 million native population in Java, only 75,000 were at school. The Chinese, who constitute a distinct social stratum in the Indies' society have their own schools and they flourish by reason of the sound economic footing of the Chinese. The native children attended, in 1900, Second Class Schools wherein they got little beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. The First Class Schools with five years course taught the native children no Dutch and their admission to European Schools was made under most discouraging circumstances.

The Dutch initiative in the direction of native education came with the demand for native literate clerks. In 1907, the Dutch Government chalked out an ambitious plan for expediting native education. They wanted to make a good beginning with starting 186 new schools but only 10 were founded. In the same year another policy was adopted according to which the Government were to contribute toward the erection of school buildings and supply teachers and the village fund was made to yield 90 guilders annually. In addition the parents were made to pay 5 to 10 cents every month as school fees and in return the Government supplied text-books, notes, etc. In 1908 an attempt to gain equal admission for natives in the Dutch Schools proved to be of little use to them, because the natives trained even in those schools were still precluded from entering Government service. In 1911, the First Class School Course was extended from five to seven years and a few more teachers were appointed to teach Dutch to the natives.

A higher education is given in the Mulo Schools which teach Dutch, German, English, General History, Science and Mathematics besides the vernacular languages, Javanese, Sundanese and Malaya. The next higher stage is the Secondary School, which provides instruction under three branches, namely, Mathematics and Natural Science, Western Letters, and Oriental Letters. The Middle School Diploma is said to be fixed corresponding to that of the Intermediate Arts and Science Examination of the Indian Universities. Often it has been said that the Europeans and natives enjoy equal facilities for education but the contention is not borne out by statistics. As early as 1900,—that is the beginning of native education in the Indies—only 1615 natives were admitted to Dutch Schools as against 17,025 Europeans and 352 Foreign Orientals. But there has been a substantial improvement in the situation and the figures for 1930 are 38,236 Europeans as against 76,618 natives and 24.807 foreign orientals.

The progress of education has not been confined to Arts, Letters and Sciences. Recently, vocational and technical training have made considerable headway, mainly due to the demand by the Europeans. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, an evening class to impart instruction in mechanical and civil engineering to European children was founded at Surabaya. The growth of the sugar industry necessitated its expansion and by 1900, there were 250 pupils. In 1886, the Masonic Lodge at Batavia was forced to open classes for the poor European settlers so that they might be trained as miscellaneous mechanics. The Dutch Government took over the Batavian Institute in 1903 and since then it has been turning out trained men in ever-increasing numbers. The Queen Wilhelmina Technical Institute established in 1901, attracted many students with the result that each section of it was made a distinct School of Study in a particular engineering branch. Other institutions of the kind are the Queen Emma School at Surabaya (1912), the Princess School at Joyakarta (1917), the School at Bandoeng etc. The Royal Institute of Technical Instruction of Holland opened a College of Engineering at Bandoeng with the help of a subsidy from the Government and a handsome contribution from the Netherlands Overseas Trust.

The limiting of the number of the native children for admission in the higher forms which is the qualification for entering the Technical Schools has very much stood in the way of native aspirants who wish to become technical men. The Dutch Government were, for a long time, under the impression that only native industry could absorb native technicians and so, instead of providing the natives with facilities in the technical line, they contended themselves with reflecting the inherent backward nature of indigenous industries. However, the Government saw their way to subsidise workshops maintained by private schools and also founded a school of artistic crafts in 1904. The higher branches of Government administration had their recruits from Dutch Universities and the natives were excluded from them on the score that they did not have the requisite qualification. The natives were called upon to do odd jobs in industrial and technical concerns and that was the nature of their technical employment. A Medical College (1926), the Law College (1924), and the Technical College at Bandoeng (1924) have given facilities for native students to pass out in higher and technical studies. The native trade schools which came into being in 1910, are sending out more than 400 trained young men every year.

The tendency of the European firms in the Indies to recruit their assistants and mechanics from among Europeans acts against the interests of the natives and they are forced to look out for native industries which are on slender footing. Education as well as employment in the last analysis comes to be viewed as a colour problem and this is not anything strange when the rulers and the ruled are not of the same stock.

The Dutch, though they have tried to modernise educational and technical equipment of the natives, while bearing in mind their special interest, have not earned praise from the nationalist leaders of the Indies. The influential natives started schools to train their youngsters in their culture and equip them for industrial and technical employment in their own way and such schools have practically no aid or recognition from the Government. Some of the native schools are well managed and are on a par with those of the Government. In the second decade of this century native schools came into existence in such large numbers as to force the Government to take preventive action. An order was promulgated demanding the registration of all native schools with provisions to suspend or dismiss teachers in the interests of public order. That was in 1923. In 1932, a further order was notified with the result that all native teachers were required to take out licences for teaching from the provincial governments. That is how the Dutch Government are interested in native education.

The Dutch system of circulating libraries deserves mention as a means of educating the public along the lines laid by the official policy. The Department of Native Affairs has taken ceaseless interest in the matter, since 1908. Cheap editions of Dutch books were supplied to all Second Class Schools and by 1914, 680 schools had the benefit of these small libraries. The Bureau of Popular Reading has done yeoman service in popularising reading for pleasure. The school manager or librarian was entrusted with the sale of books, which was especially edited for the purpose and he was allowed to benefit to a small extent on the turnover of the book-selling business. But all this efforts proved to be of little avail and the Department of Native Affairs decided upon trying the circulating library system. The books are mostly publications of the Bureau and their contents are translations of and adaptations from western books calculated to suit the tastes of the natives. It may be interesting to mention a few of the circulating books, namely, *The Old Curiosity Shop, Gulliver's Travels, The Jungle Book, The Three Musketeers, Oliver Twist*, etc. There are also a History of Java, Books on Agriculture, Hygiene, Manuals for Electricians, Masons, etc. It is worth repeating that most of these books are intended for pleasure. The Department also publishes journals in the local vernaculars, Javanese, Sundanese and Malayan. Broadcasting and cinema can yield their best only to minds that are trained and disciplined by previous experience and education by themselves; they cannot be said to be an educational medium to the illiterate masses who look upon them more with mingled surprise and pleasure than as a means of education. To them, they are merely entertaining but have little educational significance.

The Dutch East Indies, one of the oldest colonial possessions in the East, which have been under Dutch sovereignty for over three centuries have progressed little in the educational sphere.

December 16, 1941

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By the Late BHABA SANKAR DATTA

[The writer compiled the information before his untimely death on the 13th January, 1942 at the age of 17.—Ed., *M. R.*]

The following papers were contributed by women scientists to the twenty-ninth session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Baroda this year. Out of the fourteen sections, into which the Congress has been sub-divided, women went unrepresented in Physics, Geology, Geography, Entomology, Anthropology and Archæology and, as is to be expected, in Engineering. It is gratifying to note that Bengalee women contributed as many as 6 out of 24 papers. Only one Muhammadan woman appears to have submitted a paper.

In the Section of *Mathematics* and *Statistics* :

1. On devising an efficient sampling technique for forecasting the mean value of a variable. By P. C. Mahalanobis and Mrs. Chameli Bose, Calcutta.

In the Section of *Chemistry* :

1. The C-H←Cl bond. By Mrs. Nagamani Shama Rao and S. K. K. Jatkar, Bangalore.
2. The dispersion of dielectric constant. By Mrs. Nagamani Shama Rao and S. K. K. Jatkar, Bangalore.
3. The electrical conductivity of aqueous solutions containing boric acid and hydroxylic substances. By S. M. Mehta and Miss K. V. Kantak, Bombay.
4. Hydrogen-ion concentrations of aqueous solutions containing boric acid and hydroxylic substances. By S. M. Mehta and Miss K. V. Kantak, Bombay.
5. Studies in adsorption. By M. D. Avasare and Miss K. K. Paralikar, Baroda.
6. Dia-magnetic susceptibility of benzil. By Miss R. S. Reporter and M. Quereshi, Hyderabad—Deccan.
7. Dia-magnetic susceptibility of paraldehyde. By Miss R. S. Reporter and M. Quereshi, Hyderabad—Deccan.
8. Dia-magnetic susceptibility of meta-aldehydes. By Miss R. S. Reporter and M. Quershi. Hyderabad—Deccan.
9. Syntheses of antileprosy drugs. Part I. A new synthesis of w-cycloexylun-decyclic acid—an analogue of dihydrohydnocarpic acid. By Miss B. C. Pandya, K. S. Nargund and K. V. Bokil, Ahmedabad.

In the Section of *Botany* :

1. The algal flora of the hot springs of Vajreshwari. By Mrs. E. Gonzalves, Bombay.

In the Section of *Zoology* :

1. On the anatomy, histology and ecology of Eupolia sp. (Nemertinnea) from the Karachi coast. By Miss Eva Nathan, Lahore.
2. On the cytology of the egg of a Balanoglossid. By Miss Usha Sircar, Lahore.
3. On the nuclear changes in the sperm of the fresh-water crab, *Paratelphusa spinigera*. By Miss Usha Sircar, Lahore.

In the Section of *Medical and Verterinary Research* :

1. Normal hæmatological findings in the inhabitants of the United Provinces. By V. S. Mangalik, Lucknow and Miss S. Chaudhuri, Delhi.
2. Studies in gastric acidity in Indians in the alcohol test meal. By V. S. Mangalik, M. P. Goel and Miss Hemlata Mangalik, Lucknow.

In the Section of *Agriculture* :

1. A new method for the determination of silt and clay in soils. The buoyancy technique. By Miss G. Sharada Bai, B. Sanjiva Rao and K. S. Gururaja Doss, Bangalore.

In the Section of *Physiology* :

1. The extent of Brunner's glands in man and other animals. By Miss E. A. Michael. Madras.

In the Section of *Psychology* and *Educational Science* :

1. A lead from healthy childhood to wholesome adolescence. By Mrs. K. V. Thakore, Baroda.
2. Children's attitude towards school-subjects. By Miss Santa Choudhury, Calcutta.
3. Silent reading *versus* Articulate reading. By Miss Shanti Agarwal, Lucknow.
4. On current theories of propaganda. By Miss T. Habibulla, Lucknow.
5. Remedial work with speech defectives in the child guidance clinic of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay. By Miss K. H. Cama, Bombay.
6. Studies in word association. By Miss P. Das, Calcutta.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Tagore and China

The visit of the great Chinese leaders, Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to Santiniketan is the confirmation of a poet's vision. In an article under the above caption in *The Hindu* Dr. Amiya Chakravarty observes :

For over twenty years Rabindranath Tagore had worked to bring about the renewal of a trans-continental bond between the two ancient peoples. In the *ashrama* he nourished the green life which beckons across arid political distances, ignoring frontiers and restoring lapsed links which time obscures from our view. To-day, the call of his idea has brought our neighbours on a pilgrimage of kinship to our quiet centre of learning. Behind this lies a great idea, and it is of such ideas, we know, that the history of mankind is made.

The profound love that Rabindranath cherished for the Chinese civilisation is well-known; his poems, and songs, some of them composed in Chinese waters as he voyaged, and some written while he was on Chinese land, as well as his travel notes gave to our generation a new feeling for our neighbours. He gave us Bengali translations of Chinese poetry using Waley's exquisite renderings; told us of Chinese painting and calligraphy; and what is more, brought personal memories of his visit to China. And then among his friends from China whom he welcomed to Santiniketan, came the young poet Tsemon-Hsu (the poet called him Susima) who was to us a fine symbol of Chinese renaissance, instinctively courteous, brave and thoroughly patriotic yet international in his outlook. Tsemon-Hsu was with Rabindranath during his visit to China in April and May, 1924, his longest visit and the one which took him to the interior of China. Something of the Chinese rootedness and a poetry of life which is bursting into flower again under the modern sun, became intensely alive to Rabindranath as he sailed up the Yangtze Kiang, with Tsemon-Hsu, and other Chinese friends as his guide. The peculiar directness of Chinese vision, which saw things concretely and also metaphysically, inspired Rabindranath and he recounted many incidents, one of which he used for illustrating his lecture on *The Meaning of Art*. To Tsemon-Hsu, a donkey grazing on the banks of the Yangtze Kiang was a marvel, and he drew Tagore's attention to it, filled with the sense of reality of what *is*. This sense, said Tagore, is there at the root of art.

Tsemon-Hsu, we knew later, died in an aeroplane accident in Nanking soon after China had been attacked by her neighbour. The story of blind ruthlessness had already started with the attack on Manchuria.

Rabindranath Tagore's concern for China had begun while he was barely twenty.

Already in 1881, he felt the martyrdom of China as a tragedy that affected his own life and that f India. By chance he came upon a book written by a missionary, Dr. Theodore Christlieb—it was called the Indo-British Opium Trade—and he knew how a gentle and pacific people were being drugged and poisoned by soulless profiteers. Tagore reviewed the book, pouring his sympathy and expressing his indignation at the wrongs perpetuated on our neighbours. The article appeared in the journal *Bharati* which enjoyed great literary renown in those days.

On the several aspects of the Chinese tragedy Rabindranath has written often and unsparingly.

In the letters to Yone Noguchi, now published in a booklet, he tells us of the modern instalment of aggression which can use every instrument of uncivilised science to destroy life and culture. But quoting Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the poet wonders how so many ghosts can be silenced, ghosts of immemorial works of Chinese art, of irreplaceable Chinese institutions, of great peace-loving communities drugged, tortured, and destroyed. "Who will lay the ghost ?" asked Madame Chiang and the poet repeats the query, appealing to the conscience of a nation. The peoples of the warring nations, however, may one day effect this unity in spite of invading militarism which is sure to spend itself at last. The poet ends by hoping that the peoples will join hands together, wiping the memories of a bitter history. "True Asian humanity will be reborn. Poets will raise their song and be unashamed, one believes, to declare their faith again in a human destiny which cannot admit of a scientific mass production of fratricide."

Between the two periods of his life separated by over half a century, periods when as we have seen Rabindranath wrote on China's martyrdom, he also offered many tributes to Chinese culture.

In 1903, he wrote a long article on "Letters of John Chinaman," a book which had caused a stir in intellectual Europe and came from the yet undisclosed pen of the great scholar Lowes Dickinson. Tagore's article which forms the foundation of his concept of Asiatic culture, and of its place in the united destiny of modern civilisation, demands careful study. We see the ideal of the *Visva-bharati* taking a clear shape in his writing, and he searches deeply into the ideals which have kept China and India fundamentally true and civilised for thousands of years. Tagore offers his homage to Chinese humanity, to the industry of her people, her peaceful arts, and her rootedness in family affections. Asia becomes to him a living reality for he finds the same basic virtues in our Indian peoples as well and he prophesies a great Eastern future. But the divisive tendencies, starting from lack of social initiative which so often makes our Asiatic countries invite peril, did not escape his attention. He foresaw the reawakening which had to come through new spiritual dynamism. China and India, he told us later, can well achieve a synthesis which will save humanity for men.

Rabindranath returned from China in 1924 with a Chinese name Chu Chen-Tan given to him by his Chinese friends on the occasion of his 64th birthday in Peking on the 8th May 1924.

Chu Chen-Tan may be translated into English as the "Thunder Voiced Rising Sun of India." Rabindranath also brought a gorgeous Chinese robe which was presented to him during the Chinese birthday. This Chinese incarnation, under a new name and dress, made him happy and touched his imagination. One of his last poems, written on the 21st February, 1941 dwells lovingly on this theme.

"Once I went to China.
Those whom I had not met
Put the mark of friendship on my forehead
Calling me their own.

* * *

I took a Chinese name, dressed in Chinese clothes.
This I know in my mind,
Wherever I find my friend, there I am born anew."

These lines taken from his poem, would indicate how the unity of civilisations had become for Rabindranath Tagore as real as personal feeling. And it is this sense of personal kinship which the visit of China's great representatives have now confirmed in our lives. A poet's dream has made that possible.

Mahavira

The religious beliefs and customs of the Jains are so closely akin to those of the Hindus that Jainism is generally regarded as a phase or an aspect of Hinduism. The Jains will celebrate the traditional birthday of Mahavira on the 30th of March. *The Aryan Path* observes :

Why is it that, although there is a striking parallelism between Jainism and Buddhism, both of which are offshoots of Hinduism, the world recognizes Buddhism as a separate religion more readily than it does Jainism? Is it not because the religion of the Jinas, unlike that of the Buddhas, has been a living influence, existing side by side with Hinduism—almost merged in it? Buddhism arose as a protest against the corruption of Hindu society caused by religious superstition, dogmatism and ignorance, and so it more naturally assumed the form of a religion distinct from Hinduism. Jainism seems to have originated as a Mystic School whose pupils followed a discipline of life; in the course of ages this Order grew in proportions and perhaps what was once esoteric in its teachings has become submerged in what is now the exoteric.

Gautama Buddha and Vardhamana Mahavira were contemporaries; both were of the Kshatriya clan with an aristocratic lineage.

Both renounced the world in quest of truth, both attained Enlightenment both served the souls of men, drawing devotion from their respective followers while they preached, and both have won respectful homage from generation after generation for over twenty-five hundred years. But the background of their mission was different : the religion of the Tirthankaras, as a distinct organism, already existed and this institution Vardhamana used in the spreading of his message. Gautama also came of a long line of Buddhas, but he had no organization ready to hand; he had to create his Sangha. The mighty art of the Buddhas had been lost, as it had been when Krishna appeared. The work of the illustrious predecessors of Vardhamana was still alive; his own praents belonged to the Order of Parsva or Parsvanatha, the immediately preceding Tirthankara, who "died 250 years before Mahavira" and of whom it is reported that he "had an excellent community of 16,000 sramanas and 38,000 nuns." This Order itself was very ancient for there were twenty-two Tirthankaras before Parsva; a complete list of the Tirthankaras from Rashaba to Vardhamana is available in the Jaina texts. They had their Book of Rules and Discipline, named the *Purvas* (known as *Fourteen Purvas*), held sacred for long centuries.

Vardhamana Mahavira was the last of the Tirthankaras.

He carried on the work of his illustrious predecessors, expounding the ancient teachings in language suitable for the race-mind of his day. The example of his own self-discipline kindled the fire in many a new heart while fanning the flame in the heart of many other.

The particular contribution which Mahavira made to the practice of the doctrine of *Ahimsa* is connected with the philosophic teaching about the living nature of substance in relation to what is termed "non-living substance."

Vardhamana Mahavira gained from self-imposed austerities such a mastery over his senses and his mind as led him first to knowledge and then to Enlightenment. His power of endurance was so predominant a characteristic of his that the making of vows has become a religious habit with his followers.

Has there been a Correct Record of Religions in Bengal Censuses ?

In the course of an article under the above caption in *Science and Culture* Jatindra Mohan Datta observes :

As a matter of fact there are classes and castes and communities which are as far from the orthodox Brahminism as from pure Islam, still they have been regarded as Muhammadans at successive censuses. The reasons for so treating them are partly individual bias or prejudice on the part of the census officers; partly political or communal policy of the Government; and partly natural difficulties of classification. The attitude seems to be something like this : if he is not a Hindu he must be a Muhammadan. It is perhaps this attitude of mind which is responsible for classing the Zikris as Muhammadans. The Baluchistan Census Report of 1921 says :—"With the common mass Islam is merely an external badge that goes awkwardly with the quaint bundle of superstitions which hold them in thrall. The Zik', numbering 28 thousand, substitute the Mahdi for Muhammad in their *Kalima*—the very negation of Muhammadanism."

If in a given locality overwhelmingly Muhammadan there be isolated Hindus; if there be a class of persons who are on the border line between Hinduism and Muhammadanism; if there be Hindus who are tainted with Muhammadan superstitions and practices; if there be Hindus who out of catholicity venerate *pirs* or give *shirni* to a Muhammadan shrine, or who as a local or class custom bury their dead, the natural tendency on the part of the ignorant and generally high-caste Hindu enumerators would more often be to classify and record him as a Muhammadan than as a Hindu; and for the

communally minded Muhammadan to regard him as a Muhammadan.

That some such thing has actually happened will be evident from the following considerations. During the last fifty years 1881-1931, the Hindus and the Muhammadans have increased at different rates in the different parts of the province. We give below the percentage figures for increase, along with the percentage of the Muhammadans to the total population in those regions; and the Hindu growth as a percentage of the Muhammadan growth.

Area	Percentage of Muhammadans in the population	Increase per cent of (during 1881-1931) Hindus	Muhammadans	Hindu Growth as Percentage of Muhammadan growth
Burdwan Division ..	14·1	15·4	27·7	55·6
Presidency Division ..	42·2	26·7	17·4	153·4
Rajshahi Division ..	60·8	13·1	27·1	48·4
Eastern Bengal ..	71·0	38·9	87·5	44·4

It will be seen that although Eastern Bengal is much healthier than Western Bengal (Burdwan Division) the relative increase of the Hindus is much smaller there. Even in the Rajshahi Division the Hindu growth is very much less than that in the notoriously malarious Burdwan Division. The case of the Presidency Division is exceptional on account of the inclusion of Calcutta and the industrial towns; and the consequent immigration.

The Nationalist Muslims Mobilise

One of the most satisfactory signs of late has been the mobilisation of Nationalist Muslim opinion in favour of Indian integrity. K. M. Munshi writes in *The Social Welfare* :

Mr. Jinnah's crude attempts at creating a nation out of a religious community resulted in the awakening of a large volume of Nationalist Muslim opinion in the country against the dangerous tactics of disruption. The Azad Muslim Conference Board which met the other day at New Delhi in no uncertain terms voiced the feelings of Muslims in favour of Nationalism. Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, Premier of Sind, Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, and Khan Saheb, ex-Premier of North-Western Frontier Province, have also expressed their views in similar terms. The Shias have done likewise. The Momins, always a national-minded community, have also arrayed themselves against the obstructive tactics adopted by the Disruptionists.

These facts also prove beyond a shadow of doubt what I have always maintained that the bulk of Muslims in this country are against disruption and find their destiny only in a strong, united and free India.

As if to counteract these activities there appears to be afoot a movement to bring into operation the champion obstructionists of India's political progress.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, I know, is a strong Nationalist. In the Punjab, he has never supported Pakistan. With the President of the Muslim League, he is not a *persona grata.* And yet he has been mobilised into action. He has seen the leader of the Muslim League and has given a statement which, knowing the background of Sir Sikander's views and position, it is rather difficult to understand.

The President of the Muslim League anxious to secure the allegiance of the only Premier left with the League is in a hurry to bury the hatchet, consolidate his position and start his usual tactics of threatening all and sundry. He forgets that we are passing through strange times. The existence of India as well as of Britain is at stake. It is of the greatest importance at such a time that both communities should combine in a whole-hearted attempt to face the invader who is at our door.

Ceylon National Congress

Young Ceylon observes editorially :

The Dummaladeniya sessions of the Ceylon National Congress was a remarkable success both from a spectacular point of view as also from the standpoint of the tremendous support it is now receiving from the masses. The decision to hold the annual session in the country, in a town of its own, amidst the palm groves and paddy fields and in an atmosphere surcharged with national aspirations and urge for economic freedom, has opened a new chapter in the history of the Ceylon National Congress. It is no longer an association of the English-educated Ceylonese seeking more seats in elected bodies and the larger employment of educated Ceylonese. It is no longer the useful toy of the town-bred English-speaking and billet-seeking local bureaucracy. The Congress is at a turning point in its history. It is seeking ideals not policies, it is pursuing the public good not sectional welfare, it is evolving a national consciousness not for a party or community but for the nation and the people.

The language of discussion is Sinhalese.

It has a growing percentage of Sinhalese-speaking citizens—the villager, the goiya, and the tradesman. It has a special appeal to the rural population and the working class movement. Much now depends on the leaders at the helm. Will they serve the country no matter the cost or sacrifice ? Will they sacrifice their personal ambition or career for the public weal, and pursue steadfastly and unerringly the highest ideals of the Congress ?

There is great urgency for the Congress to clarify its convictions,

The Congress must satisfy the public that the Congress and its organisation cannot be used, intimidated or commandeered by any leader or coterie of members however eminent or powerful. With its growing popularity in the country and its increasing support from the masses the Congress is now in a position to cater to the public welfare regardless of political bosses, individual leaders and group-cabals.

A period of intense agitation and discussion must be followed by achievement, success and result. A national organisation cannot progress by agitation alone. It must show results—concrete, substantial, satisfying.

Scientific Terminology for India

D. S. Kothari writes in *Science and Culture* :

The question of a scientific terminology for India has been engaging for some time the attention of the Central Advisory Board of Education. The Board appointed in May, 1940, a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari to

examine and report on the subject of scientific terminology. The report of the Committee was considered by the Board at its meeting in January, 1941.

For international intercourse in science the place of Latin has now been taken by two or rather three languages: (1) English, (2) German and (3) French..

Every country uses two, if not more, languages for scientific purposes. (a) one of the "universal" languages referred to above to serve as a channel through which world-contributions in science can reach it and its own contributions made available to the outside world, and (b) the native language (or languages) of the country for the purposes of general education of the community in science, for technicians, and, in fact, for all those who will not be called upon to contribute to the international flow of science.

A "universal" language is required for progress and a native language for "propaganda."

Thus, for instance, in Japan first-rate scientific research work is published either in English or German periodicals, or in Japanese journals but in the English or the German language. Put, besides this, there is an extensive scientific literature in Japanese for internal use. Perhaps a still more effective illustration is provided by Russia which in a brief space of about twenty years has been transformed from a medieval State into a highly organised modern State where science plays a vital role. Almost every important book, no matter how obstruse, is now translated in Russian and has a wide sale. For instance, the Russian edition of Dirac's highly abstract book on quantum mechanics sold 3,000 copies in a few months compared to only 2,000 of the English edition in three years. Important research papers are, of course, published in English, German or French but generally in journals published in Russia.

It appears, therefore, that taking everything into account it is advantageous to have (a) one of the "universal languages" for international intercourse and (b) the native language of the region concerned for internal use.

In India, English will of course be the universal language for all advanced scientific work, all-India scientific institutions, scientific periodicals devoted to research, and all-India conferences. Under category (b) we may have two or more of the common Indian languages according to the linguistic divisions of India. The scientific terminology in these languages will incorporate only the barest minimum of *foreign* words. Every endeavour should be made to evolve a terminology suited to the language in question and not stupefy and over-burden it by adding to it at one stroke a long catalogue of foreign words.

While, therefore, welcoming the efforts of the Central Advisory Board of Education in connection with scientific terminology for India, it is rather difficult to agree with all their recommendations. For reasons explained above it appears that science in India will require the use of (a) the English language for international scientific intercourse, advanced scientific work, all-India technical institutions, and all-India conferences, and (b) the common language of the area concerned for internal use *i.e.,* school and elementary technical teaching, and general and cultural education in science subjects. The minimum number of languages under (b) will be determined from the point of view of the linguistic division of India. As far as possible all scientific words

should be translated into these languages, except those, which form the recognised "international terminology" of science.

Migration of Fish

S. Jones gives in *Current Science* the details of an interesting case of migration of the stone-licking fish, *Garra Mullya* (Sykes), for breeding :

On the 23rd March, 1941, while making a collection of fishes in the upper reaches of the Kallar Stream, about 4 miles above Moudieruma-thozhu bridge in the Pampadampara-Kombai bridle-path, Peerumedu Taluk, Travancore, the present writer observed shoals of *Garra mullya* (Sykes) dashing upstream over a fairly steep slippery rock where the water had spread out to a depth of hardly more than an inch. The sight was remarkable since it was a mad rush on the part of the fish prompted by some irresistible force, to reach the pool above where there was a gentle flow of water. Enormous numbers of fish had collected together below the rock and were moving upwards in a body. At one dart they would traverse 1 to 2 feet over the rocky surface against the swift current and would attach themselves to the rocks firmly with the aid of their suckers and the paired fins, resting for a few seconds before attempting the next move. The water was hardly sufficient to cover the fish and wherever they attached themselves, the water arched over them due to the obstruction caused. One or two small depressions on the rock served as convenient resting places during the upward journey. Whenever a fish failed to effect a firm grasp by the aid of the sucker, it was carried down for a considerable distance. The fish chose the path of least resistance, as was evident from the fact that on one side of the stream, where the fall of the water was abrupt and vertical, no migratory activity was witnessed, whereas on the opposite side, where the gradient was lower, the activity was at its maximum. An estimate of the large numbers present can be made from the fact that over 40 lbs. of migrating fish, about 5 to 8 inches in length, were collected from a small side channel 10 yards long, 1 to 3 feet wide and a few inches deep by blocking it above and below.

The presence of people in close proximity did not materially disturb the fish in their migratory activities.

The local hill-tribes were not in a position to give any information as to the exact season and duration. This particular case observed by the writer does not seem to have any relation to rains, as no rainfall had been recorded in this area for over 2 months.

The females were relatively larger in size and more in number than the males. One medium-sized specimen measuring 6 inches contained 3,834 well-developed eggs.

Migratory breeding activity is well-known in Cyprinid fishes. *Garra mullya* (Sykes) is very common in the hill-streams of Travancore; it is called locally *Kallalotti, Kallilotti, Kallotti* and *Kallamutti*, referring to its habit of adhering to stones. It grows to a length of nearly 8 inches and is eaten by people resident in the hills, though not so much relished as some of the larger Cyprinids.

Are You Aafraid of Heart Trouble ?

Eugene S. Kilgore writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

The mind may become focused on the heart through various causes. At times it is pure suggestion—the death of a friend, the hearing or reading about heart disease. The most common cause is the chance perception of seemingly peculiar heart action, together with some knowledge about the heart, so that, through deliberate or subconscious interpretation, fear is established. Then comes the inevitable inwardly directed es-

pionage, which in turn usually excites the heart to perform the more—and thus the vicious circle.

Many persons feel the heart action more readily when lying down, especialy when lying on the left side so that the weight of the heart falls on the chest wall. A few who thus complain have genuine heart disease, but only a few. One young man with valvular disease and enormous increase in the size of the heart and the force of its beat, when asked about his sleeping posture replied, "Oh, I avoid lying on the left side, not because it bothers me at all, but because, when I do, my heart-beat rocks the bed so much that my wife can't sleep !"

Most persons who complain of heart consciousness when lying on the left side have healthy hearts, perhaps loosely anchored in the chest, and nerves that feel keenly.

I have referred to pain in the region of the heart, breathlessness, swelling of the feet, and heart consciousness, including consciousness of various kinds of irregular heart action,—all as occurring without heart disease. They are, in fact, more commonly observed in those without heart disease. And all the other symptoms of cardiac disease may occur in persons who have normal hearts.

Are symtoms of no value, then, in the diagnosis of circulatory disease ?

On the contrary, they are of the greatest value when accurately observed,—and when judiciously interpreted in the light of sound and very extensive knowledge not only of the heart but also of the many other things which may counterfeit "heart symptoms."

"Know thyself" is sound advice. Know your heart if there is any doubt about it. Get the knowledge from a source you are willing to depend upon for competence and candour, and accept the advice you receive. And until you have done this, you had better assume that, ten to one, your own doubtful thoughts on the subject are far from reality. You may have disease that needs attention, or, more probably, you are carrying a needless and damaging burden of groundless fear.

Reverse Blackout

Recently there has been a lot of discussions in U. S. A. regarding the value of blackout as a military measure. *Science and Culture* observes:

It has been pointed out that while creating new problems for the police because of possibility of increased crime and traffic accidents, blackouts have been of questionable value from the military point of view. Nazi fliers, it is said, located English cities with the aid of radio-beams. Moreover parachute flares and incendiary bombs have largely annulled the effect of blackouts. On the other hand, the works of the police, A. R. P. workers and firemen are greatly hindered during blackouts, and continued reduction in social life for long periods tends to affect the morale of the people.

An alternative to hinder the activities of enemy aircrafts has been suggested. Powerful searchlights and wide-angle floodlights directed towards the sky would confuse enemy aircrafts and would aid protecting aircrafts to shoot down the enemy. Preliminary tests carried out by the U. S. army shows that even with a long viewing tube pilots could not penetrate the glare to find important targets.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Some Noteworthy Changes in China

"Since the Japanese invasion of China began, the entire Chinese people have learned more, thought more, and been moved to decisive action in ways that might otherwise have taken centuries," writes Agnes Smedley in *Asia*. About the changes she writes in part:

Another great creative development changing the minds of men and the structure of society has been the Industrial Co-operatives. These have laid the basis for economic democracy not only in production, but in general education trends. Millions of men and women have been educated in true democratic practices in them. So powerful is this movement, so broad are its implications for China's future, that a conflict has been raging about it for months.

China today is permeated with new ideas, new terms, new movements, and with a passionate determination to achieve progressive ends. Unlike most industrialized countries, China finds its armies often the bearers of new ideas—at least in the war zones. Millions of soldiers (peasants) have fought over vast territories which, before the war, they did not even know were China. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in no respect a democrat, has repeatedly issued orders and statements that raised the status of the soldier from helot to hero. Such big organizations as the "Friends of the Wounded Soldiers" have given millions of civilians some sense of responsibility for the care of the wounded—a revolutionary development. Yet glaring contradictions remain, in feudal conditions within many armies and in such facts as the refusal of the Government to conscript educated men, or even doctors, for the care of the army sick and wounded. Students, many of whom would gladly fight as soldiers if permitted, are not conscripted. The Minister of Education has at times stated that they are too precious to be sacrificed; or that too much money has been invested in them! Many people believe that Conservatives in the Government fear the influence of advanced youth on the soldiers in the armies.

Even the spoken language has undergone a change beyond recognition.

"Fascism" is a word used in a matter-of-fact way to mean any form of reaction, or aggression of the stronger against the weaker. "Comrade" is a term of address of officers and men. The word "Japanese" has almost ceased to exist in the enemy rear, and is supplanted by the word "devil." Socialist phrases and ideas are found in the weirdest places, including the speech of high commanders of some big regular armies who perhaps do not know their origin.

Everywhere in China—on walls of destroyed towns or buildings, or chalked, cut or painted on trees, one find slogans expressing national determination, international consciousness or social striving. Each advanced regular army and every guerrilla army worthy of the name has its own magazines, newspapers, wall newspapers, mobile theaters, singing groups. One division I was with had adopted the music and words, slightly changed, of the French *Marseillaise*. Old folk melodies are set to new words. Often these ballads have never even been written down. Soldiers or civilians make up new verses as they work or march. Some are a history of the war, some tales of individual battles or of individual men, some satirical songs against corrupt officials.

In all regions where Communist-commanded armies operate, or where the most advanced Kuomintang armies fight, the armies, in addition to their classes for soldiers, establish special training schools just for civilians. These are short-term and teach civilians how to organize, how to detect enemy agents or spies, how to conduct espionage work against the enemy, with lectures in the history of the war, principles of the late Sun Yat-sen, and so on. The Communist-commanded armies teach in addition, principles and practices of guerrilla warfare, and something of international social forces and the role China must play in building a new world.

About the emancipation of women, the author continues:

Once, in the enemy rear, I had an opportunity to observe just how far peasant women, formerly denied all cultural advantages (and this includes the knowledge of reading and writing) had changed since the war began. A group of peasant women from the local Woman's National Salvation Association called on me on March 8, International Women's Day. Their spokesman was a grim old woman over sixty, with hard, gnarled hands. She explained that her organization sent the delegation to me to convey greetings of solidarity of Chinese women with women of my own and other democratic countries. She wished western women to know that Chinese women have "arisen" and "claim the rights of citizens." Her organizations, she said, conducted night schools where women learned to read and write, and heard lectures by women sent from the army. The women now did most of the field work, setting the young men free to fight and the older men to help carry supplies or the wounded for the army. The women also learned how to guard the rear of their army by watching for enemy agents. They worked against any form of corruption, including opium-smoking or gambling. When I remarked that Chinese women "eat bitterness," her reply was a reply heard in the mouths of all Chinese patriots: "There can be no victory without sacrifice."

Socialism Re-examined

It is impossible to predict the shape of the post-war world but if socialism is to play an important part in the new world order—it should be re-examined now. Hayim Greenberg writes in the *Jewish Frontier*:

"Happiness" and the establishment of the "Kingdom of Heaven," these were the promises of socialism for many decades. Aware only of "economic man," believing that social class relationships are the only one that count while ignoring transcendental factors, socialism imbued its followers with the belief that as soon as

the "lazy bellies" of the world would cease wasting the products of honest toil, humanity would be rid of all tensions, inner contradictions and unstilled desires—humanity would be happy.

Should one ask the socialist movement today what its goals are, I do not believe that the answer should be—nationalization of the means of production, for we have learned from experience that even within a nationalized economy there can exist class divisions and exploitation. Neither should the answer be that the aim is economic equality. Equality, as an end in itself, is not an ideal state of affairs and can assume the form of a general levelling down such as is practiced in a military barrack. Nor is a high living standard the mark of socialism, and even fascist movements promise it as an inducement to their own peoples. The only thing specific good that socialism can offer is the very thing that it had ignored in the past—the striving after *human dignity and social worth* for every individual.

It is now no longer necessary to spend much time in proving that political democracy is a higher and more inclusive concept than socialism. For years we had maintained that political democracy is a means toward attaining socialism. This was wrong. The truth is the exact opposite. Democracy is the ultimate goal and socialism is, under modern industrial conditions, the practical means for the attainment of this goal of individual worth and equality. One who believes that democracy is only a means (to be supplanted by other, better, means, should one happen to run across any) must conclude that in a socialist society there would be no room for it. Actually it should be clear to everyone that precisely in a socialist order conditions of true democracy should be established, for no matter how thoroughly socialist economic and social principles are put into effect, life will always be full of tensions, conflicts and contradictions which will have to be solved by citizens enjoying equal rights and equal social standing according to some established democratic procedure.

Socialism will in the future be more modest and too skeptical to believe in some Canaan for the sake of which it is permissible to sacrifice an entire generation. Socialism must make up its mind that the happiness of no future generation is worth the sacrifice of present-day sinners, that we must not show such exalted love for the yet unborn as would justify indifference to current suffering.

It is hardly necessary to add that if socialism renounces the conception of a transitionary generation and the idea of a "final struggle" after which history would take a jump into a state of permanent bliss, it must also renounce the idea of a social revolution of a catastrophic type that is based on a momentary conjuncture of events, such as was popular among socialists for many years. Socialists as well as democrats should visualize only one situation in which it would be justifiable to fan the flames of revolution—when the liberation of society from political despotism, police tyranny and dictatorship are concerned; when revolution can help the establishment, or the reconstitution, of a legal state possessing that minimum of democracy without which no legal state is conceivable. In other words, revolution may be justified if it serves to attain the freedom of the individual to share in his government, but not if it strives after concrete economic changes only. The moment a state is subordinated to the will of the people and the rights of individuals as well as of groups are guaranteed, socialism has no reason to prepare for revolutions and should strengthen the foundations of legality and try to educate the majority of the population toward becoming conscious and responsible participants of the political set-up.

I would consider it a misfortune if after the present war, in the general atmosphere of tension, bitterness and moral let-down, the socialist movement were again to embark on the path of a superficial revolutionism based on transitory factors. Civil wars that may follow the present planetary blood-letting can only lead to still greater chaos, to new destructive psychoses and endless fictitious "liberations." Uninspiring and unromantic as the words may sound, it must be said at this time: after this war socialism must take upon itself the task of introducing a measure of stability into the world. In a period like the one that will confront us in the near future, stabilization will involve certain compromises. But there are compromises which have a beneficial, healing effect, and facilitate normal changes later, if they are undertaken courageously and responsibly, without obliterating the boundaries between compromise and the basic, unchangeable principle.

A Strange Prophecy

In the year 1555 was published a book of amazing prophecies by one Nostradamus, under the title of *The Centuries and True Prophecies of Micael de Nostradamus. The News Review* gives a short account of this book. About the present War the book contains the following:

"We are to enter in 1940 a catastrophic period which will last until 1944. This period will spell ruin to many Governments and specifically to the form of government in France. In the year 1940 Europe will be up in arms. Dictators will rule Germany and Italy. France will be conquered and overrun."

About this seer the journal writes:

Nostradamus was born at St. Remi, France, on December 13, 1503, of French-Jewish parentage. From an early age he was interested in science, philosophy and medicine.

Shortly after he had qualified as a doctor the Great Plague broke out and very soon Nostradamus made a name for himself. He claimed to have a cure for the dreaded disease. But his secret died with him. It is a fact, however, that he saved so many people from this terrible death that the superstitious folk hailed him as a supernatural being.

It was in Milan that he made the first of the dramatic prophecies. One day as he was walking in the city he met a group of monks. Among them was an obscure young friar of poor parentage, Felix Peretti. To the amazement of his companions, Nostradamus immediately knelt down and, seizing Peretti's hand, paid him the most respectful obeissance. On being asked why he had greeted a simple monk with such ceremony, he replied: "I salute his future Holiness the Pope," The spectators thought he was mad, but in 1585 Peretti was installed as Pope Sextus V.

Among other things, he successfully foretold the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the execution of an English King (Charles I) by the "London Senate."

So popular did these prophecies make him in England that in 1672 his book was translated into English.

Nostradamus, of course, made mistakes, but they are few and far between. And even his slips have only been minor ones. His prophecy, for example, that the present war would begin in August, 1939, was only a few days out. He also wrongly forecast that the 1940 invasion of France would take place through Switzerland.

And he called the German dictator who was to plunge the whole of Europe into war "Hister," which is close enough to Hitler not to matter much.

The present conflict will end in 1944. But in 1945, war will once more break out between France and Italy. This time France, led by a new and glorious king, will easily conquer Italy. France's boundary will be restored to the Rhine, and she will rule over both Spain and Italy.

The great seer made his last prophecy on the night of July, 1566. When his servant wished him good-bye until the morning, he replied : "No, at sunrise I shall no longer be here." He died that night in his sleep.

Sahara Slavery

The following paraguphs are reproduced from the *NoFrontier News Service* bulletin :

NEW YORK.—Uncensored from North Africa comes a report to the Nofrontier News Service telling of the conditions under which forced labor, recruited from French concentration camps, is building the trans-Sahara railway. Gathered and passed on to the United States by a responsible American observer, the report tells of conditions which are summarized by the words of one of the prisoners : "Compared with us, the slaves who worked under the Pharaohs to build the pyramids lived like kings."

Burning Sahara heat by day and numbing desert cold by night, inadequate supplies of food and water and no shelter, no hats, no sun glasses or protective clothing are the lot of these men who happened to be caught up in the drag-net of the war, herded into concentration camps and then shipped to North Africa. The age of these men is between 18 and 58 years. They are physicians, lawyers, scientists and other professional men, many of them never havnig done any physical labor in their lives. Their age and the climate is telling on them so that they are wholly exhausted. It is the real Sahara climate, the unbearable, deadly heat of the African desert sun that almost invariably spells death to Europeans doing prolonged, heavy labor under its steady glare.

Conditions of labor are as follows : Work every day except Sunday from 5 to 10 and from 2 until 7. The temperature during the day varies between 105 and 120. The work the men are doing is breaking stones for the roadbed and laying rails. Six men lay one rail which, under normal conditions, a crew of twelve would handle. There is no water to wash with at all, and drinking water is limited to one quart per day per man. There are frightful scenes every day when the water is handed out, as the non-commissioned officer in charge, who is often drunk, amuses himself by pouring the water away into the sand. Twice a day the men are given a soup of turnips, cabbage or dried peas. The men have no money, no cigarettes, and at first all packages were forbidden. They have no underwear, and other clothing is insufficient. Their bodies are covered with boils and flea bites.

The only living quarters are holes the men must dig for themselves in the sand. The nights are extrememely cold, and one blanket apiece is all they have for protection. They live in groups of four, digging a hole four feet deep surrounded by a wall of sand. A piece of tent cloth is fixed over this hole. They sleep on the ground on mounds of earth. When it rains it is impossible to remain in the holes, since they quickly fill with water. At such times the men must sleep out in the open exposed to the wind. They wake up in the morning entirely buried in sand. Even in the holes the sand sifts in pretty freely. Conditions of hygiene are frightful. Water has to be carried 30 miles or more and is absolutely insufficient.

The work is extremely difficult for people unaccustomed to labor. In the morning each man receives a great block of stone about three cubic feet in size which he has to break up into small pieces. This is exceedingly exhausting work. The men have not been given any glasses which are essential for protecting their eyes from flying chips of stone. Moreover, most of them work in the full heat of the sun without any hats, and can only protect themselves from sun-stroke by keeping wet cloths on their heads. The workers are closely watched by the chief sergeant, and their peace depends on the good or bad humor of this man, who is only tolerant in the early morning when the alcohol he drinks has not yet produced its effect. Here is an example of the day discipline is handled : A worker had hidden some large stones insufficiently broken under a pile of small one , to give the appearance of having finished his work. The sergeant discovered the deceit and gave the man fifteen days in prison. The "prison" is a piece of waste-land encircled by barbed wire in the midst of which is a little shed into which only a few persons can crowd. Since there are always several dozen men in prison, most of them must remain out of doors night and day in spite of heat and cold.

Sick men must work along with the healthy, and there is no French doctor. Writing about the medical care afforded to the men, one of them said : "The doctor is content to look at us over his glasses without coming near us, and declares in a tone that permits no appeal : "Fit for work !" Many of us have bad health and are quite unfit to do the hard labor. But this doctor is a fine fellow compared to the one at Bou-Arfa, who is drunk and unbalanced. He seems to take pleasure in torturing the men, and he considers us unfit for work only when we have a fever of 104 degrees, or when (in his own words) we lack a leg or an arm. A younger worker complained for three days of dreadful pains. The doctor did not consider him sick. On the fourth day he was sent to the hospital where he died of a ruptured appendix."

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Phone: B. B. 3281
Address: 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta

Single Copy As. 12
Annual Subscription Rs. 8-8

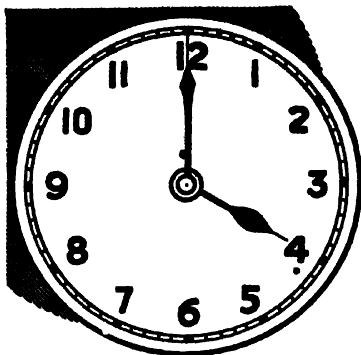
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another *happy* worker



He is one of those happy workers who get their 4 o'clock tea regularly He has no dread of that afternoon zero hour feeling, because he knows he can avoid it successfully with the aid of this great beverage which relieves mental strain and sustains his capacity for work. If you want your office workers to give their best, keep them happy on 4 o'clock tea.



4 O'clock TEA relieves mental strain



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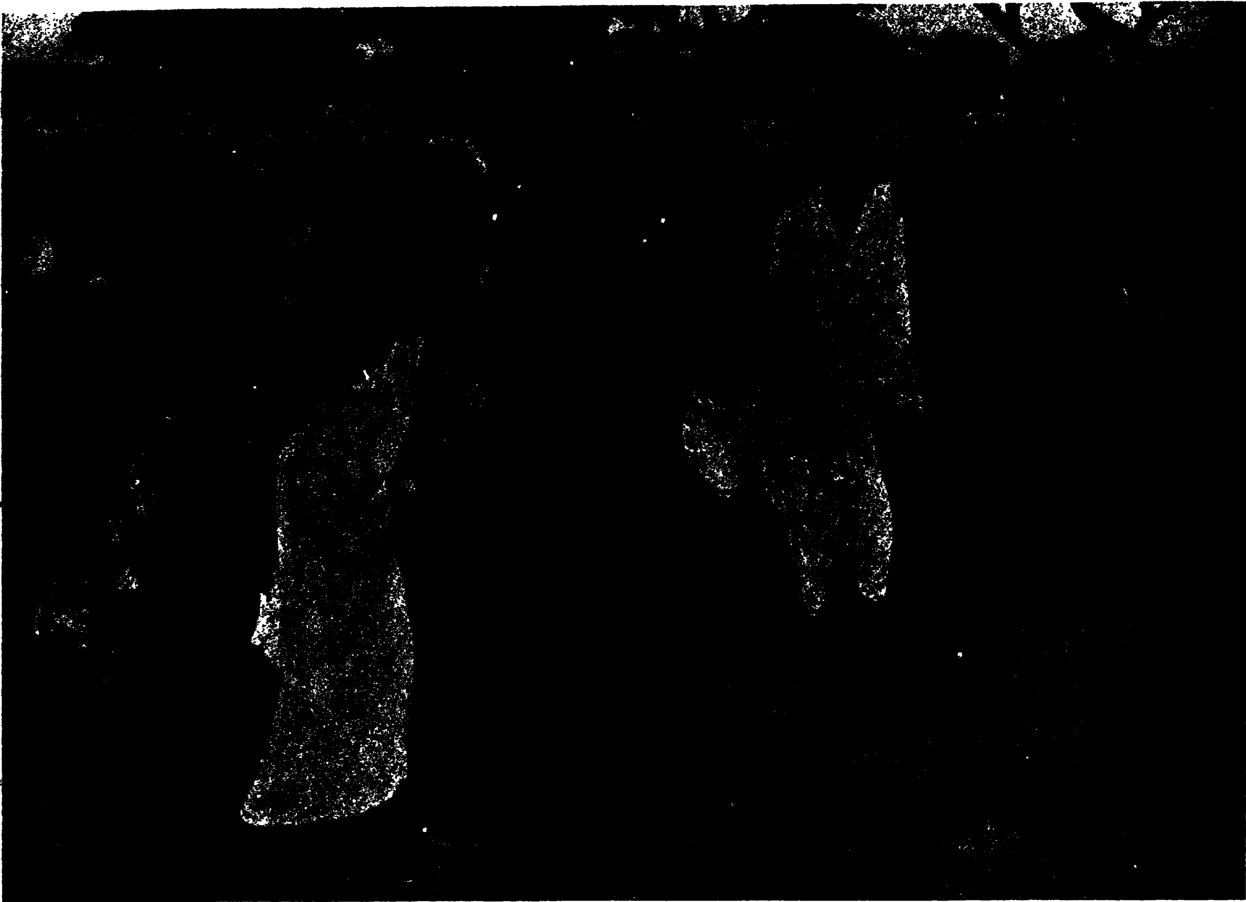
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BACK FROM THE MARKET
By Dwijes Chandra Dhar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY  1942

VOL. LXXI, No. 5 WHOLE No. 425

NOTES

Rabindranath Tagore's Birthday

Rabindranath Tagore was born on the 25th *Baisākh*, corresponding this year to the 8th May.

Many are the poems on his birthday and on the Hindu New Year's Day which he wrote. He is no longer with us to add fresh ones to these, nor to present to the world-inspiring addresses on the Hindu New Years' Day and on his birthday. But the poems and addresses which he has given us continue to inspire us and add to our joy.

Three of Tagore's birthday poems have been translated for the first time and are published in this issue. The one in which he recalls his birthday in China has a peculiar significance, interest and inspiration today. Says he there:

> Once I went to the land of China,
> Those whom I had not met
> Put the mark of friendship on my forehead
> Calling me their own.
> The garb of a stranger slipped from me unknowing,
> The inner man appeared who is eternal
> Revealing a joyous relationship
> Unforseen.
> A Chinese name I took, dressed in Chinese clothes.
> This I knew in my mind
> Wherever I find my friend there I am born anew,
> Life's wonder he brings.

When after his return from China he was given a most cordial welcome at the Calcutta University Institute Hall; he stood before the audience dressed in his green Chinese birthday robes for a few seconds for their delectation. And it was then observed that, whatever garments he wore, he appeared divinely tall and divinely beautiful.

In the third of the birthday poems translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty Rabindranath Tagore wrote:

> My birthday, I know,
> Will soon merge with one unvarying day,
> And be lost in the markless sequence of Time.

To those of his numberless young and old contemporaries who were privileged to know him personally or even only through his writings, his birthday will always remain gloriously separate from all other days in the year. And, hereafter, too, those who will know him from his writings will also consider his birthday a red-letter day.

The Failure of the Cripps Mission

Whatever self-complacent Englishmen may say, the Cripps Mission has failed. The Notes which we wrote on it in our last issue contained an exposition of the objectionable features of the British War Cabinets' proposals, which were bound to lead to the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps's mission. The resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and by other nationalist bodies, the correspondence between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps, the statements and speeches made by Hindu Mahasabha President V. D. Savarkar, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri C. Rajagopalachariar and other leaders have shown why both the original and the slightly modified proposals were unacceptable. In our

last issue we published two articles on the subject and are publishing two more on the same topic in this. The material contained in all these speeches and writings need not be repeated.

There was in reality nothing substantially new in the proposals so far as the conferment of new rights on Indians or the raising of the political status of India was concerned. That India would be granted Dominion Status on some unmentioned date after the conclusion of the war was an old promise. That India's future constitution would be drafted by Indians themselves had also been stated long ago. These old promises or statements had never been considered satisfactory. What was strikingly new was the option proposed to be given to parts of India to join or not to join the proposed Indian Union;—if they chose to form a seperate Union of their own, they would be allowed to do so. This possibility of the vivisection of India could never be contemplated with equanimity by any Indian nationalist. It would, in fact, be the bounden duty of every true son and daughter of India to fight such a sinister possibility tooth and nail.

The problem of immediate urgency is how best India can be defended. Everything possible for the defence of a country can never be done unless its defence is both the duty and the right of its citizens above all and in the first place. This is not the case so far as the defence of India is concerned--Indians have no voice in it. The War Cabinet's proposals did not make any new departure in this matter in the least—Defence was to remain entirely the British Government's responsibility. After some discussion with some leaders Sir Stafford Cripps no doubt agreed to have an Indian Defence Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council; but all real power was to remain in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. Such a proposal could never be acceptable to Indian nationalists.

The British War Cabinet wanted to make the world believe that Indians had been given the right to defend their country—they were to be responsible for it. But it was **Responsibility Without Power** which the War Cabinet wanted to impose on India. If Indians are to be really responsible for the defence of India, they should have their own Indian Defence Member with not less powers than such functionaries enjoy in free countries. But the British Government is not willing to give such powers to any Indian. Whether they really believe that there is no Indian fit to be entrusted with such powers and corresponding duties, we do not know. But there is no doubt that they are entirely unwilling to part with "Defence," the citadel of British imperialism.

Confidence in one's ownself is a commendable and necessary virtue so long as it does not degenerate into unwarranted over-confidence. But distrust in the capacity, or rather firm belief in the incapacity of others, without any proof to warrant it, is not an amiable quality, particularly when it serves the purpose of feeding one's own vanity.

It is not denied that Britishers are tough fighters, that they make good leaders in war and that they understand strategy. But that they are supreme in the world in these respects or that they are superior to all Asiatics in these respects, can no longer be believed or affirmed. The Japanese had proved decades ago that they were equal at least to some Europeans in war. And the Chinese have been giving incontestable proofs of their very great militay genius, courage and endurance for the past five years. So a general proposition that all Asiatics are inferior to Europeans in war can no longer be laid down. As for Indians, both in the last great world war and in the present one both privates and officers have proved their mettle—proved that they are not inferior either to Europeans or to other Asiatics. It cannot, therefore, be held *a priori* that there cannot be and is not any Indian who is fully able to discharge the duties of a Defence Member.

If the British Government wishes to exploit and utilize the influence of an Indian National Government in the interests of both Britain and India, it must bring into existence a real Indian National Government. A faked one will not do.

It is only a real Indian National Government which can recruit, train and equip as large a *citizen army* as is necessary. It is only a real Indian National Government which can so industrialize the country as to be able to stimulate production and turn out arms and other war materials in sufficiently large qualities. And lastly, it is only a real Indian National Government which can rouse the spirit of the people to the highest pitch and make it the decisive factor in winning victory.

Why Muslim League Rejected Cripps Proposals

The Muslim League wants Pakistan. The Cripps proposals made Pakistan a possibility, but not a certainty. What the Muslim League wants is, however, an unequivocal promise of Pakistan. Muslim Leaguers know that if a plebiscite were taken, it was not certain that the majority of votes in any Muslim majority

province—say in Bengal or the Panjab, would be cast in favour of Pakistan. Hence Mr. M. A. Jinnah has not accepted the Cripps proposals.

"India's Jawaharlal Nehru"

News Review, "The first British News magazine," publishes on the front cover of its issue for January 29, 1942, a striking portrait of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with the following two lines under it:

"INDIA'S JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

He leads 300,000,000 towards an unpromised land......"

Inside we find the following paragraphs about him:

Nehru the Socialist—No one who has studied Pandit ("Wise Man") Nehru's life and works would be likely to see in him a trace of the opportunist politician, or of the coward who would sell out to the winning side. Even Mahatma Gandhi, admitting that he often quarrelled with Nehru, said of him: "He is a brave and courageous man . . . when I am no more, he will know how to carry on my work."

For ten years 53-year-old Jawaharlal Nehru was General Secretary of the Indian National Congress; has been three times its President. He is still a member of the Congress Working Committee, guiding spirit of Indian nationalism, leader of 300,000,000 souls in their fight for political independence.

A Socialist, and consequently a sworn enemy of Fascism, he hates all that is sordid and outworn in his country, all the dirt and poverty which goes with the extravagant splendour of the princes, the ancient prejudices of caste and creed.

The clever, cultured, high-born Pandit comes from an aristocratic family of Kashmiri Brahmans. He arrived at Socialism through the intellect and through the heart.

Deep was the impression made on him when he visited a peasant settlement years ago, before his political change of heart:

"They showered their affection on us and looked on us with loving and hopeful eyes, as if we were the bearers of good tidings, the guides who were to lead them to the promised land.

"Looking at them and their misery and overflowing gratitude, I was filled with shame and sorrow, shame at my own easy-going and comfortable life and our petty politics of the city which ignored this vast multitude of semi-naked sons and daughters of India, sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable."

Jawaharlal Nehru is a gentle, sensitive man, but capable of anger, as such men can be. Britain has felt the sting of his tongue in recent weeks. But years spent in prison have not given him any personal hatred of the British, some of whom he includes among his best friends, writing their language in a style many Englishmen might envy.

He loves English poetry and winter sports, travels thousands of miles making speeches adding up to millions of words, believing it is no more than his duty to beloved India.

So good is Jawaharlal as a man that he is sometimes a bad politician. Cultivated himself, he hates vulgarity and demagogy, is loath to be ruthless in a ruthless world. But he has a quiet strength.

Said Archbishop Cosmo Lang of Canterbury when Nehru visited him in 1938: "Such a pleasant and agreeable gentleman! Who would imagine that he would shake up a continent?" Last week it looked as though the shake-up was causing Whitehall to shudder.

Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker on Rabindranath Tagore

At the opening ceremony of the Tagore Memorial Library at Lahore on April 11, 1942, the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker delivered a striking address, in the course of which he said:

I think I should congratulate you on your decision to have chosen a medium of such a universal appeal as a public library to perpetuate the memory of the Poet and the rich heritage he has left us. This noble city near the north-western gateway of India—in the Land of the Five Rivers, which in your picturesque language, Mr. President, has witnessed the rise and fall of Empires and can boast of a culture and civilisation from the time of the Vedas,—this city of Lahore may justly feel proud of being one of the first to pay its respectful homage to the memory of that great soul in so fitting a manner.

I consider the manner very fitting because in a sense there is a striking similarity between the life's work of the poet and a library containing a varied collection of books. A library is the receptacle of mankind's ideas and aspirations expressed in diverse languages, in poem, song and prayer, in fiction and drama, science and the fine arts. In it are treasured the voices of different ages; in it, as Rabindranath has himself said, as if the mighty music of the ocean is lulled into sleep. Those thoughts and aspirations transcend time and place, they contain an appeal not to men of one age or clime only, but represent the flight of the human mind in its eternal search of the unknown and the sublime. They constitute the arch that bridges the distance between one age and another. We trace essentially the same characteristics in Rabindarnath's life and work. His thoughts and contributions alike transcend time and place and contain an appeal to all humanity throughout the ages. They are characterised by what is known as "Weltanschauung" or a world conception.

Speaking of the new chapter in India's national and political life which started with the Swadeshi movement, Mr. Sarker said:

The new chapter in India's national and political life which started with the "Swadeshi" movement and whose first surge was witnessed in Bengal, owed a great deal to Rabindranath. If Bepin Chandra Pal was the philosophical interpreter of that new ferment of national idealism, if Sri Aurobindo was the active political force who gave a shape to those thoughts and ideals, Tagore was the poet and minstrel who provided the emotional inspiration that enthused the whole nation. Young Bengal in the early years of the 20th century drew its strength and courage from Tagore's inspired songs and writings. What could be more sustaining and ennobling than this rousing message of the poet:

"ओदेर बाँधन यतइ शक्त हबे
मोदेर बाँधन टुटबे

ओदेर आँखि यतइ रक्त हबे
मोदेर आँखि फुटबे ।"

Translated into English, it will read something like this:

"As indeed their grip will tighten,
So indeed will our bond break.
The more that their eyes will be blood-red,
The more will our eyes open."

Referring to Rabindranath's views on British imperial policy in India the speaker observed:

Equally prophetic were his observations about the mistakes of British Imperial policy in India which he criticised not with any acerbity nor to win popular applause but with a righteous indignation. He foresaw that injustice must ultimately recoil on those who committed that injustice.

It was many years ago that he wrote:

"England is gaining strength through her Indian Empire, but if she seeks to emasculate the Indian people, then this accession of strength at the expense of the vast populace of India must one day bring its own nemesis—an unarmed, impoverished and ill-fed India would be a thorn on the side of the British Empire and India's weakness would prove the ruination of England's Empire."

Everybody both in India and England, is today realising the full significance of this warning.

The speaker proceeded to observe:

Not merely in respect of India but with reference also to the civilisation of the West, the prophetic words of Tagore, uttered a quarter of a cntury ago, have proved too true. Writing as early as 1917 in his "Nationalism" Tagore remarked "The naked passion of self-love of Nations in its drunken delirium of greed, is dancing to the clash of steel and howling verses of vengeance." The West certainly did not like those words of Tagore, but it did not take people too long to see how very true they were. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting another prophetic passage from the same book I have just referred to:

"Where the spirit of Western Nationalism prevails, the whole people is being taught from boyhood to foster hatreds and ambitions by all kinds of means, by the manufacture of half truths and untruths in history, by persistent misrepresentation of other races and the culture of unfavourable sentiments towards them, thus continually brewing evil menace towards neighbours and nations other than their own. This is poisoning the very fountain-head of humanity. It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the universal religion for all nations of the world."

Look, again, at Tagore's remarks about Japan. There also we see that coming events cast their shadows in his writings long before any one else thought of them. While he welcomed without reservation Japan's progress in trade, industry and in national education, he uttered the warning that if power was not used with restraint the consequence was bound to be evil. I would quote just two short paragraphs from his article entitled "Nationalism in Japan."

"This has made me all the more apprehensive of the change which threatens Japanese civilisation, as something like a menace to one's own person... what is dangerous for Japan is not the outer features of the West, but the acceptance of the motive force of the Western nationalist as her own. Her social ideals are already showing signs of defeat at the hands of politics. I can see her motto, taken from science, 'Survival of the fittest' writ large at the entrance of her present day history the motto whose meaning is, "Help yourself and never heed what it costs to others." Again, "To imbue the minds of a whole people with an abnormal vanity of its own superiority, to teach to take pride in its moral callousness and ill-begotten wealth, to perpetuate humiliation of defeated nations by exhibiting trophies won from war, and using these in schools in order to breed in children's minds contempt for others, is imitating the West where she has a festering sore, whose swelling is a swelling of disease eating into its vitality."

Mr. Sarker concluded his address thus:

I can do no better than conclude by quoting the following poem of the Poet-Seer.

"The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred,
the conflicts are cruel and unceasing in anguish,
crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed.
All creatures are crying for a new birth of thine,
Oh Thou of boundless life,
save them, rouse thine eternal voice of hope,
let Love's lotus with its inexhaustible treasure of honey
open its patals in thy light.
O Serene, O Free,
in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness
wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth."

China Fights Both Japan and Illiteracy

LONDON, April 12.

The pace of national reconstruction in China despite the calls made by her epic resistance over five years to the ruthless Japanese invader was outlined by the Chinese Ambassador in London, Dr. Wellington Koo on Sunday night. "None of the old time apathy was left," Dr. Koo declared: "One felt everywhere the ever-quickening tempo of China reawakened and rehabilitated. Her dual mission is to continue this reconstruction and fight fervidly for her freedom."

The Ambassador said: The biggest stride had been in education. The five-year-plan launched in March, 1940, to bring about total resistance to the enemy and eliminate illiteracy among 165 millions had already resulted in the teaching of 45 millions to read through colleges, and itinerant teachers.

In addition technical developments in free China included the opening of six thousand post offices, the building of over three thousand miles of roads, the erection of numerous radio stations to link distant towns, twenty-five per cent. increase in electrical power and a jump in coal output by two million tons yearly. —*Reuter*.

In spite of actual warfare on her soil, China has not only not neglected education but has redoubled her efforts to eliminate illiteracy.

Owing to apprehended Japanese invasion of Bengal many schools, particularly girls' schools, have been closed down in Calcutta without adequate provision for their education being made elsewhere. Bethune College, Bengal's oldest and

for long the only women's college, is also going to be closed down, the buildings being required for military use !

Mr. Ernest Bevin's Sanctimonious Hypocrisy

Mr. Ernest Bevin says :

"We could not hand over our trust to one particular class unless there was complete agreement. The untouchables are the bottom dogs. I would rather be driven out of India than hand them over to"—and so on and so forth.

Has Mr. Ernest Bevin read the following oft-quoted observations of Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet ?—

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

Other Englishmen, too, have exposed this sort of cant. The process began long ago. For example, as long ago as 1864 Sir G. O. Trevelyan, in his at-that-time-famous book, *Letters from a Competitionwallah*, wrote :

"There is not a single person in India who would not consider the sentiment that we hold India for the benefit of the inhabitants of India a loathsome un-English piece of cant."

In 1899, Mr. J. A. Hobson published an article in *The Ethical World* (February 18), in which, while praising the British Civil Service officials in India, he declared that to affirm that these men were impelled to spend twenty years in governing India from the philanthropic desire to take up the "white man's burden," or that any such desire is any substantial part of their inducement to service, "would be too gross a piece of Bunkum for the platform of a Primrose League."

Two of the characters in one of Galsworthy's novels are a British I. C. S. man and another Englishman. They discuss why Britain holds India : The British I. C. S. man says, "We are doing good to India." The other Englishman is more realistic and honest. Says he : "Our national point of view has filled our pockets; that's all that matters" ; and adds : "It is enough to make anyone bitter the way we Pharisees wax fat, and at the same time give ourselves the moral airs of a baloon. I must stick a pin in sometimes just to hear the gas escape."

Mr. Ernest Bevin would rather be driven out of India than transfer power to Indian hands. We do not in the least desire that he and his kith and kin should be driven out of India by Japan or by any other Axis power, but we do certainly desire that British domination in India should cease in favour of Indian self-rule.

Whenever the question of the transfer of power to Indian hands is raised, the Ernest Bevins of Britain want "complete agreement" among all classes and communities in India, as if that was within the region of practical politics, or as if even in Britain and that even in these critical war times there was complete agreement ! But when there is practically complete unanimity among Indians, what is the British response ? From long before Sir Stafford Cripps came with the war cabinet's proposals, there has been an agreed demand for a National Government including a Defence Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council. The British response does not require to be mentioned.

Before the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed or even drafted, the memorandum submitted by the Aga Khan delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform was signed by its members belonging to different communities and classes, including Dr. Ambedkar, who represented the "untouchables" and other depressed classes. But not a single recommendation of the delegation was accepted by the British Government. The delegation represented extremely "Moderate" opinion in India.

If British professions for the welfare of the bottom dogs of India had been real and sincere, they would have been by now, after more than 150 years of British rule, the top dogs in India—perhaps lording it over the Britishers themselves !

By the by, why is no consuming desire for the uplift of the black bottom dogs of South Africa evinced by British statesmen ? Because, we presume, the self-ruling dominant white peoples there would not stand any such nonsense. Here in India, pretended zeal for the interests of the bottom dogs serves as an excuse for not transferring power to the Indian intelligentsia. It is to be noted that men of this class forming the now defunct Congress ministries, as well as non-officials of the same class, have during a brief period done more for the uplift of the "bottom dogs" then the British bureaucracy in India did during the previous past generations.

What Chinese and Russian Victory Would Mean For India

The Inquirer of London writes in its issue for January 17, 1942:

A general Allied victory will alter considerably the disposition of political power in the world. The defeat of Japan will turn China into a potential major state. Great new forces will be released in China, and within a generation the life of the East may be changed. Western civilisation, at least in its industrial aspect, will spread rapidly through China, and the potent significance of that no one can measure. Russia is an Eastern power as well as a Western; she is likely to come out of this war far more powerful than she entered it. Vast new territories are being developed in the East; in effect new nations are being created by her. China and Russia as major powers in the East may transform the world political situation. It is necessary for Englishmen to recognise this, for the British Commonwealth is intimately involved. It is involved primarily through India. With a great new Russia and China in the East it would be difficult for Britain to keep any imposed dominance in India, even if she wanted to- and Britain does not want to. The relationship between Britain and India in the future will have to be that of free and equal partners, the partnership found in mutual interests and shared ideals. The strength of India and of Britain will be found in such a partnership. The occasion for assessing the nature of the new relationship is now, not in a few years time when changed political circumstances will make a satisfactory assessment critical, if not impossible. It is in the interests of Britain, and of the future peace of the world, to shift the bonds from that of power to those of mutual interest as soon as statesmanship can contrive. The sole responsibility for this statesmanship does not exist in this country, but the golden opportunity for its use probably does. There is grave misgiving that the opportunity is being allowed to go by.

Photograph As Indication of Suitability for Post of Lady Stenographer

It appears from an answer given to a question by the Hon. Raja Yuvaraj Dutt Singh that a lady stenographer was required for an important clerical post at the Headquarters, Eastern Command, Nainital, and it was thought that "in conjunction with particulars of previous experience and testimonials, a recent photograph would provide an useful indication as to the suitability of the applicant, thus avoiding the calling up for interview at Government expense of a number of candidates who might have proved unsuitable."

It is not usual to ask for recent or old photographs of male candidates for any post— nor of women candidates either. Such photographs of girls or young women are requested to be sent to advertisers who want suitable brides. The Eastern Command, Nainital, is not, however, a matrimonial bureau. Nor is it plain how a photograph would enable the Eastern Command Headquarters to ascertain the *stenographic* qualifications of a woman candidate.

It may be charitably assumed that, in order to prevent Cupid from playing his pranks, the Eastern Command Headquarters would select the ugliest among the candidates. But Shakespeare has told us that the lover's eye in fine frenzy rolling sees Helen's beauty in Ethiop's eyes.

Nahas Pasha's Policy of Non-belligerency

CAIRO, April 22.

Replying today to the debate in the Chamber Premier—Nahas Pasha declared: "Not merely as the Prime Minister of Egypt but as leader of the nation I say our policy is and has always been to spare Egypt the miseries of war. I will never take any action calculated to lead Egypt into war or would I countenance any such policy nor will I provide the allied armies with Egyptian manpower. At the same time I am loyal to the treaty of friendship and alliance between Egypt and Great Britain both in the letter and spirit. Nor will I tolerate any action by any Egyptian of a nature to endanger in any way the military security of our ally or give cause for any anxiety to those now fighting for the very existence of democracy and freedom.

"That is my policy. I want our ally to know this, I want the troops of our ally and the allies of our ally to know this, at a time when they are facing the utmost hardships in the field far away from their homes and their kin in defence of the cause of truth and justice." —*Reuter.*

Premier Nahas Pasha's policy would seem to be somewhat similar to that of President De Valera, though not exactly like it.

Had India been at least as independent as Egypt, it would not have been possible to declare her a belligerent country without the consent of her legislature and prime minister. She would have been then in a position to determine her policy in respect of the war. Of course, even then, so far as we are able to judge, she would have been anti-Fascist as she is today, though she might not have taken the field against the Axis powers. And probably no Axis power would have thought of or dared to attack an independent, and possibly non-belligerent, India.

Acharya Anandashanker Dhruva

The following paragraph is taken from *Harijan*:

The death of Acharya Anandashanker Dhruva is an irreparable loss not only to Gujarat but also to the U. P., for he had rendered invaluable services to the Benares Hindu University for a number of years. It will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to replace him. He was an active educationist to the end. Many students have lost a true friend in him. He was Malaviyaji's right hand. Malaviyaji's grief can be better imagined than described. But Anandshanker Dhruva was no mere educationist. His interests were many and

varied. He was a keen student of politics, a worshipper at the shrine of Swaraj, and a social reformer. His relations with the orthodox were cordial, for he was an observer of many of their ceremonials. But his instinct and heart were always with the reformer, and he expressed his views fearlessly. He was widely respected for his outstanding knowledge of Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures, and was a fine representative of the Hindu religion. As for me I had invariably received his help. He was friends equally with labour and capital and, having gained the confidence of both, was able to render great services to both in Ahmedabad. The bereaved family's sorrow will be shared by, and they will have the sympathy of, all who had the privilege of knowing the late Acharya.

Sevagram, 13-4-42 (From *Harijanbandhu*)

Death Anniversary of Dinabandhu Andrews at Santiniketan

In the evening of April 5 last a commemorative service was held in the *mandir* at Santiniketan to observe the death anniversary of Dinabandhu Andrews.

After the singing of one of Andrews's favourite songs, Dr. Kalidas Nag addressed the congregation on the significance of the life and work of Andrews. In that connection, he gave his personal reminiscences of how he met Andrews in the Asrama and how Andrews appeared before the speaker as a poet and a professor of literature. . . . Particular mention was made of Andrews's unceasing labours to ameliorate the condition of the overseas Indians, perpetually humiliated on account of their ignoble political status. Andrews realised, the speaker said, that no permanent improvement could result either on the economic or on the social plane unless India achieved her independence. So strong was his view in this regard that a few months before his death Andrews expressed his ardent desire to see India free before the expiry of the year 1940. Dr. Kalidas Nag in this connection referred to Andrews's last public utterance where he said that Britain's case would be enormously strengthened if Indian freedom was not "merely a promise but a performance."

Before concluding Dr. Nag said: "The Asrama owes it to his memory and to Gurudeva, not only to help in bringing about peace and goodwill, but also to give a concrete shape to the ideals that both of them held dear to their hearts. This does not call for any elaborate arrangements. I propose we should have at Sriniketan a Deenabandhu Hut which will some day become a centre to carry on intensive economic study of the problem of poverty amongst our agricultural and industrial labourers. I further suggest that at Santiniketan we should have a guest-house for overseas Indians named jointly after Andrews and Gandhi—with whose life Andrews stood linked as with Gurudeva's—gratefully to remember the unique services rendered by these two eminent sons of the East and West in the cause of the down-trodden Indians in different parts of the world."—*Visva-bharati News.*

Chinese Army Officer's Appeal to Indian Muslims

PESHAWAR, April 6.

An appeal to the Muslims of India to sink their differences with the Hindus and other communities and fight against the Japanese was made by General Pai Chung Si, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese Army, in a mass meeting of the Chinese Muslims in connection with Barawafat week.

"We Chinese Muslims," General Pai said, "do not know much about the internal politics of Indian Muslims; but we can assure them that Islam is never in danger, nor will it ever be threatened by any force, material or spiritual. No religion or community will stand by barbarism, which is threatening us from the West as well as from the East."

In conclusion, General Pai urged upon the Muslims of India and the Middle East to support the progressive forces of the world who are fighting against the Axis.—*U. P.*

Chinese Newspaper Stresses Need for Pacific Charter

CHUNGKING, April 7.

The need for a Pacific Charter is stressed by the influential newspaper *Takungpao*. Endorsing Rear-Admiral Harry Yarnell's suggestion for such a Charter the newspaper says the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration does not cover the Pacific region and its problems as it did not classify Japan as the Common enemy of the democracies.

The *Takungpao* says that the spirit of the proposed Pacific Charter should include the liberation of Korea, Kiuchiu Islands and Formosa from Japanese domination.

The Indian problem could be easily overcome, the *Takungpao* says, if a Pacific Charter is created on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

The newspaper adds in future China will never tolerate the existence of any vestige of imperialism in her domain nor will she be content with quasi-colonial status.

The *Takungpao* adds that Britain and America should abolish their special rights and privileges in China right now.—*Reuter.*

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan's New Office

NEW DELHI, April 6.

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan has, it is learnt, been appointed Agent-General of the Government of India in Chungking.

It is learned that by accepting the appointment at Chungking Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan does not resign his Judgeship of the Federal Court but retaining his lien to revert when he returns. For the present his services are lent by the Federal Court to the External Affairs Department for a period of six months.

Analogous to the similar position held by Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai at Washington Sir Muhammad Zafrullah will enjoy the status of Minister and he will be attached to the British Embassy at Chungking. Although Sir Muhammad Zafrullah's diplomatic experience and ability is not questioned some surprise is expressed in political quarters over the hasty manner in which this appointment is made while similar other important appointments like those in the British War Cabinet, the Pacific Council and the Viceroy's Executive Council have been held in abeyance pending the conclusion of the current constitutional negotiations.

That is not the only cause for surprise. Political or diplomatic positions do not usually go to judges, as it is objectionable in principle. So it was considered that most probably some Indian statesman in active public life would be selected for the office.

Resolutions of Food Production Conference

The Food Production Conference, presided over by the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, concluded on the 6th April last after passing a number of resolutions.

The main resolution recommended to Provincial Governments the initiation of detailed programmes of work for the "grow more food campaign." The resolution *inter alia* appeals to Provincial Governments to make arrangements to ensure the availability of adequate supplies of seed for suitable varieties of crops and for the supply of manure and to improve the existing water supplies and give liberal grant of *tacavi* loans and concessional rates for seed manure and irrigation charges.

The Conference also recommended to Provincial Governments either to forego land revenue and rent or charge concession rates for a specified period on lands newly brought under cultivation provided food and fodder crops are grown on them.

With a view to countering any apprehension that the drive for increased food production might result in such an augmentation of output as seriously to affect the saleability of the crops, the Conference recommended to the Government of India to undertake in such circumstances to buy such quantities of foodstuffs in the open market as would prevent any serious deterioration in the level of prices.

By another resolution the Conference recommended to Government to take steps to revive, encourage and develop indigenous transport in order to meet increasing transport difficulties.

The Conference also suggested the establishment of a Central Food Advisory Council by the Government of India as a co-ordinating body whose functions would be to pool, study and disseminate all available information; to plan on an all-India basis the food and food production programme and to advise the authorities responsible about the equitable distribution of the available food stocks.—*A. P.*

Bengalis As Soldiers

In India today the inhabitants of most of the Provinces and States are considered by the authorities unfit for the soldier's life, and perhaps the Bengalis are regarded as the least fit. Therefore, the progress made by the Bengal Coastal Battery in a few months may encourage other "non-martial" Indians.

Mr. B. K. Lahiri, Jt. Secretary, the Civil Recruitment Committee has issued the following:

"The public may be aware that Bengal Coastal Battery is at present the only Regular Bengali Unit in the Indian Army. As the Army Headquarters have decided to expand it and as recruits will be enrolled in the I. T. F. Pavilion, Outram Road, Maidan, Calcutta on and from 25th April, 1942, a few words about its progress may not be out of place.

Some twenty months ago the authorities decided to form a Coast Artillery Battery of Bengalis. There was some speculation at the time as to whether this would be a success. The old cry of "The Bengali not being a martial stock" was frequently heard.

From absolutely raw material this unit has, in a short time, become as good as any battery in India. Bengali youths have shown themselves eminently suitable for this type of soldiering which calls for more than average intellect, in addition to the other attributes required in a soldier.

The Battery is ready and willing to try conclusions with any who care to come along. Its role, nevertheless, has been anything but a sinecure; long and arduous duties have had to be performed at times under exacting conditions. These duties have been performed by the Bengalis in a manner worthy of the highest Indian traditions.

When the unit was first formed its Indian Officers, instructors and N. C. O.'s were, of course, non-Bengali. These have now practically all been relieved by Bengalis who have mastered their jobs and are now instructing and commanding in their own unit. To graduate, step by step, from recruit to Viceroy's Commissioned Officer in a few months is no mean achievement and one of which the unit as well as the individual is proud.

Many tributes have been paid to this Unit, including that of Sir Claude Auchinleck, but the fact that it is now being greatly expanded is perhaps the finest tribute of all."

Post-War Principle of Suppression of Want and Misery

LONDON, April 20.

Governments, employers and trade unionists of fourteen countries are represented at what is in effect a world Congress on post-war reconstruction which opened in London on Monday morning.

Welcoming the delegates on behalf of the British War Cabinet, the Labour Minister Mr. Bevin, declared "this is not a rich man's war but a peoples' war and the peace must be a peoples' peace." He appealed for the strongest post-war co-operation and relationship between nations based on clear principles for the suppression of want and misery.

The Conference has been convened by the Emergency Committee of the International Labour Office. The countries represented are Britain, Canada, the United States, India, Mexico, the Netherlands, China, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg and Greece. Mr. Bevin feared a tremendous reaction when "the cease fire" sounded.

Declaring that the main objective must be to banish insecurity Mr. Bevin said that a mere revolutionary upheaval would not do. No single organisation or State could produce a complete result. Statesman and leaders must stand resolutely together everywhere to maintain some form of control while the foundations of peace, stability and orderly development were worked out.

During the morning session the American Federation of Labour representative Mr. R. J. Watt declared that the United States now had about six million war production workers but wanted about ten million more in the next few months to come anywhere near completing President Roosevelt's programme.—*Reuter.*

Technical Education in China

NEW DELHI, April 23.

Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, is going shortly to Chungking at the invitation of the Chinese Government to lecture on and discuss educational matters particularly matters relating to technical education. Mr. Sargent was closely associated with planning the training of technicians in India as part of the expansion of war industries. China is immensely interested in technical education particularly from the point of view of post-war reconstruc-

tion, and wishes to take advantage of Mr. Sargent's experience.—*A. P.*

There is no nation which cannot with advantage learn something from some other nation. The Chinese are a wise people. Their wisdom appears in their wish to take advantage of Mr. Sargent's experience. Similarly, it would be wise of Mr. Sargent to learn from China's genius and experience and give India the benefit of what he would learn there.

"Closest Co-operation between the 'United Nations'"

LONDON, April 22.

The question of the co-ordination of Allied strategy including not only military, naval and air operations but economic and political warfare was raised by Lord Strabolgi in the House of Lords today (Wednesday).

Earl Selborne, Minister of Economic Warfare, replying emphasised that the closest co-operation existed between the United Nations. Referring to China he said: "There you have a front which was a front long before England or America were involved in the war. The Chinese have been fighting the Japanese over four years and a whole machinery for co-ordinating and fighting the war from the Chinese side exists in China. China is a member of the Pacific War Council and through that channel as through other channels she can make representations as to the assistance she requires from Britain and America. We have a British Mission at Chungking and there is a United States Mission there; so closest liaison is possible."

Lord Selborne declared: "There is collaboration between England and America such as I suppose has never been between two countries before." He said there was no need for a combined staff at Moscow because "the Russians do not require British or American advice how to conduct their campaign. In Russia and China their wars are strategically separated although this is world war. The liaison machinery has been found completely adequate." Production had been revolutionised by the American entry into the war and the most complete co-ordination was necessary. In propaganda also there was the closest liaison between the Allies."—*Reuter.*

It will be observed that India is not even mentioned;—she is not in the picture of the "closest co-operation of the united nations," though next to China she is the most populous country of all engaged in the war. Perhaps she is not considered a "nation" and is, therefore, not regarded as among the "United Nations." Or perhaps, as she is a dependency, what is required of her is not true co-operation but subservience.

Sapru "Not So Moderate"

News Review (London, January 15, 1942), just to hand, writes thus about Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, with a photograph of his taken perhaps decades ago, with the words:

'Moderate Sapru

Even he wanted "some bold stroke"'

printed beneath:

NOT SO MODERATE.

Truly Indian affairs are rocking when India's Liberals call loudly for action from Britain. Last week noted lawyer Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, onetime member of the All-India Congress Committee, and 12 other Liberals cabled direct to Winston Churchill at Washington asking for "some bold stroke of far-sighted statesmanship without delay," so that India might give its full co-operation in the war. The Premier was assured straight away that Sir Tej and India's Moderates would be happy to shelve until after the war the question of a permanent Constitution for India.

Proposals made by the Liberals were:

Conversion of the Central Executive Council into a really national Government consisting entirely of non-officials from all recognised Parties and communities.

Recognition of India's right to direct representation on an Imperial Cabinet or on the Allied War Councils and peace conferences.

Consultation with the National Government on the same footing as the Dominions.

Restoration of popular Governments in the Provinces. Failing that, the establishment of non-official Executive Councils which would like the Central Government, be responsible only to the Crown.

All these changes were to be brought about in the most law-abiding, constitutional manner, through the medium of co-operation, by pleading with the British Lion to be reasonable for its own sake and India's.

Significant was this Liberal appeal, of which both Viceroy Linlithgow and India Secretary Leopold Amery received copies. It was significant because Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is a negotiator *par excellence,* a firm believer that all can be patched up if nobody is rash.

Said he in September, 1939, when Congress Indians were expressing indignant resentment at having been co-opted into the war without so much as a by-your-leave: "It would be disastrous if we offered our help subject to conditions."

Throughout the war, while Congress continued to urge non-co-operation and the Axis menace grew, Sir Tej Sapru continued to plead, "Line up with Britain."

Open scepticism characterised his attitude to civil disobedience and Constituent Assembly alik . Yet even Sir Tej had decided last week that some sharp words were necessary:

"Knowing intimately the feelings and aspirations of our countrymen as we do, we must express our conviction that nothing less than the inauguration of this policy (the Liberal programme) can resolve the crisis in India."

On these Liberal proposals Congress offered no comment last week. Grateful no doubt for a measure of support from the Moderates, it stuck firmly to its own demands. Right-wing Congressman Rajagopalachari told Labour's *Daily Herald* that Congress would gladly postpone until after the war the settlement of major issues, provided a definite promise of freedom was given at once.

In Parliament Leopold Amery meantime told questioners that the Government could not make further progress constitutionally in India until there was "some willingness on the part of the leading Parties to work together."

Village Defence Parties

For protection against the lawless elements in the country in these unsettled and critical

times village defence parties are urgently required. It appears from a press message dated Chittagong, April 21, that Mr. T. B. Jameson, District Magistrate of Chittagong, has issued a statement assuring the public of Chittagong of all possible protection against lawlessness and disorder and asking all law-abiding inhabitant of the district to form village defence parties in every Union. He says:

"Reports are being received from some parts of the district that people of ill repute are threatening to resort to crimes, such as the looting of *hats* and the committing of dacoity. They are encouraged in this by the conditions now obtaining in Burma and I wish it clearly to be understood by all inhabitants of the Chittagong District that so long as it lies in my power I will not tolerate any lawlessness or disorder. The local police are now having the burden placed on their shoulders which it is impossible for them to bear unaided and I, therefore, call upon all Presidents and members of Union Board and all respectable and law-abiding inhabitants of the districts to form immediately Village Defence Parties in defence of their lives and property. In the work to be done by these parties they will receive the hearty co-operation of the local police and they may safely go to them for guidance. Not only most members of these parties take active interests in the defence of their areas, but they should also watch carefully the movements of suspicious characters. By so doing it may be possible to prevent contemplated crimes being carried into effect.

"The enemy is at the gates and it behoves every citizen to realise that he has not only the duty to himself and his family but to the community as a whole. Rich and poor, landlord and tenant, merchant and customer, should band together in the defence of that which they hold dear, namely, the leading of their lives in peace and quietness, undisturbed by those criminal elements which taking advantage of the state of extreme emergency raise their heads.

"In the work which they do in the defence of their villages these parties will have my full support and any persons who break the law or indulge in wild rumours in order to cause panic will be most severely dealt with.

"*Meetings held for the specific purpose of forming these defence parties will not be treated as coming within the mischief of the Defence of India Rules or Section 144 Cr. P. C. and, I hope they will, therefore, be held freely and that, whenever possible, those convening such meetings will seek and obtain the co-operation of the sub-divisional officers' and circle officers and others who have been deputed to moffussil areas for the purpose.*"

The above statement is being copiously distributed in the district.

The sentences which we have italicized above are both significant and very timely and important. It is to be hoped that other district officers, in and outside Bengal, will give similar assurances to the public so that meetings for the formation of defence parties may be freely held and the parties formed may function effectively.

Suspension of Newspapers

Yugantar Suspended

Yugantar, a Bengali daily, of Calcutta, has been directed by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Rules to suspend further publication, sale or distribution of the paper.

An order to this effect was issued on Thursday morning stating:

"Whereas in the opinion of the Governor, the issue (Calcutta Edition), dated the 21st April, 1942, of the *Yugantar*, a Bengali daily newspaper, printed and published by Dhirendra Nath Sen from 2, Ananda Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta, contains information likely to assist the enemy of the nature described in Clauses (A) and (C) of Sub-rule (5) of Rule 34 of the Defence of India Rules.

"Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by Clause (D) of Sub-rule (1) of Rule 40 of the said rules and further to notification of the Government of Bengal No. 201-PR., dated the 21st April, 1942, the Governor hereby prohibits the further publication, sale or distribution of the *Yugantar* newspaper."

The order relates to an offending article published in the issue of the paper of April 21.

All copies of this particular issue of the paper have been declared forfeited by the Government by another order.—*A. P.*

We used to see *Yugāntar* every day and form a rough idea of its contents. We do not know what information its issue of the 21st April last contained which was "likely to assist the enemy." But we wonder how the enemy, German or Japanese, can have access to this information written in the Bengali language. Newspapers or cuttings thereof, letters, post cards, etc., can not be sent to enemy countries by ordinary or air mail. Such is the case with telegrams also. Radio transmitters are entirely under Government control.

Like every other Indian newspaper which we see, *Yugāntar* has been all along an anti-Fascist paper opposed to the Axis powers.

A friendly talk and, if needed, a warning to the editor, would we believe have sufficed for achieving the object which Government has in view.

Suspension of Bombay Sentinel

BOMBAY, April 22.

In connection with the Bombay Government order suspending publication of the *Bombay Sentinel* for 31 days from today, Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the paper, in an interview, said it was suggested to him that an expression of regret might influence Government in reducing the period but he declined to give such an expression. Mr. Horniman, however, stated, to Government that the *Sentinel* had always cordially co-operated with Government in the application of the Defence of India Rules for governing publication of matters connected with the war. But he did not think publication of this report came within the purview of the Defence of India Rules in that sense. Had he thought so, Mr. Horniman said, he would have certainly referred the matter to the Press Adviser.—*U. P.*

Mr. Horniman is an experienced and seasoned journalist who has never been known to be pro-Fascist. His statement may be accepted as representing the correct view of what he wrote rather the official view of it. We have not seen what he wrote.

"Pratap" of Lahore Suspends Publication

LAHORE, April 23.

The *Pratap*, a vernacular daily of Lahore, has suspended publication following the orders of the Punjab Government directing the paper to submit to the Special Press Adviser, Lahore, at his office between 10 a.m. and 9 p.m., on working days, for scrutiny before publication, all and every matter, including headlines, connected with the war, the international situation, internal security or civil defence measures in India or any other matter relating to measures for the prosecution of the war taken by the Government.—*A. P.*

No self-respecting paper can submit to the orders passed by the Panjab Government on *Pratap*. But apart from the question of self-respect, there is the question of timely publication and efficiency. It is not practicable for any daily to serve the public punctually and effectively, supplying the latest possible news, and compete with its rivals if it has to carry out orders like those of the Panjab Government served on *Pratap*. It is far more straightforward to suppress a paper outright than to pass such orders on it.

Though the anti-British feeling which is in the country finds expression in the press in India, this should not be mistaken for pro-German or pro-Japanese feeling, of which there is none in the country. There is no Indian foolish enough to welcome any aggressor or even to adopt a passive attitude towards aggression. Every political party, every religious community and every class in the country is for resisting any and every possible invader. Mahatma Gandhi, too, is a resister, although a non-violent resister.

In view of these facts and in view also of the fact that the Government has not been quite dutiful, prompt and immaculate in its Defence arrangements, the press ought to be given sufficient latitude in its criticism of the authorities and in placing before them all the information it possesses. The Defence of India Rules have greatly restricted our liberty. Further limitation is undesirable in the interests of the authorities themselves, and certainly in the interests of the country.

We ought not to conceal our feeling that if the Government must needs be and appear terrible to some party, it is not to the press in India but to the enemy who is about to invade the country. Publicists in India, including journalists and students, are sufficiently conscious that the Government can make its power felt by them. It is the Japanese who wait to and should be made to feel the power of the Government in India. Let that government turn *all* its terrible powers in the direction of the Japanese.

Central Press Advisory Committee's Resolution on Suspension Orders

It is only right that the Central Press Advisory Committee has paid prompt attention to the Draconian orders passed on *Yagāntar* and the severe orders passed on two other papers.

NEW DELHI, April 23.

To consider the situation, arising out of the ban on the publication of the *Bombay Sentinel*, Bombay; the *Jugantar* (a Bengali Daily conducted in conjunction with the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* at Calcutta) and the action taken by the Punjab Government against the *Pratap*, a Urdu daily of Lahore, an urgent meeting of the Press Advisory Committee was held in the *Hindustan Times* office at which the following members were present: Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Mr. J. K. Cowley, Mr. B. Shivarao and Mr. Devadas Gandhi. The following members of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference were present by special invitation: Mr. U. N. Sen, Mr. P. D. Sharma and Mr. A. S. Iyengar.

The meeting in a resolution passed unanimously recommends to the President of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference to summon an emergency meeting of the Standing Committee to review the situation and meanwhile to take prompt steps in conjunction with the Provincial Press Advisory Committees concerned to get into touch with the Provincial Governments responsible for these decisions and safeguard the interests of the Press in those Provinces.—*A. P.*

EDITORS' MOVE

BOMBAY, April 23.

Messrs. S. A. Brelvi (*Bombay Chronicle*), Srinivasan (*Free Press*), S. Natarajan (*Indian Social Reformer*) and Mr. Amritlal D. Sheth (*Janmabhumi*) have addressed a letter to Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the All-India Newspapers' Conference and to Mr. J. N. Sahani, Convener of the Conference, to summon a meeting of the Conference immediately.—*A. P.*

Commander-in-Chief's Assurance to the People of India

In the course of his broadcast talk from the Delhi station, All-India Radio, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said:

Let me begin by an assurance I can give you without any hesitation—that our ultimate victory in the war against the brutality and aggression of the Axis powers is beyond all doubt. You have on your side the four toughest and most enduring races of the world. The British may be idle and easy-going in times of peace but their core is as hard and unyielding as ever, adversity strips off the soft husk and reveals that core; they will never give in. The Chinese, the oldest civilisation of the world, have, though half armed, stubbornly defended their civilisation for nearly five years against

the upstart Japanese and will continue to do so to the end. The Russians have endured an armoured onslaught by the Germans on a scale never equalled and have thrown it back as they have thrown back so many other invaders; their endurance is everlasting. And the Americans, of whose determination to assist India to the utmost of their inexhaustible resources you already see such evidence, do they strike you as a people who will let go once they have taken a hold? So you need not worry about our victory, it is only a question of when and how.

We do not deny that these words of assurance are calculated to induce a sense of security in the hearts of weaklings who have to be defended by others as they cannot defend themselves adequately and effectively. But we must confess at the same time that as we read them we did not feel our stature as human beings growing;—not even when we seemed to hear the Commander-in-Chief adding, as if by way of consolation:

Another assurance I can give you with confidence is of the quality of the troops that defend India. Let nothing that has happened in Malaya or Burma shake your faith in the fighting powers of the British or Indian soldier or lead you to think too highly of the Japanese.

Why have not the Indians had the opportunity so to train themselves as to be entitled to be described as one of the toughest and most c[illegible]ers of the world? Why could not India have a National Army several millions strong? Why is she not in a position not only to defend herself but also to despatch troops *voluntarily* for the defence of a neighbouring country, as China is?

National Governments and National Armies

The Soviet Government in Russia is less than twenty-five years old. The population of U. S. S. R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) is 180 millions. This government has already sent to the field millions of well-trained and well-equipped soldiers. The casualties alone must by now have numbered wellnigh a million. And now comes a report from Moscow that reserves numbering several millions of skilled soldiers have been trained for the Red Army and that *these new fighters are drawn from every part of the Soviet Union* and from all communities, there being no artificial division of the people there into martial and non-martial.

In China, too, millions of citizens have been trained as soldiers. Some have gone to the front and some have been kept in reserve. The figures of casualties have been staggering.

Russia and China have been able to have such huge armies, because they are free countries and have national governments. India's population is more than double that of the Soviet Union and almost equal to that of China. Taking all the Provinces together, British India has been under British rule for not less than 150 years. But it is only during the present war that India has been able to raise about a million soldiers, some of whom have yet to be fully trained and armed. And the Indian army is a mercenary or, to use an inoffensive adjective, a professional army not a citizen army.

In order that a country may have the largest possible citizen army, all its male citizens of fighting age should be passed through the ranks and, if necessary and possible, should see service. They may then go back to civil life in the full vigour of life, rousing the military spirit of the people, and serve as a reserve. In India such is not the case. The recruits to the Indian army are mostly from the labouring class. Indian soldiers are no doubt among the bravest in the world. But they do not constitute a citizen and national army. They are a mercenary or professional army. The more an army is transformed from a body of mercenaries into a people's army, the more does the spirit of the people become the decisive factor. It has become so in Russia and China and is going to be so in America. It can be so in India if we have a national government, which can convert all citizens into soldiers. Such a thing is not possible under an alien bureaucracy which distrusts the people.

Sir Richard Temple said in his evidence before the Eden Commission:

The Government never passed its Indian subjects through the ranks, nor sent them to their homes in the vigour of life. On the contrary, it has heretofore never parted with its native soldiers till they were pensioned in the evening of life. To train them to keep them for a limited time, either with the colours or in reserve, and then altogether to discharge them without pension to their homes in numbers increasingly large . . . would be to ensure a constant influx into the civil population of military men no longer bound to Government and to infuse again into the people a part of martial spirit which has been disappearing, and the disappearance of which is still advantageous to us.

"United States Troops are Already in India"

In the course of his speech at his first press conference on the 22nd April last Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy, said:

"I want to put on record today that it is not the purpose, I should say, it is not the strategic purpose, of the Allied nations to accept defeat on one front so as to assure victory on another. It is the purpose of the United States and the United Nations to bring every

possible resource to bear to win victory on all fronts. Wherever the enemy attacks, it is the determination of my country to resist him; wherever he is vulnerable to attack him.

"In that definition, the defence of India is the concern of the United States. If India is attacked by our common enemy, her defence is properly the concern of the Allied nations, whose united resources, I pledge, will be used as far as possible to throw back the attacker. It is for this reason, it is from this point of view, that the United States troops are already in India and more will be in India."

There is no objection to the troops of a friendly country taking part in the defence of any country threatened by an aggressor—particularly when the former has no territorial designs. But the fact that the United States troops are already in India and more still are coming, reminds us that the defence of India has not been and is not even now considered to be the business above all of India herself, as the defence of China has been considered her business above all. China has defended herself single-handed for wellnigh five years. Under circumstances other than those now prevailing and those which have prevailed for more than 150 years, India, too, could have defended herself single-handed for years.

All these humiliating thoughts arise in our minds when we read of the foreign help which India has been receiving for her defence.

The American Technical Mission

At the press conference referred to in the foregoing note Col. Louis Johnson said in part:

"The sending of the American Technical Mission is further evidence of the realization in my own United States and in the United Nations that this is one war, a world-wide war, and not a European war with an Asiatic side-show."

He added:

"the technical skill of the United States will, to the extent that you will accept it, be applied to the problem here.

"The sending of this Mission to India is one phase of the United Nations' war effort and not a part of any peace time plan of the United States," he made it clear. "This Mission will not consider any post-war economic or commercial problems nor the relations of the United States to those problems. It is rather a group representing skill to be applied to the problem in hand to the end that India's ability to resist and India's ability to contribute to the war effort may be enhanced. Its function is to gather data, make explorations, furnish technical experts, if so desired, undertake recommendations, and to the extent your industries desire, to assist during the war period in applying those recommendations."

We should be and are willing to learn from all nations. But that an ancient civilized nation under the rule of an industrially advanced nation for 150 years should in the year 1942 lack technical skill to the extent that we do irresistibly reminds us of our own past supineness and of the selfishness and neglect of duty of the ruling race as well.

If it be true that the coming of the American Technical Mission does not foreshadow the securing of any mining or other concessions and monopolies for American capitalists and the opening of factories on their part, then its activities need not be looked upon with suspicion.

Controlled Price of Sugar

The Government of India has recently fixed the price of sugar at Rs. 11/12/- per maund at the factory. The price current in Calcutta before the fixation was Rs. 13/- per maund, so that there is no likelihood of its going down. If it be argued that the step has been taken in order that the price may not rise further, we can say in reply that such control in the case of 'atta' has been ineffective. According to Dr. Francis Maxwell, D.Sc., M. I. Mech. E., F.C.S., the cost of production of sugar is Rs. 6/- per maund. The excise duty is Rs. 3/- per maund. To allow the manufacturer of an essential commodity like sugar to keep a margin of profit of Rs. 2/12/- per maund is not likely to benefit the consumer. The Government in a Press Note states that the manufacturer gets only a profit of Re. 1/- per maund. It should explain how it arrives at the figure. Even so a profit of Re. 1/- per maund on an article valued at Rs. 10/12/- is too much.

As regards the hue and cry raised by the mill-owners, the speech of Mr. B. M. Birla in July, 1940, in tendering resignation of the chairmanship of the Indian Sugar Syndicate on account of the high price policy of that body, will be an eye-opener.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

Communications Member and Coal Wagons

The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Roy, Communications Member, Government of India, recently visited Calcutta and made some general statements regarding coal wagons. He said that the appointment of the Controller of Coal Distribution would improve matters. This is more than facts warrant. This appointment is in direct contravention of the recommendations of the Noyce Committee. The age of miracles being gone, the Controller cannot add a single wagon to the existing number, which is far short of requirements. Industries not doing war work are getting priority wagons for coal. Where do these wagons come from? Certainly from the pool ordinarily supplying the needs of Public

Utility concerns like waterworks, domestic coke and ordinary industries themselves. To instal an officer with the high-sounding name of Controller and give him the appearance of dealing out justice to warring interests will fail of the object of producing effect on the public mind. The Hon'ble Mr. Roy asked the public to endure hardships inevitable in time of war. We should certainly do that. But can he produce an iota of reason why we should endure hardships which follow from an unfair system of distribution of wagons giving priority to fuel for industries not engaged in war work over soft coke used in preparing food ? Care should also be taken that industries partly doing war work do not draw their entire requirements of coal under war priority. The British minister Sir Kingsley Wood said the other day that in Britain the price level of staple food had been reduced while rent had remained stationary since the declaration of war. Cannot the same solicitude for the food of the poor be shown in distribution of coal wagons in this country ?—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

New Venture in Iron and Steel

Before the establishment of the factory of the Tatas at Jamshedpur, India produced no appreciable quantity of iron and steel. Now she is one of the biggest producers of these articles in the world. A new company under the auspices of Srijut Alamohon Das has been registered with an authorised capital of 5 crores of rupees with the object of manufacturing iron and steel. This will gladden the hearts of those who wish to see India prosperous with new avenues of employment for her children.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

Muslim Nationalism in China

"The question whether one is a Muslim or non-Muslim does not arise in China and does not bother a Chinese citizen to any extent as it does an Indian," said Othman K. K. Woo, representative of the Chinese Islamic National Federation, Chungking, in course of a Press interview.

Mr. Woo is now in Calcutta on a mission to India and the countries of the Middle East, where he wants to study the political conditions and to interpret at the same time what Nationalist China stands for and what part the Chinese Muslims are playing in building the new State.

To a question put to him as to whether there is any difference between a Chinese Muslim and non-Muslim socially, politically or economically, Mr. Woo said that in respect of the last two spheres there was absolutely no difference, but in respect of the first he could only say that the Chinese Muslims observed different customs, which were according to Islamic injunctions, in regard to marriage and diet. Their language was the same, their dress and mode of living was the same as that of the non-Muslims and they lived in areas both urban and rural as one people without any barrier between them.

They were not a fanatic people, said Mr. Woo, referring to the Chinese Muslims, although their zeal, added he, for their faith was in no way less than of any other Islamic people.

They had their religious scriptures translated in the Chinese language and script and for the last 10 years they were sending batches of young Chinese Muslims to Al Azhar University at Cairo to improve upon the works already translated into Chinese by old Chinese scholars.

Mr. Woo, however, could not visualise a day when the Chinese Muslims like the Kemalist Turks would be able to give up Arabic altogether and substitute Chinese for the Islamic studies and prayer. In the circumstances the Chinese Muslims who would be taking up Islamic studies, particularly the Imams and Maulanas, could not but be bi-lingual.

The Chinese Muslims, Mr. Woo said, were nationalists to a man and were fully and unreservedly contributing their share to the re-birth of new China. There was no Chinese Muslim fighting for Japan. In many spheres of national reconstruction work now going on in China there were numerous Chinese Muslims who were as prominent as the non-Muslims.

To a direct question put to him as to whether he could envisage a situation in China when his loyalty to his country would be in conflict with his loyalty to his faith, Mr. Woo said that he could not conceive such a situation which he regarded as absurd.—*H. S.*

Requisitioning of Private Property for Defence of India

On the 25th April last by an amendment of India Rules, it was announced that : "If in the opinion of the Central Government or the Provincial Government it is necessary or expedient so to do for securing the defence of British India, public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community, that Government may by order in writing requisition any property, moveable or immoveable, and may make such further orders as appear to that Government to be necessary or expedient in connection with the requisitioning :

"Provided that no property used for the purpose of religious worship and no such property as is referred to in Rule 66 or in Rule 72 shall be requisitioned under this Rule."

"Whenever in pursuance of these rules, the Central Government or the Provincial Government requisitions or acquires any moveable property, the owner thereof shall be paid such compensation as that Government may determine."

Capital levy may follow in due course.

All such measures involve the least possibility of creating discontent or unrest if they come from a national government.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty On American Technical Mission

"With the knowledge that I have of the genesis and the scope of this Technical Mission, I can state unequivocally that it is not the purpose of the Technical Mission to help American industrialists to build up factories in India," declared Sir Shanmukham Chetty at his Press Conference on the 23rd April last.

"What the Technical Mission is expected to do is to aid the established industries in India to increase the production of articles required directly or indirectly for the prosecution of the war. Whatever expansion takes place will remain the asset of India. If the object of this Technical Mission is correctly understood every Indian should welcome the opportunity that the visit of this Mission has afforded to our country, to increase war production and thereby to lay the basis of a sound post-war industrial development. While it will be wrong for any individual or nation to think of the opportunities of this war in terms of post-war benefits, it is nevertheless a fact that any substantial increase in the industrial capacity of India will result in enriching the post-war economy of our country."

Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Appeal to West To Treat China as Equal

BOMBAY, April 24.

In an article appearing in the *New York Times*, on April 19, Madame Chiang Kai-shek appealed to the West to think and treat China as an equal, according to a message from Chunking. There have been three stages in the treatment of the Chinese peoples by the Westerners, Madame Chiang pointed out.

First—the Western exploitation of China.

Second—the Western sympathy and growing admiration for the Chinese in their struggle against Japan since 1937.

Third—the stage of active co-operation with China—the stage during which the Westerners learnt that Chinese victories in the Far East have been due to China's spiritual strength.

Pointing to the future, Madame Chiang said "in the new world order, that we are going to create, there must be no talk of superiors or inferiors. We must be equal—men and women of all races—pushing forward to a great ideal."

The full text of Madame Chiang's article, entitled "Will dawn come from the East," originally published in the *New York Times*, appeared in the Chungking Press today. Commenting on it, the *Central Daily News*, the Chinese official organ, remarked that, in addition to waging the war, we must think constructively on the subject of ways and means of establishing a sound foundation for a lasting peace, which we are determined, shall come.

The *Central Daily News* regarded Madame Chiang's article as a valuable contribution in this respect. The failure of the League of Nations was due to the lack of sufficient understanding of the psychological issues involved. A new turn in international relations can be had only through the abandonment of all prejudices and discriminations incompatible with true co-operation among nations.—*A. P.*

Some Madras Congress Legislators' Self-seeking Revolt

According to an Associated Press message,

MADRAS, April 23.

A resolution recommending to the All-India Congress Committee to "acknowledge the Muslim Leagues claim for separation should the same be persisted in when the time comes for framing the future constitution of India" and to "invite the Muslim League for consultation for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a national Government to meet the present emergency" was passed by the Madras Congress Legislatures Party at its meeting this afternoon Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, leader of the party presiding. The resolution was moved from the chair.

The meeting also passed a resolution voicing "the general feeling in this part of the country that there should be at this critical juncture a popular Government in this province doing its utmost to secure the requisite conditions for the people to play their part. The party is of opinion further that to facilitate united and effective action in this regard by such a popular Government, the Muslim League should be invited to participate in it."

The party requested the A.-I. C. C. to permit the party to take steps to this end, notwithstanding the general All-India policy followed by the Congress.—*A. P.*

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, has issued the following statement on the resolution recently passed by the Madras Congress Legislatures Party:

"It greatly astonished and pained me that a man like Mr. Rajagopalachari, in spite of his being a member of the Congress Working Committee, should have adopted such an attitude. I am in communication with him.

"I would assure you that any personal relationship howsoever dear to me, cannot deter me for a moment from discharging my duty as a President of the Congress.

"I may point out in this connection that in the Congress organisation only the Provincial Congress Committee is the competent body to represent provincial views—not the Congress Legislatures Party. Despite this fact, the party itself was not fully represented in the meeting. The information about the meeting indicates that out of 191 Congress members of both the Houses only 52 attended the meeting. And when votes were taken, only 36 participated in the voting. It clearly shows that it would be wrong to attribute the decision to the majority of the Congressmen of the Province."—*A. P.*

The curious Madras resolution contains the expressions "the future constitution of India," and "the installation of a National Government."

If the Moslem League's claim for separation were acknowledged would there be any undivided country called India whose constitution would have to be framed? "National Government" implies the existence of a nation. If India were Pakistanized, would there be any Indian nation in the sense in which the term is now understood?

In Bengal Sjt. Kiran Sankar Roy has been the first to sound a note of unequivocal con-

demnation of the Madras move. He concludes his firm and cogent statement by observing:

I would like to tell Rajaji and those who think like him that this surrender to Mr. Jinnah's claim to a partition of India into Hindu and Muhammadan division which implies that Bengal will be included in Muhammadan India, will not be accepted by Bengal, notwithstanding whatever men like Rajaji may say or do.

I would also like to appeal to the President of the Indian National Congress to prevent such irresponsibilities on the part of the members of the Congress Working Committee, which is creating great confusion in the country.—*U. P.*

A New Delhi correspondents' report creates the impression that the Madras move will not find much support from the Congress rank and file.

PATNA, April 25.

It was wrong to attribute to the Congress as a whole or even the Congressmen of Madras Presidency, the opinion of 36 members of the Madras Legislative Party, observed Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a member of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee when interviewed for his views on the latest resolution of the Madras Congress Legislative Party.

He said that it would not be right for him, being a member of the Working Committee to say anything on merits of the resolution and he would content himself with the remark that it had offered an opportunity to the Working Committee and the A.-I. C. C. to express itself unequivocally and categorically on the question. Referring to the other resolution of the Madras Congress Legislative Party, Dr. Prasad said that unless the whole policy which the Congress had followed ever since the war broke out was changed there would be no question of the Congress taking office or joining any coalition. He added that he did not see any chance of the Congress reversing that policy.—*A. P.*

The public will see how "unequivocally and categorically" the A.-I. C. C. expresses itself on the question.

Mr. T. Prakasam has criticized Rajaji and his resolution quite unceremoniously. An Associated Press message from Bombay gives the impression that in the opinion of the Bombay Congress party the Madras resolutions were against the best interests of the country and ought not to have been passed at all.

LAHORE, April 24.

"I hope the A.-I. C. C. will throw out this proposal which means a violation of the pledge given by the Congress to the Sikhs," said Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, commenting on the resolution passed by the Madras Congress Legislature Party recommending to the A.-I. C. C. to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation.

He added: "The Congress has given to the Sikhs a pledge that they will be party to no settlement which does not give full satisfaction to the Sikhs amongst others. The Sikhs are not prepared to yield to Pakistan. It is, therefore, not proper for the Congress to agree to any proposal for the vivisection of India."—*A. P.*

"Mr. Rajagopalachariar has rendered the greatest possible disservice to the cause of Indian Nationalism. To sponsor a resolution conceding the Pakistan demand in this crisis and to plead for National Government with the nominees of the Quade-Azam is nothing short of an act of betrayal." Thus said Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President, Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of a statement through the *United Press.*

"Bengal has been stabbed from the back by this manoeuvre from Madras. That would be the feeling of the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Punjab and in the North-Western Frontier Province.

"Rajaji has gone further than Sir Stafford Cripps in placating Mr. Jinnah and has thrown overboard not merely the Hindus but also the nationalist Muslims who are opposed to Pakistan. It is time that Rajaji should be publicly repudiated by every true son of Mother India who does not want her to be vivisected and who believe in India's unity and India's integrity.

"National Government is desirable but Pakistan is too much of a price to be paid for that consummation which will satisfy Rajaji and his 36 followers of the Madras Congress Party; for us India is and shall ever be 'one, indivisible and indissoluble."—*U. P.*

According to Dr. D. V. Deshmukh the Madras resolutions are "the result of loose thinking under the panic of invasion."

It is difficult to guess the reasons which have led a few Madras M.L.A.s to lend their support to Mr Jinnah's Pakistan proposal. But perhaps these politicians did not seriously think over the implications of Pakistan as they felt sure that their province is not going to be included in Pakistan. What did it matter to them if distant Bengal, Panjab, N.-W. F. P. and Sindh suffered. But these shortsighted men can, if they like, easily understand that the whole of India will be weakened and every Province will be weakened if the country were Pakistanized.

It is curious that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari attaches as much importance to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League as British imperialists do in their own interests, to the neglect of the views of Congress Muslims and other nationalist Muslims, who are far more numerous than the Jinnahites. Does Mr. Rajagopalachari disbelieve the Momin leaders of 45 million Muslims who repudiate Mr. Jinnah's leadership?

Congress Working Committee's Resolution On British War Cabinet's Proposals

The following is the full text of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on the proposals of the British War Cabinet placed before the Indian public and public bodies by Sir Stafford Cripps.

NEW DELHI, April 11.

"The Working Committee, says the resolution, have given their full and earnest consideration to the

proposals made by the British War Cabinet in regard to India and the elucidation thereof by Sir Stafford Cripps. These proposals, which have been made at the very last hour because of the compulsion of events, have to be considered not only in relation to India's demand for independence, but more especially in the present grave war crisis, with a view to meeting effectively the perils and dangers that confront India and envelop the world.

The Congress has repeatedly stated, ever since the commencement of the war in September, 1939, that the people of India would line themselves with the progressive forces of the world and assume full responsibility to face the new problems and shoulder the new burdens that had arisen, and it asked for the necessary conditions to enable them to do so to be created. An essential condition was the freedom of India, for only the realisation of present freedom could light the flame which would illumine millions of hearts and move them to action. At the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, after the commencement of the war in the Pacific, it was stated that 'only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war.'

FULL INDEPENDENCE

The British War Cabinet's new proposals relate principally to the future upon the cessation of hostilities. The Committee, while recognising that self-determination for the people of India is accepted in principle in that uncertain future, regret that this is fettered and circumscribed and certain provisions have been introduced which gravely imperil the development of a free and united nation and the establishment of a democratic state. Even the constitution-making body is so constituted that the people's right to self-determination is vitiated by the introduction of non-representative elements. The people of India have as a whole clearly demanded full independence and the Congress has repeatedly declared that no other status except that of independence for the whole of India could be agreed to or could meet the essential requirements of the present situation.

NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY

The Committee recognise that future independence may be implicit in the proposals, but the accompanying provisions and restrictions are such that real freedom may well become an illusion. The complete ignoring of the 90 millions of the people of the Indian States and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers is a negation of both democracy and self-determination. While the representation of an Indian State in the constitution-making body is fixed on a population basis, the people of the State have no voice in choosing those representatives, nor are they to be consulted at any stage, while decisions vitally affecting them are being taken. Such States may in many ways become barriers to the growth of Indian freedom, enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency, and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the States as well as of the rest of India.

BLOW TO INDIAN UNITY

The acceptance beforehand of the novel principle of non-accession for a province is also a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces, and which may well lead to further difficulties in the way of the Indian States merging themselves in the Indian union.

The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. *Nevertheless, the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian union against their declared and established will.* While recognising this principle, the Committee feel that every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which result in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the union, consistently with a strong national State. The proposal now made on the part of the British War Cabinet encourages and will lead to attempts at separation at the very inception of a union and thus create friction just when the utmost co-operation and goodwill are most needed. This proposal has been presumably made to meet a communal demand, but it will have other consequences also and lead politically reactionary and obscurantist groups among different communities to create trouble and divert public attention from the vital issues before the country.

Any proposal concerning the future of India must demand attention and scrutiny, but in today's grave crisis, it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present.

PROPOSALS VAGUE AND INCOMPLETE

The Committee have necessarily attached the greatest importance to this aspect of the question, and on this ultimately depends what advice they should give to those who look to them for guidance. For this present the British War Cabinet's proposals are vague and altogether incomplete, and it would appear that no vital changes in the present structure are contemplated. It has been made clear that the defence of India will in any event remain under British control. At any time defence is a vital subject; during the war-time it is all important and covers almost every sphere of life and administration. To take away defence from the sphere of responsibility at this stage is to reduce that responsibility to a farce and a nullity, and to make it perfectly clear that India is not going to be free in any way and her Government is not going to function as a free and independent Government during the pendency of the war. The Committee would repeat that an essential and fundamental pre-requisite for the assumption of responsibility by the Indian people in the present, is their realisation as a fact that they are free and are in charg of maintaining and defending their freedom. What is most wanted is the enthusiastic response of the people which cannot be evoked without the fullest trust in them and the devolution of responsibility on them in the matter of defence. It is only thus that even at this grave eleventh hour it may be possible to galvanise the people of India to rise to the height of the occasion. It is manifest that the present Government of India, as well as its provincial agencies, are lacking in competence, and are incapable of shouldering the burden of India's defence. It is only the people of India, through their popular representatives, who may shoulder this burden worthily. But that can only be done by present freedom, and full responsibility being cast upon them.

The Committee, therefore, is unable to accept the proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet.—*A. P. I.*

We support the resolution as a whole, but take very strong exception to the sentence in it which we have italicized. While the Committee declare that they *have been* (not *are*?) wedded to Indian unity, they in the next breath admit by implication the right (?) of territorial units to destroy that unity.

The members of the Working Committee cannot claim to be greater upholders of democratic self-determination than the American heroes under President Abraham Lincoln who fought the American Civil War to prevent the Southern States from seceding from the American Union.

The territorial units, the Committee know, are not natural units, either racially or ethnologically, or linguistically, or geographically. Some of them have been formed in pursuance of British imperialist interests against India's national interests and the protests of Indian Nationalists. The Andhra-desha continues to be included in the Madras Presidency against its desire. So is Kerala. The Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar Province continue to be included in it against their will. So are other areas in other territorial units, like Assam. It is nonsensical, therefore, to speak of India's territorial units in such a way as to imply that there is no disharmony among the parts constituting these units and that every one of these units speak with a single voice.

The resolution speaks of "the people in any territorial unit." Take the people of the Panjab. Supposing the Muslims of that Province are for standing outside the Indian Union, the Hindus and Sikhs are certainly in favour of being included in the Union. Similarly, in Bengal and other Muslim majority provinces, the Hindus and other non-Muslims are and always will be in favour of living and dying in *Akhanda* Bhāratavarsha. If some Muslims in a Muslim majority province are to be allowed to prevent the province of their domicile from forming part of the Indian Union, why are its non-Muslims and Nationalist Muslims not to be allowed to include their province in the Indian Union? If self-determination is good for the minorities of India as a whole, it should be good for the minorities in each territorial unit.

Mr. Savarkar's Criticism of Part of C. W. C.'s Resolution

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has strongly criticized that part of the Congress Working Committee resolution to which we have referred in the foregoing note. Says he, in part:

The implication of the Congress resolution "is so damaging and detrimental to Indian unity in general and to Hindudom in particular that by admitting the right of the Moslem provinces positively to secede, they have deprived the Hindus negatively of any *right* to resist them from doing so and fighting for the unity and integrity of Hindusthan which today is already an accomplished fact."

The League of Nations lays down fundamental principle when it states as emphatically as possible that minorities must not be allowed to "create a state within a state" and break up the territorial and political unity of a country into a number of states independent of each other. But the Congress has admitted this very right and given a Charter to the Moslems to carve out as many Pakistans as they liked independent of any Central Indian Government.

If ever a constitution-making body is called, the Congress cannot but be bound by this principle which it has admitted and the Moslems taking their stand on this Charter which the Indian National Congress has deliberately signed and delivered to them, cannot but exercise this right by raising a Pakisthan-federation.—

"Yugantar" Reappears

It is understood that *Yugantar*, a Bengali daily, has received official permission to resume publication with immediate effect. The next issue of the paper is, therefore, expected to come out today (27th April).

The paper was asked on April 23 by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Rules to suspend its publication, sale or distribution in connection with an article appearing in the issue of the paper of April 21. —*A. P.*

We are glad, indeed.

To take a wrong step even by mistake is bad. To obstinately refuse to undo the wrong is worse. We are glad the Bengal Government have had the statesmanship and courage to rise above such obstinacy.

Convocation Address at Delhi University

'Today the waves of war are furiously lapping on our shores and may, at any hour, flood into our very hearth and home. It would mean untold misery and sufferings for millions of peaceful citizens. Yet even as the war churns up its tales of destruction, cruelty and horror, it would at the same time afford our youth—in the course of a remorseless struggle against the cruel aggressor—just those opportunities to prove the strength of his moral fibre—of courage, discipline, organisation and all that go to make the fulness of character,' observed the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Pro-Chancellor, at the Convocation of the Delhi University on the 18th April last.

'As in the western countries during the last war,' Mr. Sarker added, 'the younger generation of our country—in the role of the soldier in the trenches, the elusive guerilla fighter and the anonymous hero—will escape from the colourless tenor of an artificial existence and face nature and raw life with a new dignity of hardships and sufferings. It will be their privilege to render a unique service to the afflicted society in obstructing the enemy, in preserving the morale of the

public and in bringing help and succour to the distressed. The very intensity of such an experience cannot fail to affect profoundly the mental outlook of an entire youthful generation.'

'Now that you are at the portals of a hard and intensely competitive world, I would like you to realise the great complexities of modern life. In days gone by there was almost a certainty that the average university student could, on the completion of his college career step into some definite job which did not leave him in want of the material necessities of life. But the situation today has become ever so much more difficult and complex. There is, therefore, a greater need now to equip yourselves more thoroughly for the respective vocations of life you elect to pursue. You must shed false ideas and expectations. Social and economic conditions are in such a flux under the influence of the growing political consciousness of the common mass of people, that we would do well to anticipate in the future a considerable narrowing down of disparities in respect of opportunities and incomes than is the situation even today. The hectic craze for climbing the golden ladder each for himself, no matter what happens to others, is no longer the ideal that inspires the American youth. They now place emphasis on sufficiency of life rather than on a plethora of riches. The young people in America now think in terms of good health, good food, good education and good working conditions that are based on the wider sense of social wellbeing in which methods for individual advancement do not conflict with those of the advancement of the community as a whole. This is a spirit which the young men of India will do well to emulate.'

Mr. Sarker concluded with the following exhortation to the new graduates:

It is against the easy discomfiture of our young men in the face of odds that I want you to be sufficiently guarded in time. The faint-hearted never win a victory. Life is as much a test of your moral qualifications as of your intellectual or educational equipments. Maintain the standards of conduct your Alma Mater has instilled into you, keep your ideals high, your mind clear and your heart stout in the adventure of life in which you will soon enter, and success will be yours.

Sacrifices and Achievements of Britain During the War

In the course of a speech delivered by Lord Beaverbrook in New York on the 23rd April last, he gave a glowing account of how Britain has emerged during the war from perils and disasters, how she has recovered after the losses in France, how the glorious sacrifices of the people are bearing fruit, how valiantly they are fighting, and how production is going up by leaps and bounds in every direction. According to him, there are 33,000,000 people in Britain between the ages of 14 and 64, and of these twenty million, that is nearly two-thirds, have been mobilized for the forces and for vital war work.

All this has been possible because Britain is a free country having a national government and its people enjoy and love liberty. They would rather part with their lives than be trodden under foot by alien masters.

The total population of India is 380,000,000 in round numbers and that of Great Britain, 50,000,000. According to the British standard, some 150,000,000 persons of India ought to be mobilized for the forces and for vital war work. And so they would have been if India had been free and had a national government.

Militarization and India's Spiritual Eminence

In more than one note in this issue we have mentioned the large fighting forces which India should and could have raised and can still raise under favourable political circumstances. This may be described as a plea for the militarization of India. We Indians generally assume that India is a land of spiritual eminence. It is not our intention to discuss here the correctness or otherwise of this assumption. On the assumption that we are an eminently spiritually-minded people, our conscious or sub-conscious attitude towards people who engage in war for some reason or other often tends to be one of lofty superiority or contempt. It is no doubt true that nations which engage in aggressive war deserve to be looked down upon. But from the moral point of view, wars of resistance to aggression and wars waged for winning freedom and independence stand on a higher level than wars of aggression, invasion and conquest. Those who wage wars of liberation and of resistance to aggression should not be looked down upon.

But if it be argued, and it certainly can be argued, that all wars are bad, it would be necessary to raise and answer the question whether evil should be resisted. There may be persons who believe or profess to believe that no evil should be resisted. Our concern here is not with such persons. It is only to those who believe in the rightness and duty of resisting evil that our words are addressed.

To be subjugated and to be in bondage is an evil. It is not merely a political and economic evil but an intellectual, moral and spiritual evil, too. This evil and the aggression which may lead to this evil should and must be resisted. Resistance is generally thought to be only of one kind, namely, violent resistance; but there may and can be non-violent resistance also. All normal persons should resist evil either violently or non-violently. If any person who claims to be spiritually-minded says that violent resistance is unspiritual and, therefore, he cannot engage in it, then it is his bounden duty to offer non-violent resistance to aggression, invasion and other similar evils. If any person shrank from both violent and non-violent resist-

tance, it would not be unjust to conclude that his spirituality was not real but assumed and was born of cowardice.

They err who think that *ahimsā* or non-violence is only for the timid. No. Real *ahimsā* can be exercised only by persons of the highest courage. It is righteous activism, not ignoble passivism.

Axis Powers' "Free India" Propaganda

The Indian Messenger writes:

One of the most notorious examples of a war slogan is "Asia for the Asiatics" used for sometime past by Japan. Such slogans have ruinous effects on the unthinking mind. The Japanese war-mongers have recently taken recourse to another method of propaganda calculated to win victory more easily and more quickly. Apart from whatever vain promises they might make over the radio that might be misleading the Indian public into believing that Japanese aggression will mean for us a Free India—the very subtle propaganda of the Vichy radio that gave forth the news of a suggestion of Subhas Chandra's death, also gave the interesting information of an Asiatic Congress at Tokyo which Subhas Babu was alleged to have been going to join and in which *Free India* took part. Public interest was concentrated on the authenticity or otherwise of the news about Mr. Bose, but the real danger lay in the secondary news about the 'Congress' which unchallenged by any party, sank into the subconscious mind, where, according to the laws of experimental psychology, this clever *Free India* propaganda was much more dangerous than in the conscious stage, in the way of shaping the popular mind into an emotionally biased state in favour of the aggressor. Thus the German influenced piece of news had two objectives. First, in making it readily believed by the Allied Press who broadcasted it, and then Germany's denying all knowledge of it, throwing thereby all the responsibility on the British, thus trying to deepen the anti-British feeling in the Indian mind; and second, which is more important, leading the popular mind here unquestioningly to the idea that Tokyo which sent Noguchi to India is trying for Indian freedom and holding a Congress with *Free India* participating.

Just as the Allies have been befriending the Free French, the Free Polish and the Free Czech movements, so the Axis powers are pretending to promote a "Free India" movement.

Mr. Amery on "Britain's Sincerity of Purpose"

LONDON, April 26.

"I think in the long run we shall find that nothing but good has come of Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to India," declared the Secretary of State for India Mr. Amery to his Birmingham constituents today (Saturday).

Sir Stafford Cripps had made clear Britain's sincerity of purpose and we might find that was in the long run worth a good deal more than any immediate settlement.

"We have learned a tremendous lot since the outbreak of the war and we should be able to apply it for post-war re-building of our country, for welfare and prosperity," he added.—*Reuter.*

To whom has Sir Stafford Cripps "made clear Britain's sincerity of purpose"? To the people of Britain or to the people of India? Or to both and all else in the world?

Lord Beaverbrook's Tribute to Communism

NEW YORK, April 23.

The establishment by Britain of a second front in Western Europe was advocated by Lord Beaverbrook in a speech at the annual dinner at the Bureau of Advertising. He strikingly praised Russia and M. Stalin.

"Communism under M. Stalin has produced a most valiant fighting army in Europe," he said. "Communism under M. Stalin has provided us with examples of patriotism equal to the finest in the annals of history. Communism under M. Stalin has produced the best generals in this war."

Lord Beaverbrook pointed out that M. Stalin had accepted the Atlantic Charter. "M. Stalin," he said, "is a master of tactics and in the end will defeat the enemy."

Lord Beaverbrook is a great British capitalist. Praise of communism from his lips is something unexpected. But it is not communism in general or in the abstract that he has praised. The object of his praise is communism *in Russia* and *under Stalin*. The following further extract from *Reuter's* summary of his speech indicates the underlying reasons of this eulogy:

Lord Beaverbrook advocated help for Russia, because he knew "Russia may settle the war for us in 1942. By holding the Germans in check, possibly even defeating them, the Russians may be the means of bringing down the whole Axis structure." He added: "This is a chance and an opportunity to bring the war to an end here and now. But if the Russians are defeated and driven out in the war, never will such a chance come to us again."

Whatever might have been the Indian communist party's opinion of the war when it started, Indian communists have ceased to look upon it as an imperialist war since Russia began the fight against Germany. Russia is now one of the Allies united against the Axis powers. And in India there are organizations for helping Soviet Russia which meet and work openly. Nevertheless the British Government in India has not changed its policy *vis-a-vis* the Indian Communist party.

The Suggestion That Roosevelt Should Mediate

From more than one source a suggestion has come from America that Indian leaders should ask President Roosevelt to act as arbitrator between India and Britain. Has this suggestion been made at the instance of the British Government *cum* President Roosevelt and with the knowledge and consent of President Roosevelt? We do not see how Britain can agree to the intervention of a foreign nation

in the solution of a problem which British statesmen have failed to solve.

President Roosevelt is a great statesman and he is not known to be unfriendly to India. But neither is he known to be a friend of India in the sense of one who would do his best to see justice done to India even at the risk of displeasing America's great ally Britain. The Atlantic Charter is the joint work of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. Though Mr. Churchill has openly declared that the Charter does not apply to India and though President Roosevelt has been publicly asked to state his view of it, he has chosen diplomatically to keep his opinion to himself.

On the other hand, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has openly, voluntarily and undiplomatically exhorted the British Government to give India real political power. America's policy towards Indians, *e.g.*, in the matter of immigration is worse than that of the British Dominions.

Hence if any mediator or arbitrator be required, India would much rather seek the friendly offices of the great Chinese leader than of any other man.

American Homilies on India's Rejection of Cripps Proposal

Many American papers have hurled homilies at the heads of Indian leaders for their rejection of the British War Cabinet's proposals. It is not known whether the original proposals were published in America in their entirety, unabridged and unaltered. Nor is it known whether the negotiations with the Indian leaders and the slight modifications made as the result thereof were duly reported in the American press. It would be charitable to assume that the homilies of the American papers were due to their incomplete information. Even very prominent Americans do not possess up-to-date and adequate information on Indian affairs. It would have been wiser of the American press to presume that India's leaders knew their business and to refrain from preaching sermons for their benefit.

India has been one country very much longer than the U. S. A. ;—it has been one country at least as long as the U. S. A. How would our American friends like a proposal or a suggestion that the States or cities in the U. S. A. where the Negroes or the Roman Catholics or the Jews or the Americans of Irish, German, Italian or Japanese extraction live in considerable numbers should be given the option to secede from the Union and form one or more separate or independent unions of their own ?

China's Mobilization Act

CHUNGKING, April 27.

The National General Mobilisation Act recently promulgated by the Chinese Government will come into force on May 5, it is officially announced. The Act gives the Government almost unlimited control of man-power, war material, prices and capital.—*Reuter.*

China has been able to pass such an Act because she is free and has a national government.

China's Successful Efforts to Solve Fuel Problem

CHUNGKING, April 26.

The large-scale production of synthetic petrol—in Szechwan alone 500,000 gallons of high grade spirit are being produced every month—is part of China's drive to solve the fuel problem. Over forty distilleries in Szechwan are producing enough for some 1,500 vehicles.

The Chinese are optimistic over the possibilities in 'cracking' wood oil of which the country has an abundant supply.

Since the fall of Rangoon, the fuel control instituted in 1937 has been more rigidly enforced. Charcoal burning engines are being extensively used even in military lorries.—*Reuter.*

What is India doing ?

Ban on "Bombay Sentinel" Rescinded

BOMBAY, April 27.

In view of the assurances given by the Editor, the order prohibiting the publication of the *Bombay Sentinel* for 30 days has been rescinded as from today (April 27), says a Press Note.—*A. P.*

This is as it should be.

Gandhiji's Appeal for Andrews Memorial

Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows in "Harijan" on "Deenabandhu Andrews Memorial."

"Deenabandhu Andrews Memorial and Gurudev Memorial are convertible terms. Gurudev had initiated the Deenabandhu Memorial, but before it had fully materialised Gurudev followed Deenabandhu. Therefore, Deenabandhu Memorial had become also Gurudev Memorial. The purpose is worthy of the two great souls —the improvement and upkeep of Santiniketan, Visva-bharati and Sriniketan. These are all in reality one. It is a matter of great shame and sorrow that the paltry sum of five lacs of rupees has still not come whether from the rich or the students or the labour world. Everybody admits that 'Gurudev' and his institution have brought a name and prestige to India which no one and nothing else have done. It was Santiniketan which stirred the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek who gave very handsome contributions. For the work done at Santiniketan, the expense is ridiculously small. The reason is the comparatively low salaries paid where the work done is not purely honorary. The donation so far collected amount to nearly one lac. I

hope that the balance will be forthcoming without delay and absolve me from having to venture out on a collection tour. I am in honour bound to finish the collection. When Gurudev was dying the last letter I wrote to him was that, if it was God's will, I would finish the Deenabandhu collection. It was also a trust handed by Andrews in that Santiniketan's financial condition was his daily concern. It is a call from these two servants of India and humanity which I dare not neglect. Let those who revere their memory and who value Gurudev's living creation help me to discharge the self-imposed trust.—*A. P.*

Abanindranath Tagore's Lectures on Fine Arts

As the first Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts of the Calcutta University Dr. Abanindranath Tagore delivered a course of 29 lectures on fine arts in Bengali. These have now been brought out in book-form by the Calcutta University. In these lectures the eminent artist gives a lucid exposition of different aspects of art in his characteristic style.

New Visva-Bharati Publications

In spite of the very high price of paper and of the difficulty of obtaining adequate supplies of paper for printing books, the publication department of the Visva-bharati continues to publish books and that at usual prices.

The tenth volume of *Rabīndra Rachanāvalī*, or the Collected Bengali Works of Rabindranath Tagore, has been just published. Its get-up is as good as that of the previous volumes, and it is equally bulky.

It contains in the section of Poems and Songs *Utsarga* and *Kheyā*; in the section of Drama, *Rājā*; in the section of Novels and Short Stories *Sesher Kavitā*; and in the section of Essays *Rajā O Prajā* and *Samūha*. The Appendix contains the author's 16 articles on topical subjects which appeared in *Sādhanā, Bharati, Bangadarsan,* and *Prabāsī*. These are models of what such articles should be. In the section "Granthaparichaya" which follows the Appendix in this volume, the differences between the first editions, the current editions and the versions of the books published in the present volume of the Collected Works are pointed out generally and briefly.

The illustrations are two in number: *Asrama-guru* Rabindranath Tagore and the facsimile of a page of the manuscript of *Kheyā*. The portrait of the Poet-Sage in this volume brings before us the austerities-worn figure of the Founder of Visva-bharati.

Another volume published by the Publication Department of Visva-bharati is a new edition of *Chayanikā* or selections from Rabindranath's poems. The seventh reprint of the third edition of this very popular volume included poems called from all his poetical works down to *prāntik*.. The present edition contains selections from *Senjuti, Prahāsinī, Akāsh-pradīp, Navajātak, Sanāi, Rogasayyay, Arogya, Janmadine, Chhadā,* and *Sesh-lekhā*. The last poem in this volume is the very last that the poet wrote.

Gīta-bitān in three volumes is to contain all the songs composed by the Poet grouped according to their 'subjects,' so that they may be both read as lyric poems and sung, in proper sequence. The first two volumes have been just published. The third volume will appear shortly.

Nirvān by Mrs. Pratimā Tagore, daughter-in-law of Rabindranath Tagore, contains her reminiscences of the last months and days of the Poet in chronological order. Written in a crisp and lucid style, they are of poignant interest.

British Independent Labour Party's Recognition of India's Right to Immediate Independence

LONDON, April 6.

The Independent Labour Party Conference at Morecambe today unanimously approved a resolution recognising India's right to immediate independence and demanding immediate Indian responsibility for the Government of India, including Defence, acceptance of recognised minority rights instead of splitting India into political fragments and insistence that representation of Indian States in the Constituent Assembly should be on the basis of adult suffrage.—*Reuter.*

If the British Independent Labour Party comes to power and forms a government, will it recognize by an Act of Parliament India's right to immediate independence?

Mr. Arthur Moore on Armoury Raid Prisoners

In the course of a speech at a meeting of the Conciliation Group in Calcutta Mr. Arthur Moore, editor of *The Statesman*, exhorted Indians to fight for freedom. He appeared to have no doubt that enough soldiers of freedom would be found in the country. For himself he said: "Give me the Armoury Raid prisoners every time. These are the kind of people I want. These are the people I would like to go tiger hunting with."

Whether Mr. Arthur Moore gets them as comrades in tiger hunts or not, they can be most useful at least in forming and leading village defence parties in the district of Chittagong which the Magistrate of that district is earnestly desirous of having. They are all anti-Fascist and should be liberated at once.

Release of Political Prisoners and Detenus Urgently Needed

For a long time past we have urged the release of political prisoners and detenus. Whether their speeches and actions, etc., for which they are suffering were well-advised or not, there is not the least doubt that they have suffered in the cause of the liberation of the country. Those who have risked their lives and liberties in seeking to free the country are not the men who would help Japan or Germany in placing a new yoke on the shoulders of their countrymen. And many of them who have had the opportunity have declared themselves as enemies of Fascism and Nazism. Moreover, they are good organizers and have a hold on those of their countrymen who know them. For all these reasons they ought to be released forthwith. They would be very useful as members, and some as leaders, of Home Guards, village defence parties and guerilla bands.

Home Guards

If it be true that the Government of India are contemplating to organize Home Guards on the lines of those in Great Britain, no time should be lost in doing so.

Guerilla Warfare

Should Japan invade India, guerilla warfare has been advocated in the speeches of some publicists and in the columns of some newspapers. We are not opposed to such warfare. But it should be borne in mind that such fighting, too, would require some fire-arms. These may not be quite up-to-date. But some sort of rifle would be necessary. Would the Government agree to the supply of rifles to all able-bodied adults who may agree to undergo the necessary training and obey all rules of discipline ?

Likelihood of a Quinine Famine

The likelihood of a quinine famine in India as a result of the occupation of Java by Japan has been pointed out and discussed in many newspapers. Of course, the production of quinine in the country cannot be increased as soon as its necessity is perceived. But soon after the outbreak of the war in Europe the principal quinine officer of the Government of India wrote,

> "The necessity of organizing the production of quinine within the country on a national basis appears to be urgent."

Two years have passed since this observation was made. The Government cannot therefore plead that they have not had sufficient time to consider the question of the examination of soil and other cognate matters.

The Problem of Evacuation from Burma

Harrowing accounts of the sufferings and difficulties of the evacuees from Burma, their financial ruin, the tragic death of many of them, the harsh and insulting treatment to which many of them were subjected, details of their discriminating treatment, and the like, have been before the public for a long time. Many leaders have expressed their views after personal investigation. Mr. M. S. Aney, Member-in-charge of the Indians Overseas Department, has also taken personal interest in the matter. Public bodies like the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the Marwari Relief Society, the Navavidhan Relief Society, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Relief Society, the Gujarati Relief Society, etc., have rendered great service in relieving the distress of the evacuees. But the problem is so vast and has so many ramifications that constant vigilance and active service to suffering humanity, both official and non-official, would be necessary for a long period to tackle it adequately.



TWO POEMS*

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I

Blessings have I won in this life
of the Beautiful.
In the vessel of man's affection I taste His own divine nectar.
Sorrow, hard to bear,
has shown me the unhurt, unconquered soul.
On the day when I felt death's impending shadow,
fear's defeat has not been mine.
The great ones of the Earth
have not deprived me of their touch,
their undying words have I stored in my heart.
Grace I had from the god of life:
this memory let me leave
in grateful words.

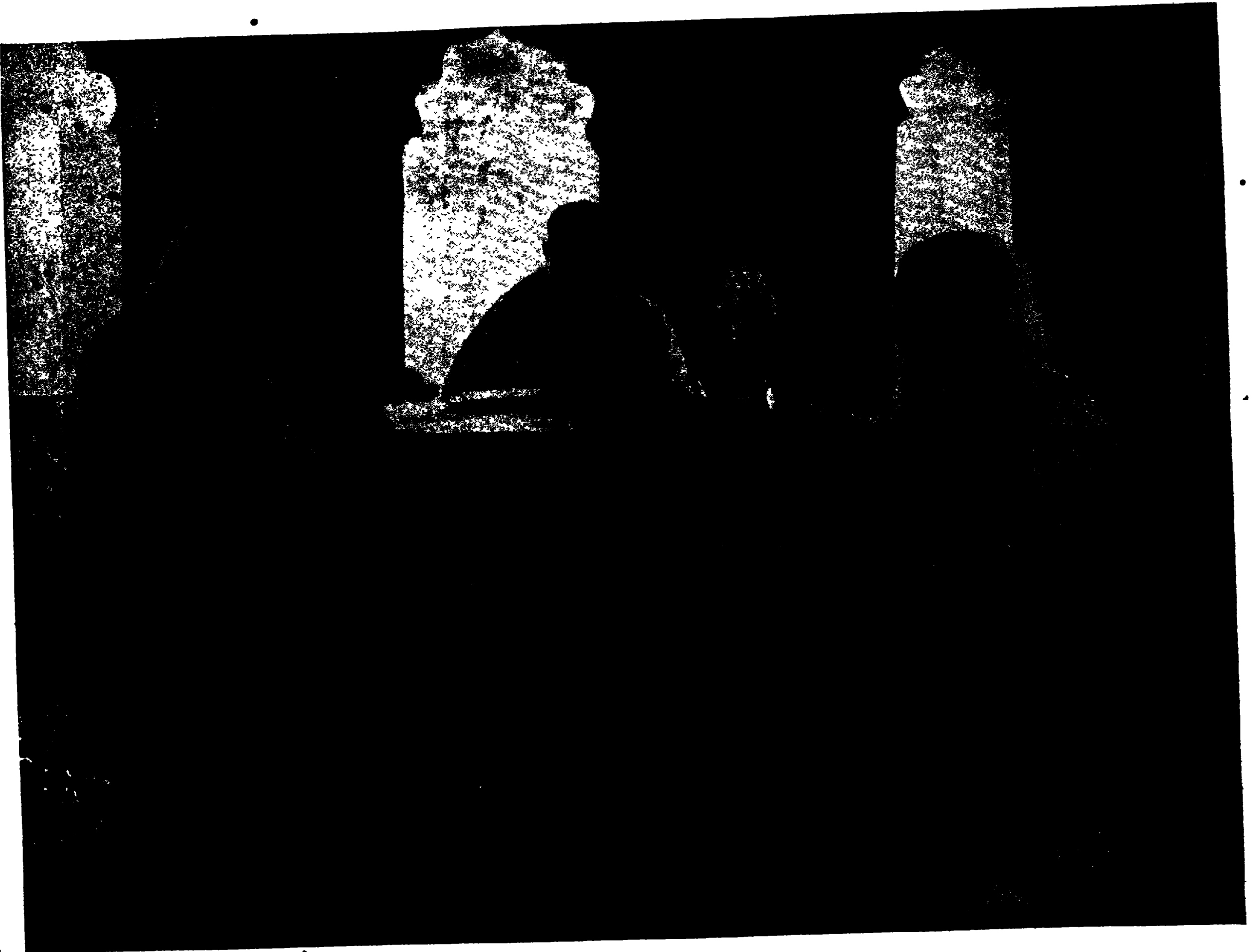
Udayan
28th January, 1941

II

Momently I feel
the time comes near for me to leave.
With quiet sunset glow
screen the parting day.
Let the time be peaceful, let it be silent.
Let not any pomp of memorial meeting
create sorrow's trance.
May the forest trees at the gate of departure
raise the earth's chant of peace
in the dumb cluster of foliage.
May the night's wordless blessings descend,
in the gracious light of the seven stars.

February, 1941 —*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

* Translated from the original Bengali by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.



Rabindranath Tagore, C. F. Andrews and Ramananda Chatterjee



Rabindranath in his studio



Rabindranath in Europe

MY BIRTHDAYS*

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

1

In my life strung of many birthdays
Myself I see in the union of many a form.
Once the new year, in the heart of the Atlantic Ocean,
Brought me flowing
On mighty exuberant waves,
Where from one end to the other of the horizons
Blue expanse on blue expanse
Deny the shores.
That day I saw the picture of an unvarious world
In the first lines of creation
When the future, submerged in water,
Each day toward the sunrise
Sought its own self.
Gazing at the screen of waves
That hid life's mystery, I pondered,
Even now has not been opened my life's cover,
The complete-I
Is still hidden unperceived.
In new birthdays
The lines that are being drawn by the brush of the artist
Have not yet formed the picture's supreme reality.
Only, I feel,
The vast inundation of the unrevealed, on all sides,
Remains, encompassing the days and nights.

Udayan
February 20, 1941
afternoon.

2

In the vessel of my birthdays
Sacred waters from many pilgrimages
Have I gathered, this I remember.
Once I went to the land of China,
Those whom I had not met
Put the mark of friendship on my forehead
Calling me their own.
The garb of a stranger slipped from me unknowing,
The inner man appeared who is eternal
Revealing a joyous relationship
Unforeseen.
A Chinese name I took, dressed in Chinese clothes.
This I knew in my mind
Wherever I find my friend there I am born anew,
Life's wonder he brings.
In the foreign fields blossom flowers unknown,
Foreign is their name, a foreign soil is their motherland,
Yet in soul's joyful realm their kinship
Finds unbarred welcome.

Udayan
February 21, 1941
morning.

3

Once again returns the day of festival.
With spring's lavish honour
The branches at the poet's balcony
Fill the basket of a new birthday.
In a closed room I remain at a distance—
Futile, this year, is the invitation of the flowering *palash*.
In *vasant-bahar* † I want to sing,
But the dream of impending separation gathers in my mind.
My birthday, I know,
Will soon merge with one unvarying day,
And be lost in the markless sequence of Time.
This melancholy does not fill with tenderness the shadow of flowering avenues,
Memory's pain does not sound in the murmur and hum of the forest.
Unmerciful joy will play on this festive flute
Brushing aside, on the road, the pain of parting.

Udayan
February 21, 1941
noon.

* Translated from original Bengali by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty. These poems, which had no names, appeared in *Janmadine*, a book published shortly before the Poet's death.

† A *ragini* of Spring.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AT WORK

By Dr. AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

I came to Rabindranath Tagore when his hair was already silver, more than two decades ago. But I have no recollection that I thought of him as old, or as in any way lacking in youth's vigour and beauty. It was in a room in Ballygunje (in Calcutta), at a distinguished friend's house one evening—it was a literary evening—that I saw him first. Even to my adolescence, his ascetic but glowing countenance, his magnificent physique with its indefinable saintliness, and the warm vitality of his voice and movements conveyed an entirely new and rich concept of youth. I marked his bearing, majestic and spare, and his words carried a spiritual laughter giving to his conversation an iridescent freshness and gravity that I had not imagined possible. What he said I do not remember; indeed, even though I was eager to hear him and also tried desparately to link him up with all the great things which I know he had written and done, my impressions were in a whirl. It was as if I was trying to convince myself of the full reality of a genius, while the mystery that I sought was more than matched by the fact of his presence. All that I could fix upon was that here was a fully human person, not unlike us or superhuman, but rather like what we really were but could not quite become. And I wondered at the strength which he carried so easily in reaching such perfect humanity. He was accessible, as great men are, needing no display of remoteness, and radiantly sane.

That picture yet remains with me, unaltered save perhaps in detail; the picture of a very powerful and a very friendly sort of greatness. He was the symbol of regal and unwaning youth; tall, guiding, and fearless; but he was near to us and gained our hearts by living in a normal world. His delicate austerity carried immense reserves of power which never flaunted itself because it was so finely and creatively adjusted. Gradually I knew of Rabindranath Tagore as a man of extraordinary physical strength, but his strength seemed so natural that we did not think of it. We took it for granted that he passed from one work to the other in the course of a continuous day, with very short breaks; he seemed to be always there, teaching children, composing songs, studying for hours, giving interviews, writing letters with his own hand to numerous people, preparing lectures, meditating over a dictionary, discussing science, taking service at the tree-traceried marble floor of the prayer hall, conducting rehearsals of plays or leading a literary or musical evening for hours. He seemed as busy as the daily sun—his namesake—in a multitudionous life and yet there was a sense of space and tranquillity whenever you came near to him. One saw him hard at work, it was one thing after another from dawn to fairly late in the evening, very often; but activities seemed to flow from him; that is to say, one saw the doing but not the great application which sustained the deed.

I have spoken of his manysided creativeness, but let it be remembered that at the heart and centre of it all lay his ceaseless, tireless work as a writer. This was of course his great vocation, and there was no fixed time for him nor the guarantee of any respite. Never did his Muse spare him, and his lyre had to be kept tuned from hour to hour. I can see him at his bare desk, on a hard straight chair, writing continuously for the whole morning, and again throughout the day till late in the evening, and again at night. We got so used to his rich and rare industry that we merely wondered at the subject of the essay, and if we knew about the novel, or poem, or drama he was writing we discussed matters connected with the text. He would not stir for hours sometimes; one saw the faint movement of his right shoulder and his alert figure and knew that he was intensely busy. So complete was his absorption that he would not realise our presence even if we came quite close to him and wanted to draw his attention when some urgent consultation was necessary. Frequent interruptions would often cut through his work,—there would be visitors, or some special engagement, but his attention would not be broken and one would find him writing the next sentence the moment after the intrusion was over. Distractions, perhaps, more affect persons who cannot apply their whole will to any task; Rabindranath, one felt, was completely engaged with his entire self in whatever he did, be it writing or teaching or playing with children—and, therefore, he was never really away from himself and fatigued. Rest for him meant a process of creative activity, with natural

pauses needed by the rhythm of mind; change in the nature of work would give him new refreshment, and even artificial breaks partly fulfilled the purpose. But there would be limits, of course, and a resolute newspaperman or tourist has been known to shatter lyrics and the lyrical peace of mind. And it was partly our business to guard him from a variety of unmusical folk though the poet himself, who would allow no barricading, made it difficult for us to protect him. The secret of his power lay also in his faculty of drawing nourishment from chance contacts, and we knew that he wanted to meet the necessary demands of his social and humanitarian self in order to complete his creative task. I have wondered, again and again, whether this is not the finest definition of man's divinity—this great power which is at peace with itself and can therefore carry life's duties in the fullest measure, this entering into the wide heart of spiritual earth through beauty and ennobling work and varied companionship.

The myth that Rabindranath was a delicate dreamer protected by intellectuals of his liking, went round in some remote gossiping circles but people who came anywhere near him knew otherwise. Mystic he was, but with eyes wide open, seeking to view the sunlit world; and his dreams, created out of a lifetime of experience gained through travel and concourse with men, led to action and reached prophetic authenticity. In all he did and was, there was this fine balance : the harmony of his life came from hidden resources of strength, both of mind and physique. Rabindranath Tagore belonged to the great tradition of ancients who lived epical lives, engaged in day-to-day activities that change an age and a civilisation. But like those godly men who walked this earth, he lived with ordinary people, seeking no uncommon men or circumstances, but finding the world a marvel and an inspiration simply because he was open to its miracle. He would laugh when we told him of the false mystical version which associated him with a graciousness which, according to crude men, was not "sufficiently manly." I have referred to his colossal power of work and hard, disciplined vitality. Behind this, he would tell us, lay his early days of Spartan training when he had to get up before dawn, do his exercises, bathe in cold water even in the winter, and then study astronomy and Sanskrit before sunrise. He did not go in for strenuous exercises but led a vigorous open-air life. He had been a fine swimmer, and had often crossed the Ganges; he could walk long miles, even in the mountains. Once he did the whole distance from Bhowali to Kathgodam, in almost record time, not caring to use mules or ponies. His trouble for the greater part of his life was that he did not know what illness was, and that he had never suffered from a headache ! Physical fitness allied to true genius is a spirital asset, and one saw the effect of this in his daily life. Instances of his power of physical and mental endurance are a legion but I particularly remember the occasion when in trying to close a window during a storm, in the small hours of the night, he had crushed a finger nail between the hinges. He had not wanted to trouble others in the night, and sat on the verandah quietly waiting for the morning. The pain was excruciating and when the doctor came it was found that the entire nail of that finger of the right hand had come out. and that healing would be a long business. The poet took it easy only complaining that he had not practised writing also with the left hand like Mahatma Gandhi ! Within a day he had resumed writing, in spite of a heavily bandaged and hurting finger, and we have a large number of manuscript poems and articles written in large letters in a trembling unfamiliar hand.

That fortitude was a thing of beauty, one realised in the presence of Rabindranath; just as one associated feats of mental and physical prowess with his work. I have seen him copy and recopy over a hundred pages of his manuscript, perfecting his writing and preparing the final version. Then, after reading it out to an audience, he had sometimes felt the need of recasting the whole material and done so. The same strength of mind would show itself in details of his daily life. His habit of early rising and meditation remained undefeated by any inclemency of weather or foreign surroundings; he never compromised even when travelling whether on ships or in railway trains; in the bitterly cold dawn in some European hotel he would already be long at work before most people were ready for the day. During travels one saw his fortitude at every step mainly perhaps because the trials were unusual. When over seventy he not only travelled from Calcutta to Bushire by plane but never allowed us to know what the sudden plunges into air pockets or flying at very high altitudes meant for him. Near Jodhpur, the plane had gone above 20,000 feet to avoid the heat-waves and a brewing sandstorm, but his face was serene. In the day-long motor rides from one Iranian hill-city to another, he hardly seemed to be affected though he suffered much. For any young person, triumphal receptions offered at city-gates at the end of a shattering,

dawn-to-dusk journey would be a very mixed blessing, but Rabindranath felt the warmth of welcoming hospitality and in order that there might not be any embarrassment endured solid hours of crowded receptions, met numerous people, and gave speeches before he was able to reach his rooms. And very often the evening banquet came soon after, stretching till late at night to be followed, on occasion, by an early morning journey over long mountain distances. And yet out of it were born lovely lyrics and a vivid book of Iranian travels full of eager observation and neighbourly understanding of a great civilisation. Outer events had not affected the plenitude of his mind.

I mention this to show how prowess in him became a spiritual and an artistic force, using physical energies for the expression of great humanity. One wishes that Rabindranath, the person whom we know, could be revealed to those who have never read him in Bengali or come near him. The full vitality of his verse, which in the original reflects Rabindranath's power, cannot be felt through translations. The luminous shadow is there in his own English renderings, which are mostly from songs, but the rich and structural poems have not been, and can never be translated.

"Rabindranath as I know him" is the title of my talk but how can I touch upon memories that cannot bear expression? I could only hold a picture of his unageing godliness of youth which has given to mankind a new wealth of wakefulness. Unlike most great men, Rabindranath spent his young age as a recluse —in remote villages on the river Padma—but as he grew old in years he brought an even more resplendent youth to dwell in the heart of human affairs. His new poems and his social and political statements, given in the last year of his life touched the intimate problems of his countrymen. He came closer to us as the days went by and shared our joys and sorrows to the full. The last months of his life were offered, in spite of his illness, and perhaps because of his own suffering, to a devoted understanding of the burden borne by multitudes of men and women. He bore his own physical pain with his usual stoicism but the agony of our age was for him an almost unbearable personal affliction. Yet pain he never accepted as a finality; even with darkness closing upon the human scene, in all directions, he saw beyond it and has left with us the victory of life's great renewal.*

* This article is based on a Radio Talk given by the writer at Delhi on March 7, 1941.

FAILURE OF SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION

By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

The present War has blasted many reputations. Many persons, who had once towered so high both in the military and in the political fields, have been levelled with the dust. But no casualty has been more tragic than the one in the case of Sir Stafford Cripps. The Indian people have long lost the pathetic confidence which they had cherished in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the professed sympathy of progressive political parties of Great Britain for Indian aspirations. There was a time when the Indian people became jubilant when the Liberals came into office and depressed when the Conservatives ousted them. Later, they were encouraged and enthused by the writings of socialist leaders like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and came to pin their faith to the British Labour Party. But the two Labour Governments headed by MacDonald himself succeeded in disabusing the Indian mind of all its false notions about the policy of this Party towards this country. If any illusion still lingered in the mind of some individuals in this regard, it was dispelled very completely by the absolute identification of Messrs Bevin, Morrison and Attlee with Amery's Indian policy during the last two years. But even when the people of India ceased to believe that the political parties of Britain could be in any way helpful in the achievement of their freedom, they still thought rather differently of the individual the failure of whose mission we have now to record. Alone among the front rank political leaders of his country, he would speak very unhesitatingly of the independence of India, just as alone he would advocate the establishment of a popular front consisting of all leftist groups in Great Britain.

But the three weeks' stay at New Delhi

has demonstrated once for all that Sir Stafford Cripps is as much tarred by the imperial brush as other British statesmen who made promises to the ear only to break them to the heart. The very draft declaration which he agreed to bring in his pocket to New Delhi and which he did his level best to persuade the Indian leaders to accept indicated very clearly that his mission was not so much to arrange for Indian home-rule as to secure more whole-hearted Indian co-operation with war efforts without the sacrifice of present or future British interests in this country. The scheme he brought in his pocket did not provide for any real transfer of power during the period of the War. It would remain during this period in British hands. With the cessation of hostilities a show of transfer would no doubt be made. But the principle of provincial separation and that of the establishment of rival unions in the country, which were part and parcel of the scheme, would work in favour of His Majesty's Government maintaining intact a large portion of its power and influence.

It is not too much to say that such a draft declaration of which he stood as sponsor belies all the ideals which Sir Stafford was reputed to cherish until his accession to the War Cabinet. In the beginning of his stay in New Delhi, he laid stress no doubt on communal and sectional rivalries in this country, which made the provision for provincial separation a necessary evil, but his emphasis was pre-eminently upon the independence which the draft provided for after the conclusion of hostilities. This mood, however, did not last long. During the later stages of his discussion with our leaders, his utterances became undistinguishable from those of Mr. Amery. He not only emphasised but virtually appealed to the sectional forces in this country. The last letter he wrote to Maulana Azad, his observations at the last press conference he held at New Delhi and the last radio broadcast he made from that city bear ample testimony to the fact that he was not only borrowing ideas but language itself from the store of the Secretary of State for India.

How could this tragedy be really explained? There has been some speculation as to whether his last utterances represented his own ideas or reflected only the views imposed upon him from Downing Street. It may or may not be that the old guards, still entrenched in power in Whitehall, had set their foot down. But does a man give utterance to views and opinions so emphatically and so repeatedly unless he agreed to them very wholeheartedly and took them actually as his own? In point of fact there is little room for speculation in this field. Eeverybody knows that Sir Stafford is an ambitious man. This ambition has naturally been whetted by the success he achieved in Russia and the popularity which he gained on that account in his own country. He has become a member of the War Cabinet. But is the first position really out of his reach? Possibly not. He has already rendered a great service to his country by improving the relations between Russia and the United Kingdom. The reward was the membership of the War Cabinet. India is another thorny problem. If he could solve it to the satisfaction of his countrymen, why would the Premiership be out of reach? But if the solution of the Indian problem was to be a stepping stone to 10, Downing Street, it must be brought about without raising a hue and cry in the city of London. That is why, it may be explained, he allowed the declaration to be drafted in the way it was. So far as the Indian leaders were concerned, he possibly believed that the arts of diplomacy which he had learnt during the last two years would successfully pull him through in his dealing with them.

But when the leaders of the Indian National Congress refused to be hoodwinked and demanded the transfer of power at once, he regarded them as thorns on his side. They were an obstacle in the way of achieving his end and reaching his goal. He became exasperated. An angry man does not talk in measured language. It should be known in this connection that Sir Stafford's physical energy is only limited and his temper rather uncertain. When a bit over taxed, he becomes peevish. Once while holding a press conference a question angered him so much, that he threatened to break up the conference. This at least is no indication of his physical health. In fact, he has not the stamina and vitality which alone might have enabled him to maintain his balance after three weeks' hectic efforts. It seems he overestimated his physical powers when he made himself the sole representative of the War Cabinet in regard to negotiations with Indian leaders and when he decided to meet all of them in separate interviews. It is no wonder that in the last stage his nerves were on edge and a man who had adready been disappointed might be expected to say anything in that condition. Whatever the explanation may be, the mission of Sir Stafford, already unfortunate on the ground of the draft declaration which was its basis, was made far more unfortunate still by his utterances on the eve of departure from India.

The draft declaration which Sir Stafford brought with him consisted of two parts. The first part was in respect of the future constitution of India and the second part was concerned with the changes contemplated in the Government of India at present. As to the scheme of government which was to be adopted immediately after the conclusion of hostilities, this much may be said that it would have been nothing but a snare which the Indian leaders have done well to avoid. It was this in short. As soon as hostilities would cease, a constitution-making body would be set up. It would consist of two groups. The first group would consist of about one hundred and fifty men elected by proportional representation by the lower houses of the provincial legislatures. The second group would consist of members appointed by those of the Indian States which would agree to come into the Indian Union. The Constitution-making body thus formed would proceed to frame a constitution for this Union. Under this constitution the Indian Union, consisting of the provinces and those of the States which had preferred to enter it, would be free and independent subject to two reservations. The first reservation was to the effect that the constitution would provide for the protection of racial and religious minorities to the satisfaction of His Majesty's Government. The second reservation was to the effect that those of the provinces which would declare according to a particular procedure their inability to remain in this Union would have not only the right to go out of it but would be entitled to form one or more separate unions among themselves and in combination with those of the States which would keep out of the Indian Union. In other words, not only the Indian States would have the option to enter the Indian Union or not but what is more the British Indian provinces would be given the option of keeping within or going out of it.

The acceptance and operation of such a scheme would inevitably involve the Pakisthanisation and Balkanisation of India, which would become merely a geographical configuration. The bait for the acceptance of such vivisection of India was the independence of the attenuated Indian Union and that of other unions formed in the country. But it is questionable if even such independence would be real and effective. We have seen already that independence was assured on the condition of British obligations to racial and religious minorities being adequately fulfilled. Obligations to racial and religious minorities are something very elastic. They may be narrowed down to legitimate rights of bonafide minorities or they may be extended to any number of extraneous demands of Europeans settled temporarily or permanently in this country. In any event these obligations might have provided an excellent loophole for British power being maintained and Indian independence being whittled down. Particularly when one-third of the members of the constitution-making body would be appointed by the Princes and would therefore be at the service of the British Government, this contingency is very natural to come about. So if the scheme was accepted, it would have involved the vivisection of India without political independence being fully ensured. In fact, both as a result of this Balkanisation and as a result of British obligation regarding minorities being fulfilled, foreign influences and even power would have been maintained to a considerable degree. We would have lost on both fronts.

The second part of the draft declaration was concerned, as we have seen already, with the immediate changes in the Government of India. The changes contemplated were however not only vague and indefinite but very unreal. In the draft it was only laid down that while His Majesty's Government retained the control and direction of Indian defence and would bear responsibility for it, the Indian leaders were invited during the period of the War to participate in the counsels of their country. In other words, not only in respect of the department of defence there would be no change in the existing arrangement but in respect of the other portfolios of the Government of India also the changes suggested were not explicit and clear. In private conversation with different leaders however, Sir Stafford gave out at first the impression that subject to existing British control over defence the other departments might be administered by the Indian leaders without interference from above. But that such impression was not correct was brought home to the Congress leaders at the last stage of discussion. Besides, as defence was the basic problem, a Government without any control over it would be hardly worth any consideration.

The Working Committee of the National Congress was, however, so conscious of the foreign danger to India, that it did not reject the draft declaration as unceremoniously as in other circumstances it would have rejected it. It entered into further talks with Sir Stafford and continued protracted negotiations with him. Such talks were concerned with the creation of some arrangement under which an Indian defence minister might collaborate effectively

with the British Commander-in-Chief in this country.

From the letters of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and from the observations of Pandit Nehru in a press conference, it transpires that the Congress would have been satisfied with a working compromise on the defence issue and with certain definite conventions regarding the non-interference of His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy in the work of the Executive Council. We have our doubts if such a compromise in regard to defence would have worked at all to the satisfaction of the Indian people. The Congress leaders in their earnestness for contributing their best to Indian defence were agreeable to this compromise. But it seems to us that it is not altogether an evil that the compromise could not be arrived at and that the negotiations broke down in consequence. Defence is something organic. It cannot be divided into compartments. The Congress would have placed itself in a false position, if it made itself responsible for a part of it while the other part was entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief over whom it would have no control and who would not take orders from the Indian Defence Minister or Member.

As for the conventions regarding non-interference in the work of the Executive Council, we are equally doubtful if they would have been found to be as effective as they were naturally expected to be. Conventions are no longer what they happened to be in the days of Dicey. They have ceased to have any binding force even in England. As for India, we have learnt much as to their value since 1937 when conventions were set up regarding the non-exercise of the special powers by the Governors of provinces. Such conventions were respected only for some time but as soon as circumstances changed a little, they were violated with impunity and today in those provinces where Section 93 of the Government of India Act, has not been applied the Governors stand on all their statutory rights and the Ministers find themselves helpless at every turning of the way. With such experience of conventions the Congress leaders should have insisted on legal and statutory powers for the Executive Council into which they would enter.

The very fact that the mild proposals of the Congress Working Committee were rejected almost abruptly by Sir Stafford Cripps shows very clearly that while the British Government wants to make every arrangement for the defence of India against aggression, it is unwilling to entertain such arrangements as may be necessary no doubt for adequate defence but as may be inconsistent with the maintenance of British supremacy. The idea seems to be that India must be saved but saved only on the responsibility of the British Government. Indian help and co-operation must be sought and obtained but they must be sought only to the point where they may not undermine British predominance in India. Sir Stafford Cripps had a long reputation as a leftist politician and was known to have contact and influence with some of our leaders. The War Cabinet wanted this influence to be exploited and Indian co-operation to be obtained thereby. But if this co-operation and the maintenance of British power in India were inconsistent, it was better that the former was not secured rather than that authority was transferred to Indian hands.

Another objective of the mission of Sir Stafford was to secure agreement of the Indian leaders to the plan of vivisection contained in the draft declaration. The ostensible ground on which provincial separation was provided for in the declaration was that one of the communities had demanded it. It is not necessary here to go into the unsavoury history of communal re-representation and its culmination in the demand for Pakistan. It is only pertinent here to point out that the communal differences which existed in this country were nothing very distinct from such differences as exist in almost every other country, progressive or backward, in this world. These differences so long as they are not fanned and exaggerated from outside, remain under control. But once they are emphasised, particularly by the power that be, they may assume undue proportions.

Backward and progressive elements are found in every country. Religious and racial differences between groups are noticeable in every part of the world. Disraeli went out of his way to declare that the rich and the poor in England really constituted two nations. Whoever thought that on this ground either the two groups should equally and through separate electorates be represented in the House of Commons or England should be divided into two halves separate from and independent of each other, one for the rich and the other for the poor and the depressed. In the United States the Cripps' proposals have found many champions and many of the newspapers have preached homily after homily to our leaders for the acceptance of these proposals. They have told us that in view of both vertical and horizontal differences in this country the plan of vivisection is alone suited to our conditions. The

writers of these homilies seem to be pelting stones at other people while they themselves live in glass houses. They refer to the depressed classes and untouchables in India. It is unfortunate that they forget the woeful condition in which one hundred and ten million negroes happen to live in the land of stars and stripes. How would they feel if these negroes who constitute more than one-tenth of the total population not only demand separate representation in the houses of Congress and in the assemblies and senates of the States, but also demand geographical separation from the United States of America of those states in which they predominate? How would they feel again if the Jews of New York demand separate representation in the legislature and the services ? How would they feel we may ask, if the different national groups which have not yet been absorbed in the American society claim separate electorates and separate representation and ultimately demand the separation of those states from the Union, where they are in substantial number ? It may be said that such demands are not put forward at present. Could not however these demands be stimulated, if a foreign power took hold of the country ? The people of the United States should not forget that when they were in the grip of the Civil War, the British Statesman, Mr. Gladstone actually put in a plea for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

The policy of division and vivisection which the British Government is now pursuing and of which Sir Stafford Cripps came as the high priest may appear to be very considerably helpful to British imperialism in this country. A United Indian nation living under a strong central government may now appear to be a danger to British interests. The British people and Government may think that while they may not be able to make any headway against a united nation, they may easily have their way by balancing one community against another and by balancing one geographical portion against another of this country. This theory of divide and rule has no doubt the sanction of history. There has hardly been an empire which has not prospered by its adoption. But like many other principles of British administration in India this one also has now become outmoded. If there was no Japan virtually at the door, this principle of division might have been worked in the interests of British imperialism. But it only bespeaks the short-sightedness of British statesmanship that our rulers do not understand that with the progress of Japanese arms to our borders division in India is no help but a handicap to British interests. The Europeans and Americans kept the Chinese people divided too long so that they might not have any difficulty in grinding their own axe. But this division at last encouraged the Japanese to try their luck by invasion. And where are to-day the great vested interests which had been created by the operation for years of the policy of dividing and weakening China ? A China strong and united would have balanced the power and prestige of Japan. It is strange that even after these experiences of the Far East, neither the British nor the Americans have learnt that a strong and united India is essential to balance as far as possible the empire of Japan in the orient. But it is no use quoting scriptures to the heathen.

FLIGHT

By SERAPIA SAVITRY SPERA

"Oh, sweet
And light and fleet
On dew-bespeckled feet
The dawn escapes from the night
To hide in the brightness of day.

So, swift,
Afloat, adrift
On spirit-wings that lift
The soul flees earthly delight
To bathe in a deathless sun's ray."

WAR AND WEATHER FORECASTING

By SUSOBHAN DATTA, M.SC., P.R.S.

From time immemorial man has a fascination for the art of weather-prediction. In ancient times prosperity of the people depended almost entirely upon agriculture, which in its turn was dependent upon adequate and well-distributed rainfall. Naturally people would try to read signs of the coming rains in the sky. Observations of Varahamihira and others in India, on the relation between conditions of the winter sky and the rainfall of the subsequent monsoon, showed extraordinary insight in interpreting meteorological phenomena. In a classical poem, the famous *Meghduta* (Cloud messenger) of Kalidasa, are found descriptions of the monsoon clouds and their progress through the country over Northern India and the Himalayas, which are surprisingly similar to those of modern observers. The delineation of the cloud path from Ramgiri (near modern Nagpur) to Aloka (a city in the western Himalayas near modern Gartok) a distance of nearly one thousand miles, as described in *Meghduta* is no mere poetic fantasy. Present-day meteorologists are of the opinion that the description of progressive westward travel of misty conditions and of rain squalls from Ramgiri towards Aloka as given in *Meghduta*, is suggestive of the weather associated with westward or 'retrograde' motion of the monsoon depressions.*

Crimean War and Weather Forecasting

In modern times, the necessity and importance of weather forecasting came to be realized in Europe through the accidental coincidence of a war and a storm. Wars and storms are similar phenomena; both develop from unstable states of equilibrium, a small impulse often giving rise to great events. Being of frequent occurrence in Europe, history provides numerous examples of accidental coincidence of wars and storms. Fortunes of war in such cases were decided more by weather than by other agencies. The failure of Darius' expedition against Greece (485 B.C.) or the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1586) affords memorable examples of the part played by weather in deciding fates of war. More recently, during the Crimean War (1854) a storm—what meteorologists today would call a cyclone—swept over the Black Sea causing considerable damage to the French fleet and completely wrecking the battleship *Henry IV*. This upset the French strategy of war and prompted Emperor Napolean III to commission the services of the renowned French mathematician Leverrier to find out a method for predicting such storms in future. Leverrier from purely mathematical calculations predicted sometime ago the existence of a hitherto unknown planet in our solar system. When astronomers turned their telescopes to the computed spot the planet Neptune was discovered. "If scientists could predict the existence of unseen planets why should they not be able to predict storms and weather?" argued the Emperor. Leverrier set himself to the task, but the problem of weather proved to be much more complex than was anticipated. There were no organized bureaus or network of reporting stations. The data collected by Leverrier from the few observatories and stations keeping meteorological logs when plotted into weather maps showed how the storm developed and moved along a regular path with a fairly constant speed. From this *post-mortem* examination of the Black Sea cyclone he concluded that if observations made at a large number of stations could be reported quickly to a central station, by plotting and analysing weather-maps it would be possible to follow the storm and extrapolate its future movements. Leverrier did not solve any new problem in the physics or dynamics of storms. He only showed that a free hand extrapolation of a storm-path could give storm warnings. Following Leverrier's partial success meteorological observatories and reporting stations sprung up in many countries within a few years and storm warnings and weather forecasts began to be issued regularly.

Leverrier's work was far from providing any scientific solution of the problem of weather and for a long time weather forecasting was developed on empirical basis. The art of forecasting consisted of memorizing similar situations, empirical rules and rules of thumb, which were mostly of local or regional value. A young forecaster would probably be advised by a senior colleague as follows: "If the

* See Dr. S. N. Sen's article in *Science and Culture*, June, 1937.

barometer falls in Paris and rises in London, there will usually be an Easterly gale in the English Channel." Why the barometer fell in Paris and why it rose in London were questions of theoretical interest about which practical meteorologists did not care to bother. Such forecasts could not but be marked by indefiniteness and the percentage of correctness was not always satisfactory. As a result of occasional failures in the past, meteorological departments in all countries often came in for criticism from the public. A high official of the Government of India once even asked why a meteorological department should at all be maintained when it would be so much cheaper to engage astrologers to forecast weather. Such comparisons are meaningless and odious. The distinction between an astrologer and a present-day meteorologist lies in the fact that no astrologer has yet been able to show that his forecasting methods are based on scientific principles or would stand the test of scientific scrutiny, whereas weather-prediction by the meteorologist today is based on the creed that in everyday weather are seen the results of ordinary laws of physics operating on the ocean of air. Of course, if an astrologer forecasts often enough, some of the forecasts will turn out correctly as a matter of pure chance. It is a strange fact, though the psychology behind it is difficult to understand, that the forecasting efforts of charlatans are judged by their occasional successes, while in judging the work of orthodox meteorologists the occasional failures are given much too prominence.

Bjerknes' "Frontal" Theory

The technique of weather forecasting has vastly improved since the last world war. The war gave a new impetus to it and scientists began to tackle the problem on a rational scientific basis. The belligerent countries needed better forecasts for the planning of warfare. In the neutral countries which also had to fight against food shortage, there was a demand for better forecasts for the benefit of agriculture and fisheries. Norway had a large fishing industry, the success of which depended largely on foreknowledge of weather conditions. There Vilhelm Bjerknes with a small group of physicists took up the problem. Bjerknes proposed a new method of approach to the problem of weather forecasting based on a careful preparation of each day's stream lines and the careful examination of the kinematics of air flow. Tested over a small area in Norway in 1917-18 his method of stream lines led to far-reaching results. The intensive study of stream lines forced attention to discontinuities in the general flow—'fronts' as they came to be called. The discontinuities or 'fronts' are boundaries of more or less homogeneous air masses. To give a simple explanation of Bjerknes' frontal theory in non-technical language would be hardly possible; an example will make the underlying idea intelligible. During the month of July, the monsoon air flows over the Western ghats and its properties are fairly homogeneous day after day from Mangalore to Bombay. In Baluchistan and neighbouring areas however, during the same period the air has quite different properties, being much drier and warmer, as it had come from a different source and had a different past history. Dividing the map into areas of fresh moist monsoon air and much drier and warmer continental air, it is possible to determine following simple physical laws, how the homogeneous air masses should interact at their boundaries and behave within themselves. The contrasts in heat energy along the 'front' and the difference in potential energy of the adjacent air masses are the main sources of energy for the creation of winds. Since the fronts separate a more dense from a less dense mass of air, wave disturbance may develop along the surface of separation in the same way that waves start in a water surface. If the wind shear along the 'front' is sufficiently strong, unstable waves form. This gives a clue to the origin of cyclones. Study of the question of air masses—their recognition, interaction and their properties and behaviour—is the main problem before meteorologists. The problem of weather forecasting today has reduced to a careful sorting of the air masses in the particular area and determination of the physical properties and thermodynamical peculiarities of the interacting air masses.

Long and Medium-Range Weather Forecasting

The frontal analysis method is widely used in day-to-day weather forecasting. The method is suitable for short-range forecasts not exceeding about 48 hours. A totally different method of long-range forecasts for periods ranging from two to four months, was developed long ago by Sir Gilbert Walker in India. From a study of world weather it has been found that there exists some significant correlation between different meteorological phenomena over widely separated parts of the globe. As for example, the rainfall in north-west India during August-September has been observed to depend on pressure in

Mauritius and in South America in previous June-July and on South-Rhodesian rainfall in previous October-April. Nobody can yet give the reason for this but it has been shown by means of satisfactory statistical test that the relationship is real and significant. Objections have been raised against the application of correlation methods to weather forecasting as it is not known what is the physical reason for the relationships. Apparently the method has not gone far and the long-range forecasts issued by the Indian Meteorological Department give at most a general indication of the total rainfall over a large area for a period of two months or more. The details of fluctuations over the area and through the season, or any precise information of other meteorological conditions cannot be forecast.

As at present developed the method of 'frontal' analysis does not yield useful forecasts beyond about two days, whereas the purely statistical method of long-range seasonal forecasting can at most foreshadow the amount of rainfall over large areas for a period of two months or more. The question which has seriously occupied the attention of meteorologists is: Can forecasts more detailed and definite than long-range seasonal forecasting be given for a period of say a fortnight? Such medium-range forecasts would be immensely useful to many people in many ways. Planters, shippers and air travel companies would be greatly benefited. Specially in war-time such forecasts would be of immense value to the belligerent war-lords for suitably timing their military operations.

Nazis Utilize Suitable Weather Conditions in Military Operations

In Germany an institute organized to develop the technique of long- and medium-range forecasting was started in 1922 under Franz Baur. In an article published in *Technology Review* (April 1941) the eminent American meteorologist S. Petterssen points out that Baur's method of forecasting has rendered invaluable service to the German militarists in the present conflict. An analysis of a number of major military operations, *viz.*, the invasion of Poland, the invasion of the Netherlands and the invasion of Norway, shows that in every one of the campaigns weather was on the side of the Germans. This lends colour to the suggestion that the Nazi war-lords are carefully utilizing medium-range weather-forcasting techniques in planning their important military operations. When Germany invaded Poland it was anticipated that Poland will have the assistance of General Mud. Subsequently however it was found that the German invasion of Poland was timed to coincide with a period of dry weather which robbed the Poles of any assistance from General Mud. The invasion of Netherlands was found to be equally well-timed with a suitable weather period. On the other hand, in the case of Norwegian campaign the operations were conducted in a period of inclement 'polar front' weather. Not that this coincidence was due to bad luck or due to want of planning. What is bad weather for one purpose may be quite good for others. The Germans had to land a large contingent of army in Norway. The major ports there were undefended and provided easy gates of entry. The Germans were in a position to use large ships which could stand rough weather. They deliberately launched operations when there was a prospect of continued inclement weather which would ensure bad visibility for several days so that their movements might be concealed from the British fleet. We may mention another instance of how the Nazis have utilized suitable weather conditions in their strategic military operations. Recently the three German battleships, *Gneisenau*, *Scharnhorst* and *Prinz Eugen* which lay bottled up in Brest harbour last year, successfully dashed through the straits of Dover and reached their home port in Heligoland. What effect the escape of the German battleships will have on the future war strategy remains to be seen. But surely nobody will deny that a dash through the English Channel route evading the watchful eyes of the mighty British navy was a most daring feat? The success of the battleships in escaping unscathed was due to their choice of 'a weather most favourable to them.' The channel route was a run of nearly 24 hours and part of it was covered during darkness. Even on the following day their movements remained undetected long after daylight

"because the weather was such that visibility proved to be very poor. The whole way through the channel and along the Dutch coast they had the advantage of the Straits of Dover under suitable weather conditions."

The keen eyes of the British navy or air force could not detect them before midday and they could not be engaged before the afternoon. In one case however, weather-god played a trick with the Nazi war-lords. In Russia severe winter set in rather early last year and upset Hitler's time-table. How the Nazis met with reverse after reverse in Russia after the winter set in, is a well-known story. Hitler himself in one of his recent statements gave out:

"It was weeks earlier than any experience or knowledge gained from scientific forecasts had led us to expect that winter set in upon our armies. . . . ."

We must not however forget that the Russian campaign was not comparable to the Polish or Norewegian campaigns and was bound to be a pretty long- drawn affair. It could not be liquidated in one or two fortnights or months. The problem of such long-range forecasting has not been solved in all details and occasional failures are yet to be anticipated.

That weather has come to the aid of the Germans on so many occasions during the present conflict cannot be brushed aside as accidental strokes of good luck. Nor should one conclude that Hitler consults astrologers for proper timings of major military operations. If astrologers could render any such assistance the allies would have been in a much better position than the axis powers because in the science (?) of astrology at least India has long led the way. India can certainly boast of a larger army of astrologers than any other country and the British war-lords by utilizing India's accumulated astrological knowledge of centuries would long before have vanquished the axis powers and won the war.

Franz Baur Method of Weather Forecasting

Franz Baur's method of forecasting weather for medium-range periods is based on a judicious combination of statistical and synoptic methods. When the preliminary results of Baur proved to be satisfactory, the Nazi government placed at his disposal an army of statisticians and physicists and the method was worked out with characteristic German thoroughness. The National Institute for working out scientific methods for long and medium range forecasts under the leadership of Baur first started working with the problem of forecasts for a month. It was found however that very few practically useful and reliable forecasts could be issued by working with monthly averages and after some preliminary studies it was decided that 10-day periods were more workable for medium-range forecasting. 10-day forecasts continued to be issued in Germany since 1932. As the method is based on a combination of statistics and synoptics the process of preparing forecasting is divided into two entirely distinct parts. For the statistical study of weather history it is assumed that over a wide region the weather of the next 10 days is essentially determined by the sequence of atmospheric events in the preceding 10 days. The validity of this hypothesis can only be tested by trial. The result of the forecasts seem to have demonstrated the general correctness of the assumption. The second part of the work consists of the study and analysis of synoptic weather charts of the fore-decade and the post-decade with due consideration to the 'broad weather situation' of the day on which the forecast is to be made. 'Broad weather situation' means a condition of the atmosphere which controls the weather for several days, remaining sensibly unchanged during the period which includes a series of individual weathers. The assumption that the direction and strength of the pressure in the upper levels of the atmosphere determine the general weather below affords the starting hypothesis. In 1922, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis showed that there existed a close relation between pressure in the upper levels at 4 kilometers and the air temperature below and he first suggested a synoptic method of weather forecasting from a knowledge of pressure condition at upper levels. But his suggestion was not pressed forward and no such method was given trial in India. Working with the direction of motion of regions of rise and fall of pressure, Baur and his collaborators have found that for the 24-hourly changes at ground level the control by the pressure at 5 kilometer is very complete. This control has been called by them 'steering.' The pressure gradient at 5 km. level, the average gradient of temperature below, the general flow and the steering fit together and last for some days so that they may be regarded as constituting the 'broad weather situation.' The actual statistical processes and synoptic methods employed in Baur's method are very intricate and all of them have not been discussed in detail or explained properly by Baur.*

An example of a 10-day forecast made by Baur would show that the statements do not lack definiteness.

Forecast of Weather in General for the Third July Decade of 1935. (Translation)

"The fair prevailing dry weather of the previous week changed on the 15th to somewhat unsettled weather, but nevertheless on the whole the weather, especially in South Germany, retained a friendly aspect.

"This not unfriendly but, on the other hand, also not fully settled weather with alternate clearing and short, partly thundery, rains will continue for the next few days. Then in the west and in south Germany for a few days prevailingly clear and dry weather will come, while in north Germany especially in the coast region and east Prussia a slight changeableness will remain. Following that over the whole country there will pro-

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* A general discussion of the Frans Baur method was given in a paper read before a symposium on weather prediction held at Poona by S. Basu. (Proc. Nat. Inst. Sci. Ind., Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 61).

bably be another and strongly unsettled weather with frequent precipitation due to arrival of maritime and polar maritime air currents.

"In the first half of the decade the temperature as the result of a sharp change will come to have a practically normal mean. In the second half on the whole it will be cooler than normal. The number of days with precipitation in the decade in central north Germany and east Prussia will exceed 5 in most places though on many days the showers will be insignificant. The duration of sunshine in south Germany in the decade will exceed 70 hours."

The forecast proved to be fairly accurate. The percentage of correctness in the statements that could be definitely verified in Baur's forecasts during 1934-37 is said to have been 81, 80, 87, and 84. It is not at all strange that his forecasts have won a reputation throughout Germany.

Suitable Weather for Invasion of Britain

Any progress achieved after 1939 in developing the medium- or long-range forecasting technique in Germany must have been kept secret. Presumably, in the Franz Baur Institute an army of statisticians and physicists is engaged in the job of investigating the possibility of forecasting far ahead a favourable weather condition extending over a pretty long period when Hitler may choose to launch the much talked of invasion of the British Isles. What would be the ideal weather condition for the Germans to launch an invasion of Britain? Petterssen has pointed out that conditions in Britain are totally different from what existed in Norway when she was invaded. It would be madness on the part of the Nazis to attempt landing at any of the major British ports which are heavily fortified and well-guarded. Presumably unfortified or less well-guarded nooks will be first assaulted. This will preclude the use of large ships by the enemies and they will have to depend on small ships, tugs or barges which would make landing possible at such places. For these operations a period with reasonably calm sea together with poor visibility at sea to escape detection would be ideal. Simultaneously a favourable flying weather over the British Isles would be essential for supplementing the attack from air. Such combination though extremely rare in winter, is not infrequent in April and May when a maximum of fog frequency occurs over the North Sea, which then is quite calm and the visibility over the British Isles is usually good. The fate of the present war will depend so much on the consequence of these operations that the Nazi war-lords would patiently wait till they are assured of such an ideal weather a pretty long time ahead.

In the United States as well, considerable research is in progress to solve the problem of long- and medium- range forecasting and the results already obtained are so encouraging that the project may shortly be organized on a service basis. Though it has not yet been possible to solve the problem in all its details, it seems safe to say that the problem has a solution and that the solution will be found. In the history of development of science of weather forecasting noteworthy advances have resulted from impulses connected directly with wars. A dream of meteorologists for many years, successful methods of medium- and long- range forecasting will probably emerge out as one of the useful by-products of the present war.

MY HOMAGE TO MOHAMMED

By Swami PAVITRANANDA

I feel it a great privilege to have this opportunity to pay my homage to one whom I consider not only a prophet of Islam but a prophet of all religions. When I say this, I say not by way of any exaggeration to suit the occasion, but what I mean is this: When one comes face to face with Truth, when one has a direct realization of the ultimate Reality, one no longer belongs to any particular clime or time. He then belongs to the whole of humanity. Just as a Sanskrit hymn says, three worlds become his motherland, and wherever there is a devotee becomes his close relation. But by our narrow bigotry and intolerant fanaticism we want to build a sect or a denominational religion round a prophet who comes for the whole world or the entire human race. When a messenger from God comes, can it be that he comes for a particular community or a specific land? No, he comes for all people all over the world. He comes for all who labour and are heavy laden, who thirst after spirituality or hunger after righteousness.

But it is unfortunate that by our excessive

religious zeal and enthusiasm we often defeat the very purpose for which a prophet is born, or shut ourselves from the benefit of the inspiration of one who would otherwise do us infinite good. It is thus that we create a distinction between a Krishna and a Buddha, a Christ and a Mohammed or talk in terms of labelled religions as Hinduism, Islam or Christianity. We forget that we cannot hedge in the sky, that we cannot create divisions in the vast expanse of the vaulted blue above, that it is only when we are on the ground we see different things as land and water, trees and plants, houses and buildings, but when we are high above, all differences dissolve themselves into one homogeneous mass. In the same way different religions are but the broken lights of *the* religion, which is one. Various religions are but the different expressions of one great human emotion, namely, the longing to see the great Maker of this universe.

If we can shake ourselves free from all prejudices we shall find that in essence the teachings of all prophets are the same. As for instance, Hazarat Mohammed says, 'Learn to know thyself, Ali.' This sounds exactly like an Upanishadic saying. The main burden of the Upanishadic teachings is, 'Know the Self and be free from all bondage.' One of the sayings of Mahommed is, 'Keep your heart free from malice from morn till night and from night till morn. This is one of my laws and he that loveth my laws, loveth me.' Does it not seem like a quotation from the Bible or the Gita ? In the Koran we find, 'The most excellent Jihad is that for the conquest of Self.' The Gita repeatedly says : 'Be free from dual throngs, kill your lower nature and thus get self-purification.' Mohammed says, 'If you walk to God, God will run to you.' This is what every saint in every country says. All sages are unanimous that if a man be sincere, his little efforts will be rewarded beyond his farthest expectation. There is another saying of Mahommed which is the fundamental teaching of all religions. It is this: 'God is not merciful to him who is not merciful to mankind.'

Now these are the teachings that can be found in all religions. There is nothing in them which is particularly Islamic, or Hindu or Christian. In them we find the voice of humanity crying for expression.

But though fundamentally all religions are one—each religion has got an individuality, just as humanity is one but each man is a bit different from another. The most prominent feature in Mahommedanism is the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. It seems that this precept has been carried in Islam to its farthest limit. Islam is the most democratic of all religions in the world. Any Mohammedan feels, at least in prayer time, that he is akin to any other Mahommedan, a king, a millionaire or a pauper —in any part of the globe. It is this feeling, which has made Islam virile, active, dynamic and powerful.

But unfortunately to the outside world there is much misunderstanding about Islam. People outside the fold of Islam see and read much about the political or military aspect of Islam. They know very little of the ethical sweetness of the message of Mohammed. Just as it is wrong to judge the message of Jesus Christ by the un-Christian acts of the Christian nations to-day, in the same way it is improper to estimate the teachings of the great prophet of Islam by the acts of plundering hordes that entered India through its north-western gates. But judge Islam by the great energy and power it has released. Mohammed turned the sands of Arabian desert into explosive powder. He civilized the wild tribes of Arabia—nay, not only that, he saved the civilization of the whole of Europe at a most critical hour. And what is the source of the strength of Mohammed that even after twelve hundred years after his passing away, one-fifth of the human race kneels down in prayer five times a day ? Napoleon once said, 'The empire which I have built has been built on sands. But the empire which Jesus built was built on solid rock.' Well, Mohammed built his empire on solid rock. So it lasts even now and it will last through eternity.

The secret of the strength of Mohammed was that he came into direct touch with that great Source from which all strength comes. The source of all wisdom of Mohammed was that Fountainhead from which all knowledge emanates. Mohammed was a messenger of God. He had a direct realization of the ultimate Reality. He did not talk of things at second-hand. He spoke what he saw, what he realized, what he experienced. That is real religion, Mohammed was not a talker of religion but a giver of religion. God made him the channel through which His own wisdom was to pass to humanity.

Friends, you will excuse me if I seize this occasion to touch upon a thing which has sat like a nightmare on many of our people. It is the question of Hindu-Moslem unity. I am afraid, talking about it too much we have made the problem more complex. Know it for certain that a real friendship cannot

be made by pacts and a genuine union of hearts cannot be had through arrangements. What is needed is the transformation of lives. If we can become better Hindus, better Mohammedans and better Christians, if we follow our respective prophets in practice and not simply offer them lip-homage, the day will not be far, when all communal troubles in the land will be over. When Mohammed says, 'Be free from malice,' he does not ask us to be free from malice against only Mohammedans and harbour hatred against non-Mohammedans. In the same way, when Jesus says, 'Love thy neighbours,' he does not say, Love thy Christian neighbours and crush the non-Christian people. There is no communalism in God's domain. We, with our littleness, create that on earth and disturb the peace of the world. Even now, one finds that when a faithful Mohammedan, a true Christian or a devout Hindu meet together, they don't find any difference amongst them. They all feel akin to one another, bound together by a common tie of love for the same God.

There is no doubt that the differences between various religions—all over the world—are the outcome of unnatural phenomena, sometimes the result of bigotry, sometimes the creation of interested parties. But I do feel that when people will grow strong in faith, devotion and spirituality they will be invulnerable to unhealthy influences or proof against any baser motive. From this standpoint the meeting of the nature as we have this evening, is of great importance. It has given us an opportunity to think of the beauty of Islam which has been giving spiritual sustenance to three hundred millions of people for twelve hundred years, but to which many of us are supremely indifferent by following a frog-in-the-well policy in our respective religious matters.

Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati

[Substance of a lecture delivered on March 29 at the Prophet's Day meeting, organized by the Ahmedia Association in Calcutta.]

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL FACTS ABOUT "SUTTEES"

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

SUTTEE or the practice of Hindu women burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands (and occasionally, but rarely of burying themselves) has been referred to in Vedic literature and mentioned in Pauranic tradition. The practice has continued with more or less emphasis throughout the historic period. It was finally abolished by Lord William Bentinck in 1829. On the 4th of December of that year *Suttee* was declared by Regulation XVII to be "illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts."

The abolition of the *Suttee* rite, like other social reforms of the period was made possible owing to the happy combination of three forces. The measures adopted on the ground of administrative necessity by the Hon'ble East Indian Company's Government in India; the attempts of the Christian missionaries; and the last but not the least the growth of an enlightened and powerful Hindu opinion under the spirit of the Renaissance owing its birth to Raja Rammohun Roy—all three worked. together for this important and far-reaching reform in Hindu social life.

Robinson in his *Daughters of India*, Appendix S, has given a detailed statement of the *Suttee* cases between Gossimbazar and the mouth of the Hughli river (the sacred Bhagirathi) for May and June, 1812. He has noted the places where it occurred; the name of the *Suttee;* her age; the number of children left behind; and the husbands' caste. Although the total number of cases, 67, is comparatively small and statistically insignificant, nevertheless certain very important conclusions can be drawn from them.

Caste.—Out of the 67 Suttees noted by Robinson as many as 25 were Brahmins. The next highest number of cases, *viz.*, 4, was furnished by both the Kayasthas and the Kaivarttas.

The Brahmins are at present (1931) 2·8 per cent. of the total population; or 6·5 per cent. of the Hindu population in Bengal. Their percentages in the several districts through which the Bhagirathi passes are :

District	Percentage of the Brahmins in the Hindu population
Burdwan	7·7
Hooghly	9·1

District	Percentage of the Brahmins in the Hindu population
Howrah	.. 9·3
Murshidabad	.. 6·0
Nadia	.. 7·6
24-Parganas	.. 6·2

Whatever percentage the Brahmins may have formed of the Hindu population in 1812 it could not be much different from what it is now. There are reasons to think that it was somewhat lower than what it is now; for among the immigrants, especially from Bihar and the United Provinces, the proportion of the Brahmins is relatively high, and that their rate of growth seems to be higher than that of the general body of the Hindus. To be on the safe side, let us assume that the percentage of the Brahmins in these riverine tracts to have been as high as 10. But the percentage of the Brahmin *Suttees* is as high as 37·3. This is significant.

The Kayasthas are 7·0 per cent. of the Hindu population; and they furnish 6·0 per cent. of the total number of *Suttees*; while the Kaivarttas (Mahisyas) who are now 10·5 per cent. of the Hindu population supply only 6·0 per cent. of the *Suttees*. In the case of these two castes the number of *Suttees* is proportional to their caste strength. But in the case of the Brahmins it is quite different. In their case it may be safely asserted that the practice of *Suttee* was about 4 to 5 times more prevalent among them than among the other castes.

Age.—The age-distribution of the *Suttees*; and the number of children left by them are shown in the table below, which is self-explanatory.

Age	Below 20	20-30	30-40	40-50	Over 50
No. of *Suttees*					
—of all castes	7	16	22	5	2
—of Brahmins	3	4	5	..	1
—as percentage of total	13·5	30·8	42·3	9·6	3.8
No. of Children left by *Suttees* of all castes	6	44	71	19	9
Average number per *Suttee*	0·9	2·8	3·2	3·8	4.5

The youngest among the *Suttees* was aged 16; and the oldest 60.

In 1921, the absolute numbers of Hindu widows in Bengal of the several age-categories were as follows:

Age	Number in 000's	Percentage of the Total
0-20	142	5·6
20-30	382	15·1
30-40	530	20·9
40-50	555	21·9
Over 50	920	36·5
All ages	2,529	100·0

If we *assume* that the age-distribution of the widows were the same a century earlier, *i.e.*, it has remained practically constant—an assumption, though likely to be wrong on account of the social changes is not very far from the truth, we may get the relative incidence of *Sutteeism* among the widowed-wives of different age-categories.

Age-period	Percentage of— Suttees	Percentage of— Widows	Relative incidence
1	2	3	4 (*i.e.*, 2 ÷ 3)
Below 20	13·5	5·6	2·40
20-30	30·8	15·1	2·04
30-40	42·3	20·9	2·02
40-50	9·6	21·9	0·44
Over 50	3·8	36·5	0·10

From the above we may with confidence conclude that up to the age of 40, the relative incidence of *Sutteeism* was the same for all ages; but as the widowed-wives get older, proportionately a fewer of them offered themselves as *Suttees*.

Why this is so, we do not know. The child-bearing age is generally supposed to end with 43. Has that got anything to do with the sudden drop in the relative incidence. Or the sons of the widowed-wives of older ages, who had at the death of their fathers become grown-up men, dissuaded or prevented their mothers from committing suicide by becoming *Suttees*.

From certain enquiries conducted by the Government at the time of the 1931 Census, we find that the average number of children surviving to each family, *i.e.*, each pair of husband and wife, according to the duration of marriage is as in the table below :

Duration of Marriage	Number of Children
0-6	0·9
7-13	2·1
14-16	3·0
17-26	3·6
27-32	4·1
33 and over	4 2

The earliest age at which a girl can ordinarily safely deliver a child is generally taken to be 13 or 14. Taking this as our starting point

we can connect the age of wife with the number of children.

Age of—		No. of Children—	
Wife	Suttee	in 1931	of Suttee
14-20	Below 20	0·9	0·9
21-27	20-30	2·1	2·8
28-30		3·0	
31-40	30-40	3·6	3·2
41-46	40-50	4·1	3·8
47 and over	50 and over	4·2	4·5

The correspondence in the number of children between the two classes is too close to be accidental; and leads to the conclusion that those who offered themselves as *Suttees* were normal mothers, having the usual number of children.

PREVALENCE OF "SUTTEEISM"

From the Government returns of *Suttee* cases in the six Divisions of Calcutta, Dacca, Moorshedabad, Patna, Benares and Bareilly we get the following number of cases in the years noted against them :

1815—380; 1816—442; 1817—706; 1818—839; 1819—650; 1820—597; 1821—654; 1822—583; 1823—557; 1824—512; 1825—639; 1826—571; 1827—517; 1828—463.

Although the variation in the number of cases in individual years is great (the minimum being 380; and the maximum 839), if we arrange the figures in periods of 4 years, the yearly averages do not show the same fluctuations. They are as follows :

Period	Yearly Average
1815-1818	592
1819-1822	621
1823-1826	570
1827-1828 (2 years)	490
1815-1828	579

So we may safely take their average, 579, as the annual number of *Suttees* in the area under observation.

Suttee is a matter of such public notoreity, and an event so well-talked throughout the locality for days together that the figures obtained by the Government do not seem to suffer from non-registration of events. The present population of these regions is about 120 millions. If for want of a better estimate, we take the population in 1821 to be half of what it is now, the incidence of *Sutteeism* works out to 9 per million.

For the *three* years 1815, 1816 and 1817 detailed statistics district by district are available. From these we find that for the area of what roughly corresponds to the present Bengal Presidency the numbers of *Suttees* were :

1815	281 out of 380, *i.e.*, 73·9% of total
1816	324 out of 442, *i.e.*, 73·3% of total
1817	524 out of 706, *i.e.*, 74·2% of total
Average	376 out of 509, *i.e.*, 73·8% of total

The proportion of *Suttees* in Bengal is thus constant from year to year, being nearly three-fourths of the total, although the variation in absolute numbers is great. We, therefore, take three-fourths of the annual average (579) of *Suttees, viz.*, 434 to be the Bengal's quota for the period 1815-1828.

From certain statistical considerations, the population of Bengal and the number of the Hindus in Bengal have been calculated to be 27·0 millions and 16·0 millions respectively about the period [see the 1941 Annual number of the *Hindusthan Standard*, p. 122].

The incidence of *Sutteeism* for the Hindu population of Bengal, therefore, works out to 27 per million. It would be interesting to compare the suicide-rate with the rate for *Sutteeism.* Taking the average of the decade 1921-1930, the suicide-rate for females in Bengal is 78·7 per million. It is well known that suicides are mainly among the Hindus. Among the Hindu females it is higher. It is also well known that suicide-rate has been decreasing of late. What we want to draw attention to is that regarding *Sutteeism* as a form of suicidal mania induced under the shock of the death of a well-beloved husband, its rate of incidence (as is to be expected from the premises) is likely to be very much less than that of the total suicide-rate; and that is what we find to be the case.

The above analysis is necessarily tentative for want of sufficient materials. Having regard to the sociological importance of the subject we would humbly request the intelligent readers to supply us with data similar to those in Robinson's *Daughters of India.* The data regarding the *Suttees* have been mostly taken from Sj. Kalikinkar Datta's *Education and Social Amelioration of Women in pre-Mutiny India;* and our thanks are to him.

ANDHRA FOLK-SONGS

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

SOUTH of the Vindhyas, Andhra has its own singing voice, its own oral tradition of folk-songs and ballads. Like the rest of India, Andhra lives in villages. The ancient folk-lore of Andhra is the real bedrock of Andhra culture.

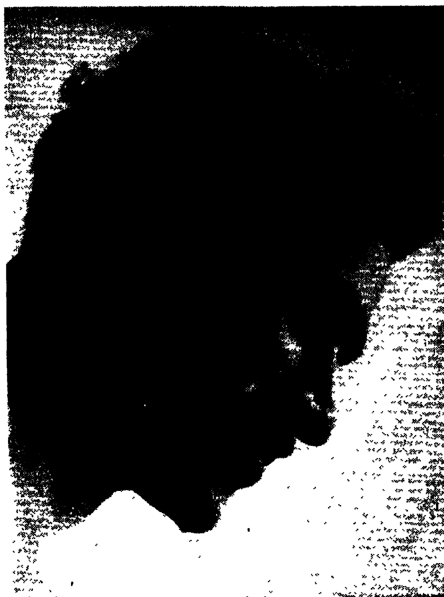
Andhra is wide-awake, striving for a separate linguistic province. Side by side with the political fight, work on the cultural front is carried on with redoubled zeal and hope. Telugu is a sweet language; Andhra must be proud of it. "Telugu is the Italian of the East," an Andhra folk-song collector, obviously quoting the opinion of some European scholar, told me with gusto, "and the charm of Andhra folk-songs is due to their being in Telugu."

Hundreds of old folk-songs have been collected; many more are still being collected by teachers and students. The Telugu periodicals take a keen interest; the *Bharti*, *Graha Lakshmi*, *Andhra Bhumi* and *Andhra Patrika* have published some of the most genuine folk-songs. The educated classes now understand the value of folk-inspiration. Boys and girls in the modern schools and colleges will one day find folk-songs as a significant part of their academic education.

Nedunuri Gangadharam has collected over 4000 Andhra folk-songs. Some of these have appeared in the *Bharti* and other Telugu journals; most of his collections remain unpublished. He took me to Kontamuru village, 3 miles from Rajahmundry, his birth-place, where he serves as the headmaster of the Elementary School. His students, pretty little boys and girls, sang some old nursery-rhymes and game-songs. They smiled at me as they sang. Gangadharam helped me with the texts of these songs; word by word; line by line, he explained them to me.

The story of Gangadharam's song-pilgrimage greatly interested me. Every year, during the vacation, he goes about from village to village, district to district. He has no funds at his disposal and his own savings are quite meagre. It is the people's spirit of hospitality that comes to his rescue, though not everybody is equally good, and he remembers some bitter moments, too. He carries on with his journey, covered with dust and sweat, hunting songs of wild beauty. Every visit to a new village would enrich his song-bag and fill his heart with joy. Songs of one district he would sing to the peasants in the next district. They would come on with their own, thereby adding new riches to his collections.

To Gangadharam, I felt, his song-bag is more precious than his own-self. After the day's



Nedunuri Gangadharam
He has collected 4,000 Andhra folk-songs. At Kontamuru, his birthplace, 3 miles from Rajahmundry, he works as the headmaster of the Elementary School. Every year during the vacation, he goes about from village to village, district to district. He is a genuine, silent worker
Photo: Devendra Satyarthi

work in the school, he would open his magic-bag. Many songs he has already learnt by heart; many more he is learning. Vacation comes and he is on the move, his nomad spirit urging him on. A genuine, silent worker, he does not run after publicity. When Andhra becomes a separate province, it must recognize the great work of Gangadharam and must put the required funds at his disposal to publish the

ancient folk-songs that followed the people's march through the pages of cultural history.

II

Andhra folk-songs are irresistibly alive. Some of them surely go back to the pre-historic age. They have all grown with the people's life. There are contemporary folk-songs, too—all life-like, natural and unposed. Some of the contemporary songs are just the work-shanties; the time-honoured rhythm is retained for pulling, pushing and other communal work and they help to maintain the spirit of joint labour.

The Andhra maidens even today join in chorus at evening when the bells of cows returning home from their pasture ring in their ears and the peace of dusk dwells in their souls.

It is Time Now

It is time now when the *Muggu* is made
With a lotus design:
It is time now when the jessamines
And the *Jaji* flowers bloom.

Time now when water is fetched
In brass vessels:
Time when the flowers of the *Karela* creepers bloom,
Time now when water is fetched in earthen vessels.

Time now when the lamp is lit,
Time now when the washerman brings clothes,
Time now when the cows and calves return home.

Time now when the brothers, younger and elder,
Say their prayers:
Time now when the daughters-in-law
Put *kum-kum* on their foreheads.

Time now when the daughters-in-law
Besmear turmeric on their legs:
Time now when the younger brothers' wives cut jokes:
And when brothers give betels to each other.

Time now when the brothers' wives throw saffron-water on each other.
This virgin's face looks like a mirror, mine own looks like the lotus of the *Muggu*,
Whosoever recites this song will have marital bliss for years sixty-and-three hundred.

The Lotus *Muggu* is drawn ritualistically before every house with some simple powder; the *Muggu* is called *Alpana* in Bengal.

Poli, the Harvest God

Poli, O Poli, oh, why don't you come ?
Oh, why don't you come ?
Pray do come, O Poli !

Poli, O Poli, oh you have a concubine,
And so fond of the swing you are, O Poli !
Lo ! there stands a pair of *Bilva* trees—
Their flowers and leaves
Are all for the worship of Ganapati.

Poli, O Poli, oh, why don't you come ?
Oh, why don't you come ?
Pray do come, O Poli !

Our Poli, the *Yaggenna*, when he sits,
Looks like a *Kundi* mortar:
While he lies down, he looks like a pig :
And as he gets up, he is a deer !

Poli, O Poli, oh, why don't you come ?
Oh, why don't you come ?
Pray do come, O Poli !

The peasant feels the hand of Poli, the Andhra Harvest God, on the golden ears of the paddy. Sometimes Poli seems to merge in Ganapati,[1] the son of Siva. *Yaggenna* is the nickname of the Harvest God. The peasant



Adivi Bapiraju
A dean of New Andhra Art and Literature, Mr. Bapiraju has known and felt the haunting melody of *Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf*. In July, 1939, he collected the text of this tribal song of the Gangi Reddi peasants. He sings it with the old sensitiveness and beauty
Photo : C. Venkatapayya, Bezwada

1. In a paper on Ganapati, better known as Ganesh, read before the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum, Mr. Lachhmidhar Sastri maintained that Ganesh was originally a corn-god. For the possibility that early in his career he was "lord of the harvest," Mr. Sastri quotes Alice Getty (Ganesa, p. 2), who herself cites Gupte for the translation of *ekadanta* as "one tusk" or "ploughshare." Mr. Sastri goes on to say that the tusk may be the sickle with which the corn is reaped. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, Trivandrum, December, 1937. Published at Trivandrum. 1940.

addresses him in terms beyond awe and formality; he is his god, and he can cut jokes with him, bringing forth a bold note of satire, when he



A Folk Dancer of Andhra
Many Andhra dance songs are drawn from ancient epic stories and legends
Photo: C. Venkatapayya, Bezwada

thinks that the god is getting fat eating too much of the harvest as he rushes forth to take the last sheaf for threshing.

GAURI BURST WITH LAUGHTER

In the time of *Uttrakarte* star, O bee !
In the period of *Dakshnayana* sun, O bee !
Dakshika's wife, a lacer, O bee !
Gave birth to one hundred and one daughters, O bee !
And seven of her daughters are unmarried still, O bee !
Two of my daughters, O bee !
I gave in marriage to the god of dust, O bee !
Two more I gave to the god of air, O bee !
And still two more, O bee !
I gave in marriage to the god of fire, O bee !
And Gauri alone remains unmarried, O bee !

To whom shall I marry you, O Gauri, O bee !
O my little Gauri, O bee !
Shall I marry you in a Brahmin family, O Gauri, O bee !
The baths the Brahmins take are simply terrible, O bee !
O they bathe at every step, O bee !
O we can't do so, O Gauri, O bee !

Shall I marry you in a *Komati* family, O Gauri, O bee !
O the turmeric-pounding in a *Komati* house, O bee !
O we can't do it, O Gauri, O bee !

Shall I marry you in a *Kamma* family
O Gauri, O bee !
O my little Gauri, O bee !
O the great mass of paddy
To be measured and given to many a *Mala* coolie !
O we can't do it, O Gauri, O bee !

Shall I marry you to a *Janga* mendicant ?
And Siva is such a man, O Gauri, O bee !
O my little Gauri, O bee !
Soon as the word Janga was uttered, O bee !
Lo ! Gauri burst with laughter, O bee !

It belongs to a special branch of Andhra folk-songs, called *Tummeda Patalu*, or Bee Songs. The bee is addressed again and again, as if it can understand the human voice; the bee, however, is not expected to answer. Immersed in various pages of mythology and tradition, the Bee Songs are sung during the first two weeks of *Dasahra* festival. The women and girls of the *Harijans* alone sing these songs, as they go from door to door; they receive at every door some rice, and even some pennies. Gauri, more known as Gauramma, was married to Siva; she is treated, however, as an Andhra girl, she laughs sportively. The song rises to a high level of Andhra humour. Gauri is perhaps a *Harijan's* daughter; a Brahmin's son she won't marry, nor a *Komati* money-lender's son, and nor indeed a *Kamma* peasant's son.

COME ON, CHARMING RANGA !

Don't you feel a joyful throb, my love ?
Under the sweet, bright moon
Didn't I pray you to come and sleep ?
Come on, charming Ranga !
O didn't I pray you to come and sleep ?

O I've come across the hillocks,
Many an ant-hill, a dense forest I left behind,
O didn't I pass them all to reach this wilderness ?
Come on, charming Ranga !
O didn't I pass them all to reach this wilderness ?

You've none else to call your own,
Me, too, have none else to call my own:
Let's go, a home we'll make on the river,
Come on, charming Ranga !
We'll swim across the waters if there comes a flood.

Let our hearts couple together—
Making a raft of jessamines
We'll launch together, let's go—

Come on, charming Ranga !
We'll launch together, let's go !
My eyes, beautified with *Kajal*,
A pitcher between my hip and arm,
Didn't I fill it with tears alone ?

Come on, charming Ranga !
Didn't I fill my pitcher with tears alone ?

There where men are not to be seen,
Where gods are lost in mirth and play—
Tying our garments' ends like husband and wife
The holy *Sari Ganga* bath we'll take—

Come on, charming Ranga !
The holy *Sari Ganga* bath we'll take.
If you become the moon, my love,
I'll be the light of the moon,
How close ever I'll follow you.
Come on, charming Ranga !
How close ever I'll follow you.

Chal mohan Ranga is the text of the refrain —come on, charming Ranga ! Everywhere in Andhra this song of Ranga's sweetheart is sung again and again. Unnava Lakshmi Narayana,



An Andhra peasant. He addresses his gods in terms beyond awe and formality
Photo : Vanguri Venkatarao, Rajahmundry

an Andhra man of letters, procured for me these original stanzas of the song; it is one of the genuinely poetic love-songs, as almost every poet of contemporary Andhra would say. In 1937, C. Pullayya brought it on the screen. Pushpavalli, an Andhra actress, acted as Ranga's sweetheart, with Vali Subbarao in the role of Ranga. Many variants of the original stanzas of the song, obviously less poetic, are sung side by side. Perhaps the eyes of every Andhra youth in the countryside turn toward the daughters of the soil as they pass carrying their pitchers; and someone would like to see if his sweetheart, too, can fill her pitcher with her tears like Ranga's sweetheart.

THE CHANDRAGIRI SARIS

Putting a ladder to the lemon tree
My hand as I stretched to pick up some fruit
A thorn pierced my breast, my golden maternal uncle !
O do send me some Chandragiri saris.

Between you and me, O what a strange remoteness befell;
Yon blue hills impede our way :
To the hill I went, the sheep was grazing,
O handsome youth, my golden maternal uncle !
O do send me some Chandragiri saris.

The maternal uncle, *Mama* in Telugu, figures in many Andhra love-songs as the sweetheart. Unlike the marriage-customs of the Hindus in Northern India, a boy can marry his sister's daughter. A young *Mama* is expected to be a dandy; more so, when a niece, just a sweet sixteen, walks before his eyes. As obvious from the image of a grazing sheep, the heroine of the *Chandragiri*[2] *Saris* belongs to a shepherd family.

THE FISHER BOY

Me, a fisher boy, O babu !
Beat me not, abuse me not, O babu !

2. "The picturesque little town of Chandragiri in the district of Chittoor lies at the foot of the sacred Tirupati hills seven miles south-west of Tirupati town. Its situation on the right bank of the Svarnamukhi in the centre of the valley commanding the Kullur and the Mamandur passes in the Eastern ghats, through which alone the road to the south lay in the past, made it one of the most important strategic posts either for defence or aggressive operations. Its position amidst mountains with the Seshadri range, rising to a height of about 2,000 feet on the north, the Pattikonda hills on the south, with their narrow passes and precipitous height makes it appear as if it had been designed by nature as an ideal fort. The innumerable spring channels and the river Svarnamukhi helped by the rich alluvial soil brought down by the mountain slopes have rendered the valley one of the most fertile. That these natural advantages were recognized and availed from very early times is amply testified by the existence of the fort which, with the *mahal* it encloses, is the sole architectural legacy of the past ages to us. This circumstance and close association with the renowned shrine of Sri Venktesvara have always contributed to its history in the past. According to a local chronicle, a visit to the shrine and a subsequent desire to be in sight of the god have always been the beginnings of the Chandragiri empire under various dynasties. Chandragiri is now familiar to the devout as the place from which the ascent to the Tirupati hills is the easiest and to students of history as the capital of a Yadava dynasty of kings about whom few historical details are yet available. . . ." V. N. Srinivasa Rao : "Chandragiri", *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, January, 1933. pp. 375-6.



Andhra village woman

Photo: D. I. Elwin, Coconada

A small fishing-boat I row, O babu !
A net to be hurled I throw, O babu !

At Poolapilli Punta was I born,
In the fair at Pedapoori was I brought up,
My father's name is Jalla Konku,
My mother's name is Mattagirsa.

My sister's name is Cheduupariga,
My brother's name is Royyipeechu,
My wife's name is Yisukadondu,
My own name is Bommirayyi.

Me, a fisher boy, O babu !
Beat me not, abuse me not, O babu !
A small fishing-boat I row, O babu !
A net to be hurled I throw, O babu !

One may call it a weeping song. The fisher boy, somehow, represents the voice of the oppressed classes; the babu stands for those who have the upper hand. The *Song of the Fisher Boy* must have sobbed its way through centuries.

"The fisher boy's image has a tragic face," remarked Chinta Dikshatlu, an Andhra writer, "I got it from the lips of a beggar and got it published in *Jayanti* which is not current now."

The fisher boy mentions different kinds of fish as the names of his father, mother, sister, brother, wife and even his own name. The *Jalla Konku* is an important fish. The *Mattagirsa* fish has a flat back and is very pleasant to the taste. The *Royyipeechu* is a long and thin fish with big moustaches. The *Yisukadondu* and *Bommirayyi* are two other members of the vast fish family. The fisher boy must use his net while he goes out fishing, the babu, however, may catch him by the neck without a net, without a trap, and he has no escape.

The features of various castes, *Kapu*, *Kammas* and *Reddis*, etc., who are all peasants, may look, more or less, the same; and even a Mala, treated as an untouchable, has no less a physical charm :

". . . . In the next field we came upon young Gubbayya, so he names himself, sitting under a stack, and twisting palm-fibre into plough-ropes with the air of a copper angel. He is only a Mala, it seems, though he wears curled locks like a Rajput. . . ."[3]

Yet some of the folk-songs must be tribal in character, their features varying in strength and spirit as we go from caste to caste, clan to clan.

MOTHER CALF, CALF, O CALF !

To Jaggaipet I went all agog,
As seeds are thrown in the field, he sowed his love :
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

For rupees five-and-twenty a shapely cot I bought,
I slept not on it even once:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

For half a rupee a bodice, bedecked with mirrors,
I bought,
O this bodice of mine is not even a bit torn:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

To Kotappa fair I went and a half-wig I bought,
O this *Koppu* of mine is not even a bit ruffled:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

Milk of the white cow I brought, *ghee* of the black
cow I brought,
I had all my heart upon my man:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

When bread is baked, I'll cook the *Gongura* leaves
in the evening,

3. Oswald J. Couldrey, *South Indian Hours*, p. 102.

And at night on them I'll feed you:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

The kernel of a tender cocoanut I'll get and I'll keep it in milk,
O the skimmed juice I'll give you:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

My *siga* I'll take away, rather a *Koppu* I'll make and I'll put on the forehead a vermilion-mark,
Else my coiffure itself 'll laugh at me :
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

The mat of date-palm leaves is for my man, jute-stuff I'll spread for the guest,
My man and me haven't met since long:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

This side a *Kulthi* field, that side an *Anumula* field,
And down below a cotton field:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

For rupees three a pearl-spangle for my forehead I bought,
O this spangle of mine is not even a bit worn off:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

Boorele I made by frying and kept for him in the basket,
O now you take these *boorele*, my darling !
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

On the boulder on your way beside the rock stand O,
And do leave some hint before you go:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

Seated on a gold-flowered *Peeta* I was married to that young man,
O his love I haven't seen so far:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

A royal calf you are, a calf of Rajamahendri,
A calf capable of going to the ghat:
Mother Calf, Calf, O Calf !

It is a tribal folk-song of the Gangi Reddis as Adivi Bapiraju, a dean of new Andhra art and literature, told me. Mr. Bapiraju knew the haunting melody of this song since his childhood days; in July 1939, he collected the text from a woman. Jaggaipet is some 40 miles from Bezwada; the seeds being thrown in a field is, indeed, an appealing image of love-making in peasant-life. *Dooramma*, or mother calf, is a term of endearment for the calf; the whole refrain being *Dooramma doora doora*, mother calf, calf, O calf. The peasant woman tells her story to her calf. The *Koppu*, in the fourth stanza, is a simple hair-arrangement in which the flowing hair is tied in a knot at the back; this knot is thrust underneath the hair from below. The *Siga* in the eighth stanza, is an elaborate piece of coiffure; the hair, turned into a beautiful pig-tail, is coiled up at the back following the old, rich tradition. *Boorele* makes a special item of the Andhra dinner; the *Urad* species of pluses turned into a sort of paste, a hole is made in each piece with the finger before it is fried in sesame oil. The pearl-spangle, bought for three rupees, must refer to imitation pearls. The bodice, bedecked with mirrors, in the third stanza, throws light on the old age



Andhra children
Photo : P. Coomarswami, Guntur

of the song; one could have it for half a rupee in the happy past.

III

Andhra dance songs have a charm of their own. Many of these songs are drawn from the ancient epic stories and legends. Others cling to realism.

Couldrey's impressions of Andhra folk-dances have genuine words of praise and insight :

"It was the custom for the various guilds and castes of the neighbourhood to send choirs of dancers to the Dhavleshwaram car-festival, which was held every year on a day in February about two miles from the river. These choirs danced in the village-street after nightfall, each choir forming a ring about a lamp with many branches, like a burning bush of brass, and singing in response to their choirmaster or coryphaeus, whose exacting business it was, not only to lead and inflame the dance and song, but to keep alive the many fiery tongues of the lamp as well .... the feast of god Narsimham, who dwelt in the temple on the Dhavleshwaram promontory .... there was no formal competition between the dancing-choirs. ... The orchestral lamp of the smiths of Dhavleshwaram, for instance, was glorious with parrots of brass and branching tracery, and twinkled with points of light like a little universe, while the choristers themselves were nearly as splendid in their golden ornaments and muslin tunics of purple and crimson; whereas the Malas danced naked to the waist, and their candelabrum was a sorry skeleton of scrap-iron. But in actual dance and song the poor outcastes were by no means out of the running ... they yielded to none as regards the grace, the tunefulness, and the transfiguring fervour of their youthful coryphaeus. These choric dances are performed by the villagers themselves in every village."[4]

The leader of a dancing-choir may be a poet-musician, and he may compose a new dance-song as the choric dance continues. Every new dance-song is a real folk-song for its seed lies in community-singing. The original poet-musician, who composes the new song as he leads the dance, is no more an individual; he is the mouthpiece of the whole community.

The dance-forms have their own local variations. Every dance-form should be studied separately. Some of the dances may vary from district to district, clan to clan. They must be seen over and over again before their steps and mass action sink into the mind.

Andhra folk-dances and songs should be preserved by the modern scientific apparatuses: folk-dances must be recorded through the cinematograph and folk-songs through the phonograph.

A decade ago, in 1932, Professor P. Sambamurthy observed in London:

"South India is at present in need of a Cecil Sharp to give a stimulus to the study of folk-music. Something should be done to record the rich folk-songs of the country. The sooner it is undertaken the better, for the folk-music is already beginning to perish on account of the inroads of the modern civilization into rural parts. The easiest and the cheapest method of recording folk-music is through the phonogram. The Madras Government might be invited to inaugurate a Phonogram Archive (on the model of one in Berlin), wherein the recorded folk-music in cylinders from the several districts might be made available to the public. The initial and recurring cost of such a scheme is very small."[5]

Folk-dances, like the ancient folk-songs themselves, are rapidly disappearing. If we are going to have phonogram archives to save the folk-music of various parts of India from sinking into oblivion, we must also have cinematograph archives for our folk-dances, which may be recorded on sound-and-colour films. The genuineness and originality must be preserved scientifically in the phonograms and cinematographs. Songs and dances may be picked out according to their quality. Each province can have its own funds for inaugurating a much-needed museum of folk arts.

Andhra would do well, I would suggest, to hurry up to inaugurate its National Museum of Folk Arts; almost all the expressions of Andhra folk-genius deserve to be preserved and revived through it. And before the actual phonographic and cinematographic recording is started, a complete academic edition of Andhra folk-songs must be brought out utilizing the services of all the folksong-collectors as also of Nedunuri Gangadharam.

4. Oswald Couldrey: "The Heart of the Poor Cattle-keeper," *Triveni*, Nov. 1928.

5. P. Sambamurthy: "South Indian Folk-Music," *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VI, No. I, p. 34.

REYNOLDS AND THE ENGLISH CULTURAL TRADITION

By JOHN STEEGMAN

[Recently a new book has been issued dealing with the life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the eighteenth century portrait painter. Mr. Steegman points out that the publication of such a book at this time is an achievement.]

AT a time when men are devoting all their energies to the gigantic effort of the war, it might be thought that the things of the mind would be pushed so far into the backgound as to fade out almost entirely. Fortunately this has not happened and there is little likelihood that it will. The pursuit of learning for its own sake still continues undeterred, if sometimes rather inconvenienced, by war-time conditions.

The London Library, in the damaged St. James's Square still serves students and scholars all over the country. Nearly all the learned societies continue to hold their periodical meetings. They did so through the winter of 1940-1941 with its intense and continued bombing of London; and still archaeologists, astronomers, antiquarians, lawyers, doctors and historians continue quietly and gravely to meet and to advance a little further their respective fields of knowledge. Although many of the great museums and picture-galleries are closed and their contents stored safely away, their governing bodies meet regularly and continue steadily to add to their possessions.

The publishers of scholarly books have a difficult task in these days of paper-restriction; but nevertheless they consider it their duty to allocate a large proportion of their quota to books which cannot be expected to bring them much profit, but which add something to our store of knowledge.

A very good example has been the publication of a large and important book of England's greatest painter, Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is an expensive book, because it contains 350 pictures; even before the war there were few people who would spend £2 on a book, and with war taxation there must be even fewer today. Yet the publishers have produced this volume because they consider that the constructive value of a piece of solid scholarship will outlast the destructive forces of war.

It is important that Sir Joshua Reynolds should be impressed on our minds at this time. The statement may at first sight seem an exaggeration, but Reynolds is a typical Englishman of a period when England was about to assume her pre-eminent position among the nations.

He happens to have been a painter, but it would have been the same had he been an architect, a statesman, a lawyer, a doctor or a bishop. He is representative of the English culture of the second half of the eighteenth century, a culture founded on a liberal rather than a narrowly classical tradition, and fed by the learning of all ages and all countries, not by antiquity alone; a culture which derived its solid strength from being rooted in the past, and its vitality from being always awake to the present.



A self-portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, first President of the Royal Academy

Reynolds may be said to have been a typical Englishman of the period when England was about to assume her pre-eminent position among the nations.

The foundations of that culture are as strong and its vitality as great as ever. But now they are opposed to a culture and a philosophy radically different which are the negation of our own. The testing-time of this war will bring an even greater strength and vitality to the English cultural tradition.

Reynolds was born in 1723 in Devonshire, in the west of England. He was of the educated middle-class, of a family which produced ecclesiastics and university professors. Young Joshua adopted what was then the trade of "face-painting," went to Rome and Venice to study the Masters, and by 1755 had set up on his own in London.

From the beginning he formed two ambitions, and he pursued them steadily throughout his life. One was to elevate the traditional English "face-painting" business on to a higher plane, so that it could be compared with the great art of Europe; the other was to establish the principles of criticism by which English painters could thus elevate themselves. He achieved the first ambition by the example of his own stately and magnificent portraits, and the other by his scholarly and inspiring writings.

By the time of Reynolds' death in 1792 the English School was established in European art, and he himself was the acknowledged head of it. He was the first President of the Royal Academy (whose 172nd annual exhibition was recently held in London) and at his death he was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

There have been greater painters than Reynolds, but few whose influence was so great on the culture of his own country and on that of Europe. Like his great contemporaries and friends, Dr. Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke, Reynolds has the characteristic English faculty of ranging calmly and serenely with an open and liberal mind, over the whole field, of taking what seemed most significant from the past and grafting his own achievement on to it.

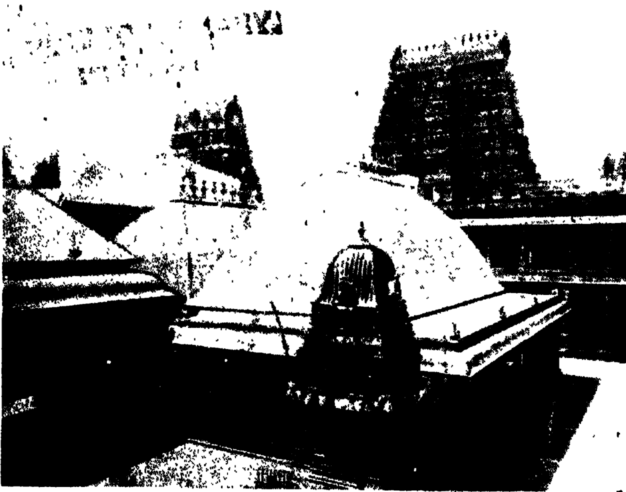
When we are reminded of Reynolds, the most pre-eminent figure in European art of the eighteenth century, we are reminded of these qualities which he did so much to form. And that, at a time when very different qualities are conspicuous in Europe, is a lesson worth remembering. They will be very necessary when the war is over and we can set about repairing the moral damage which so nearly wrecked the world.

CHIDAMBARAM

By L. N. GUBIL

South India abounds in sacred shrines which are famous not only as centres of pilgrimage, but also as monuments of the greatness of ancient and medieval India in architecture, sculpture, painting and other kindred arts; and among these, Chidambaram, dedicated to Sri Nataraja, takes pride of place.

The hoary antiquity of the shrine has not been disputed. Historical and archaeological investigations trace its existence to the beginning of the Christian Era. Tradition carries its date still further back. Two sages, Patanjali and Vyagrapadha, are reputed to have prayed and done penance on this spot to please Lord Siva, who immensely pleased with their austerities, manifested Himself before them in the company of three thousand Dikshatars, who came to be known as "Tillai Moovayiravar." It is affirmed that the temple rose on that spot, and the three thousand sages continuously worship Lord Siva.



The sanctum sanctorum of Sri Nataraja temple. Chidambaram

It is also a well-known fact that the eighth century witnessed a religious Renaissance in South India, when several kings displayed their piety to Lord Siva by rare acts of munificence, endowing His temples, and embellishing them with the richest architectural monuments. Parantaka I, the Chola Emperor of the 10th century, is said to have been an ardent Saivite, who commemorated the victories of his reign by re-plating with gold the spacious hall, known as *Kanaka Sabhai*, in the temple of Chidambaram.

It is said that Lord Siva, the third and the most powerful of the Hindu Trimoorties, has manifested himself at different places and in different times, and that five great temples in South India are dedicated to five of His supremely important manifestations corresponding to the five cosmic elements of which the whole universe is an embodiment. These elements are Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether. The Siva temple in Kanchi represents Siva's manifestation as Earth, that at Jambukeswaram near Trichinopoly represents



The Nritya Sabhai or the Hall of Dance. Chidambaram

his manifestation as Water, that at Tiruvannamalai represents his manifestation as Fire, that at Kalahasti represents his manifestation as Air and that at Chidambaram represents his manifestation as Ether.

The name Nataraja, by which Lord Siva is known here, has another and a greater significance. The name signifies "The Lord of the Dance." and the 'Dance' is symbolic of the rhythmic vibration of Ether by which alone the universe is kept in position. We may well apply to Nataraja these lines of Wordsworth :

> 'Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;
> And the most ancient heavens, through thee are
> fresh and strong."

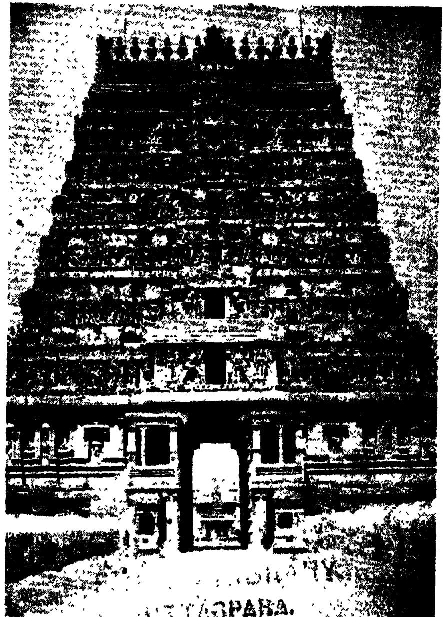
The nature of the universe and the eternal and immutable laws which keep it in perpetual motion have fascinated great thinkers at all times. The concept of Nataraja is the culminating point of all attempts to explain the why and wherefore of this incessant cosmic activity; in a word, it is the synthesis of a long evolution. As a distinguished author puts it :

> "In the night of Brahma, Nature is inert and cannot dance till Siva wills it. He rises from his stillness, and dancing sends through matter pulsating waves of awakening sound from the drum; Nature also dances clinging to Him as Glory. Then in the fulness of time, still dancing, He destroys all names and forms and there is now rest. Thus time and timelessness are reconciled by the conception of phase alternations extending over vast areas of space and great tracts of time. The orderly dance of the spheres, the perpetual evolution and involution, are conceptions that have at all times recurred to man's minds but to represent them in the visible form of Nataraja's dance is a unique and magnificent achievement of the Hindus !"

This symbolism may not appeal to some, but none can deny that it is a noble attempt at explanation of a great phenomenon, as important as it is mystical.

The artists who visit this famous shrine will find in the *Kanaka Sabhai* or the Golden Hall, the *Nritya Sabhai* or the Hall of the Dance, the *Raja Sabhai* or the Hall of Thousand Pillars, objects which will fill him with wonder and admiration for the talents that brought them into existence. The festivals connected with this temple are numerous and varied.

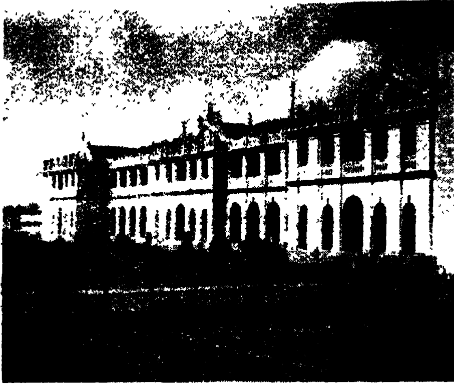
The importance of the temple is enhanced by the fact that it is a place easy of access, being situated on the main line in the South Indian Railway, 154 miles from Madras. As an educational centre this place has assumed an importance which



The main entrance of the temple. Chidambaram

could not have been dreamt of by our forefathers. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, through his muni-

ficent endowment, has brought into being the present unitary and residential Annamalai



A portion of the Annamalai University Chidambaram

University, which besides giving instruction in Arts and Science has also made adequate provision for the study of music and oriental culture.

At present, when the castes, high and low, are still warring amongst themselves without realising that in their daily unity lies their strength and the strength of Hinduism, Chidambaram should serve as a rallying-cry for all the parties to sink their differences and prove their essential oneness. For, does not the story of Nandanar, still the most popular and most inspiring of the Hindu saints, who, a mere pariah, sought and won his salvation at Chidambaram, overcoming all opposition by his flaming Bhakti, convey an eternal message of hope to the suppressed classes to conquer ignorance, prejudice and superstition by the most effective weapon of love—love for the Lord, the right to Whose worship they seek? And the same epic of Nandanar proclaims to the so-called high castes that the Lord, Whose loving kindness embraces all, irrespective of their social position, is accessible only to the devoted and the humble, who lay at His feet the supreme sacrifice of "a contrite heart."

LIFE INSURANCE IN INDIA

By AMIYA K. SEN,

President, Indian Insurance Companies' Field-workers' Association

Life Insurance business in India, although of rather recent origin, has been making convincing progress through years. Between 1929 and 1938, *i.e.*, in the course of these ten years, per capita insurance in India doubled itself from Rs. 4·14 to Rs. 8·87, while the amount of cover issued per day increased from Rs. 8·1 lakhs to Rs. 15·1 lakhs. At the end of 1939 there were in operation nearly 200 Indian Life Offices which had issued over 13¼ lacs of policies assuring a sum of Rs. 215·19 crores with a premium income of nearly Rs. 1 crore per month. The Indian Life Offices have now extended their business across the seas and their oversea business at the end of 1939 was over Rs. 17¼ crores. Inside India, over 15 lakhs of families enjoy today the protection offered by the Life Insurance policies. But these figures, though they may appear very big, are yet quite inadequate for India with her teeming millions.

The above is only a short description of the vast dimensions to which Life Insurance has grown in India in recent years. If to this is added the large capital invested by the people in the shares of insurance companies and the colossal amount of claim moneys paid out by the companies, the picture will be still more impressive and convincing. It will, however, be interesting to remeber that this growth of Life Insurance in India has been possible by the efforts of small investors whose contribution in the capital structure of the companies has been indeed very great, inasmuch as unlike other industries, this business has grown without any Government aid or protection. The contribution of agents on this behalf is also no less remarkable.

The rapid expansion of life insurance business in this country, however, as is only natural, brought in many undesirable entrepreneurs, and mushroom companies also grew up with the consequence that the business tended to reveal certain unhealthy features. Necessity was therefore being increasingly felt in the country to put things in order. The Government stepped in the right moment with the object of placing the

business upon the path of ordered progress. The 1938 Insurance Act was the outcome of this desire. The framework of the Act took the Colonial model or rigid State control rather than of the principle of freedom and publicity observed in the United Kingdom. And as a consequence of this larger responsibilities came to devolve on the Government; an enlarged machinery had to be set up, therefore, to cope with the various new problems arising every day.

The Act had its good features and shortcomings too. The Act contemplated a thorough overhauling of the entire system of insurance business in the country and may in the main be classified under three broad aspects, *viz.*, (*a*) Policy-holder; (*b*) Administration; and (*c*) Fieldworker.

From the policy-holders' point of view, the Act confers upon them certain rights and privileges which go a long way to safeguard their interest. For the first time, the policyholder is given the right to have a say through their elected directors in the management of the company. Certain disabilities under which they so long suffered have also been removed.

The most outstanding changes relate to a number of statutory requirements to be complied with by insurers. Of these, Section 27 which imposes restriction upon the investment of funds has raised widespread controversy. While however older insurers are not so much affected by this clause, the restriction, it seems, is a great handicap to companies of recent origin. The immediate effect of this section which by the way, requires 55% of the total policy liabilities of a company to be invested in Government and approved securities, has been a serious shrinkage in its interest-earning capacity. This is certain to have its repercussions on the Bonus-paying capacity of the insurer and has necessitated in most cases the revision of premium rates and valuation basis. The situation, already complicated, became more exasperating due to conditions brought about by the War. Of course, I believe, similar situation had to be faced by life offices in other countries also. It augurs well that this state of affairs has not failed to impress the Government and adequate measures are contemplated to render relief to the life offices.

The Act has given statutory recognition to the profession of Insurance salesmanship through the introduction of the system of licensing. Coupled with this, the statutory right on the renewal commission after 10 years' continuous and loyal service has substantially safeguarded the interests of life insurance agents in this country. Much of the good sought to be done to the agents has been verily offset, however, by the restriction imposed upon their remuneration by Section 40. For, at a time when more young men with education, culture and social status were coming into this profession, this restriction undoubtedly serves as a deterrent to these new-comers who aspire to earn a decent income out of it. I am not aware if such restriction obtain in any other progressive country.

Close upon the Insurance Act coming into operation the war menace has added to the further problems of the Indian Insurance. As a result of the war panic even the stability of insurance companies and security of policies are being doubted. To meet this situation, Insurance companies and Insurance workers, aided by the insurance press, are doing all that they can to allay the paralysing fear. It seems to me however that this purpose will be more effectively served if the Daily Press would come forward to help to restore the public confidence. Indian insurance as a matter of fact has attained such a sound position that there can be no reason for one to give way to panic; for, while even foreign companies are shy to accept war-risks, without heavy additional premiums, the Indian insurance companies are accepting war-risks on civilian lives at normal rates. Indeed, Indian insurance emerged triumphant out of the last Great War and with the solid strength gathered during the last twenty years, I am confident that its financial strength can be no longer called in question.

I am however deeply concerned over a new manifestation appearing in the horizon of Indian insurance. I refer to the gradual estrangement of feelings between the Company Executives and the Field-workers. Opinion is held in certain quarters that insurance agents are accountable for the high cost of procuration in this country and the blame for exorbitantly high expense ratio is foisted on the agent. The agent in his turn looks askance at the management and feels that he is deprived of his legitimate due owing to the uneconomic overhead cost. It has created a gulf of distrust between the Executives and the Field-workers, while the fact remains that their interests are not exclusive of one another and that they both serve the cause of Indian insurance between themselves. This distrust has got to be eliminated and must yield place to mutual respect and regard, ever so much necessary for the harmonious growth of insurance in this country. By contributing to that end we truly serve Indian insurance and serve it well.

S. D. O.s AND UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION CENTRES

To The Editor,
Modern Review, Calcutta.

Sir,

I beg to draw your attention and that of educationists of the country to the following incident at Narail Matriculation centre, which may become a dangerous precedent, in my humble opinion, in the future.

I was officer-in-charge of Narail centre, being elected by the centre committee, which fact was duly reported to the Controller. The S. D. O. (Mr. A. Ahmed) is the President of the centre committee. A difference of opinion arose between him and myself as to whether the president or the S. D. O. as such had any right to interfere in the internal work of the officer-in-charge. A perusal of the printed rules published by the University for the guidance of the officer-in-charge has led me to believe that with regard to the internal work of the officer-in-charge, *viz.*, appointment of invigilators, opening of sealed packets of question papers, distribution of them as well of blank answer papers, collection, packing, etc., of written answer papers, identification of candidates and all other items of work connected with the examination, the president of the committee or the S. D. O. of the place (or any other executive officer) has no power to interfere. The S. D. O. of Narail thought otherwise.

However, for the first two days, I conducted the examination smoothly and without any interference from anybody, although I felt from some indications that the S. D. O. was going to make his power felt in some way or other.

On the third day of the examination, *i.e.*, 17th inst., on my arrival at the room of the officer-in-charge at about 10-10 A.M., I found the S. D. O. occupying my chair. I greeted him, to which he gave no reply, and there being no other chair near at hand, I kept standing until a teacher present kindly brought a chair for me when I sat, unasked, of course, by the S. D. O. The S. D. O. then gave a sort of brief lecture to all present in which he said that he had wired to the Controller, who had informed him that he (S. D. O.) was empowered to *supervise* the examination. As it was then 10-15, he ordered a pleader gentleman present to open the packets of question papers, without, of course, making any reference to me, indicating thereby that he had made up his mind to conduct the examination, utterly ignoring the officer-in-charge (*i.e.*, myself).

I then asked him whether the University had given him the power to interfere in the internal work of the officer-in-charge. He said distinctly that, as the S. D. O., he had that power. I told him that I respectfully differed and that, in the circumstances, I could not continue to be the officer-in-charge. I wanted to resign, to which he had no objection. I then resigned and informed the Controller by wire.

Now, Sir, let all people judge whether any S. D. O. or any other executive officer can thus, almost forcibly, oust an officer-in-charge, who is conducting an examination and whether any non-official of self-respect should co-operate with an executive officer of this type. Is this the way in which gentlemen who render strenuous honorary services for a public cause, are to be rewarded ?

I am waiting eagerly to see what the Controller of Examinations and the University do in the matter.

I believe there are many educationists (non-officials) who, out of public spirit, willingly lend their services to assist in the work of conducting the examination. They can at least expect to be treated with respect, even by the S. D. O.s who are masters of their respective areas. The incident at Narail is like a test case and students, teachers and others are watching to see what the University will do.

After I came away, I learnt that the S. D. O. had authorised the Sub-Deputy Magistrate (Mr. Ajit K. Sen) to conduct the examination, though the latter is not even a member of the centre committee. I also learnt that a host of miscellaneous persons, *viz.*, the special officer (for Agricultural loans), Jute officers, and even civic guards (hailing from peasant families) have been appointed as invigilators. As to Mr. Sen, he was excluded from the committee this year.

Lastly, whether the fact that Mr. A. Ahmed is an extreme champion of the Muslim League and my humble self is well known here as a Hindu Sabha man had anything to do with the former's treatment of me, I do not know. It is noteworthy however that about three months ago, two cows were slaughtered at Narail town (an unprecedented event) and I took a leading part in submitting a public petition to the District Magistrate, in which some facts were related connecting the S. D. O. with the affair.

Before the time of Mr. Ahmed, no S.D.O. or Sub-Deputy Magistrate took any personal responsibility for actually conducting the examination, on the ground that an emergency may occur any moment calling them away from the station. Mr. Ahmed seems to hold a different view.

Yours faithfully,
R. C. Banerjee
(Professor of History)

Narail Victoria College
22-4-1942

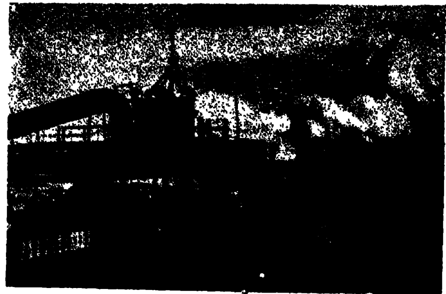
THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

The much-heralded spring offensive has not yet materialised on the Russian front. The longest and bitterest winter in 140 years has further upset the Axis plans by prolonging the thaw in the south, where the Axis forces are best placed for the preliminary thrusts, and by holding up the operations on both sides in the centre. In the north minor activities are going on but in general the month of April has been one of a enforced lull. Aerial warfare has not stopped but even here large scale bombing attacks do not seem to be in evidence from either side. Probably the thaw has allowed the Axis forces a respite for re-organisation and re-grouping of forces which might be going on along the entire front behind the battle line. On the Russian side the counter-preparations should now be well-advanced if even a part of what is being said by the press publicity departments of the United Nations be based on fact.

The aerial offensive against Germany and the occupied territories is now being carried on with great determination by the British, and there can be no doubt that these heavy raids have caused considerable disquiet to the Nazi high-command. The references to this campaign in Hitler's speech and the bombing of Bath and other British inland towns give clear evidence to that effect. This will undoubtedly lead to some dispersal of the forces being marshalled against Russia, but beyond that no further definite conclusions can be drawn as yet.

The greatest winter campaign in history has come to an end. As yet the material gain and loss by either side cannot be measured up with any degree of exactitude. Russians have regained about 25% of their lost territories, but we do not know at what cost. Further this gain is yet merely geographic. The economic restoration of these areas, if they be retained by the Soviets, would mean many years of hard work. The Germans have lost the initiative, but this break in the campaign due to the thaw may enable them to assume it. We know that the terrible hardships of the Russian winter must have lowered the efficiency and the striking power of a substantial part of the Nazi war machine which was forced to give battle under the most adverse circumstances. But the Axis does possess substantial reserves as yet and the replacement and reconditioning of material wastage must have been accomplished by now. It is authoritatively stated by certain sections of the Allied press that Hitler's new offensive will not have the same momentum as that of the first mass-assault. That may be true, and



Magnitogorsk, a great industrial centre in Russia, whose iron and steel combine is larger than any in Europe

on the other hand that may be another bit of disastrous wishful thinking. Russia has suffered terrible losses and as yet we do not know how far she has been able to recoup.

* * *

In the Middle East there is now a stalemate. General Rommel is no longer in a position to stage a major offensive and will probably have to depend on very meagre and precarious supplies for some time to come. The prolonged and furious aerial assault on Malta is an attempt to remove the principal obstacle to the African supply route of the Axis and if it succeeds then the position would be quite different. But for the present General Auchinleck is better placed for supplies and reinforcements severely curtailed as they have been through Japan's entry into the world war. The campaigning season in the western desert is drawing to a close and probably no major flare-up will take place there before issues have been determined in Russia and elsewhere.

* * *

In Burma the situation is extremely critical. So far Chinese valour and determination has

only been able to delay the Japanese advance. The Japanese are trying to establish themselves in the comparatively drier zone before the rains impede operations in Lower Burma. They have only a little over a fortnight to accomplish their work, but their progress has been rapid so far. The main objective of the present thrust is to get the two great rivers and the rail and road to the Chinese frontier under their control and thus disrupt all the routes of supplies to China. Probably after that will come the main attack on India.

The problems facing the United Nations are getting more and more complicated every



Stalinsk in the Urals
. . . . when war was far away

day. There is no doubt that all that can be done will be attempted now by the Americans, but the task is extremely uphill and the time extremely short. The vested interests in India have done all they could to prevent the industrialisation of India on Indian lines. This added on to the miserable ostrich policy of the supreme war councils regarding defence in the Far East and the Indian Ocean has now developed into a situation that might appal all but the stoutest hearts. Drastic measures alone can rectify the effects of these errors of omission and commission and those measures have to be adopted immediately.

Japan's supremacy on sea and in the air cannot be challenged and overthrown in a day. What she was prepared to fight for and obtain as the result of a prolonged and bitter struggle has been handed over to her as a gift. Now the bitter and prolonged struggle is reserved for the forces of the United Nations. As yet we can only see the preparatory stage and judging from the speech by Sir Stafford Cripps and the debate that followed, the full realisation of the implications of the situation has not yet dawned on the complacent Anglo-Saxon mind—at least so far as the non-combatants are concerned. It is not for us to indicate what is needed urgently now. All we can say that the task ahead cannot be accomplished by an out-of-date administration nor can adequate help be rendered to the fighting forces unless a drastic and very severe overhaul of the production and supply methods be undertaken immediately.

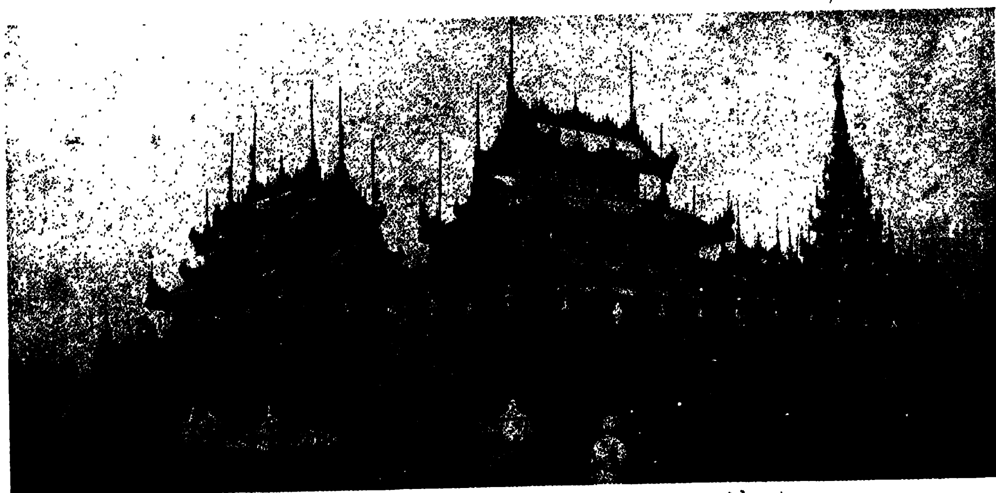
The political situation beggars description. At the outset of the war the sympathies of Indians in general and the Nationalists in particular was definitely on the side of the democracies. It is useless to discuss in these columns the reasons why the deterioration took place. It is enough to say that the Indian Nationalist parties had no hand in it.

ERRATUM

At page 432, col. 1, line 6 of this issue of *The Modern Review*: *Read* "about eleven million" *for* "one hundred and ten million."



Chinese soldiers



The wooden Pagoda near the palace at Mandalay



Yenangyaung Town, from a sand-bank in the Irrawady



A part of the Twingon Reserve. Yenangyaung oil-field

YAMA AND CHITRAGUPTA

BY BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

" We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is bounded with a sleep."—Shakespear. *The Tempest.*

The pious man took up
His staff, his scrip, and his drinking cup,
And set out for the Ganges.

* * * * * * * *

He tramped all day in the burning sun,
O'er stony places, where no trees grew,
And ashen, pebbly, river-beds run,
Black with the morning dew,
Begging a scrap from the passers-by,
And slept at night 'neath the starry sky.

* * * * * * * *

Lo there the Ganges: The flashing gleam,
The silver line of the winding stream!
And he came to the streamlet's muddy bank,
And sat down there;
And day after day, for five long years,
He bathed in the running water,
Begging a scrap from the passers-by,
And slept at night 'neath the starry sky.

* * * * * * * *

And then an old man passed that way,
A Pasupatâ, holy man,
And said, " Friend, you are in evil case—
What make you here in so desolate place—
So wild, and drear?
None living may get a morsel here.
None ever comes here—save when he is brought
Lashed to a pole, or a rope-strung cot,—
And then, good happy man, I think,
He wants no more for meat, or drink."

* * * * * * * *

" Good Sir"—the pious man replied—
" Here I have lodged for five long years,
Bathing in holy Ganga's stream,
And here I shall steadfastly abide,
Begging a scrap from the passers-by,
And sleeping at night 'neath the starry sky."

* * * * * * * *

" Holy? Ganga? O strange credulity!
I'm an old man now, my head is grey,
But never thought I, to my dying day,
To see such folly as now I see—
This trickling puddle, the Ganges!—Man,
The Ganges is hundreds of miles away.
This gutter is no more like the Ganges than
A heap of clods
Is like the heaven-kissing Himalayas, upon
Whose cloud-capped brows
Rest, like a crown, the eternal snows,
The abode of the gods"—
The stranger said—and passed on.

* * * * * * * *

" Not the Ganges! I am thankful, exceedingly,
To you, good Sir, for enlightening me;
For truly I'm now in evil case"—
So saying, the pious man took up
His staff, his scrip, and his drinking cup,
And straightway left that place,
And set out once more for the Ganges.

* * * * * * * *

He tramped all day in the burning sun,
O'er stony places, where no trees grew,
And ashen, pebbly, river-beds run,
Black with the morning dew,
Feeding on roots, and berries pithless, and dry,
That hung on niggard shrubs preposterously,
Mocking the hungry and tried wayfarer,
And the insipid pulp of the prickly pear.

* * * * * * * *

Lo! there the Ganges!—I see the gleam,
The silver line of the mighty stream,
Winding like a snake—
The Ganges at last!—there's no mistake.
And he came to the swift-flowing river's bank,
And sat down there;
And day after day, for five long years,
He bathed in the running water,
Begging a scrap from the passers-by,
And slept at night 'neath the starry sky.

* * * * * * * *

And then an old man passed that way,
A Kāpālikā, holy man,
And said, " Friend, why art thou wasting thy time,
Doing penance here, day after day,
By the waters of this nameless stream,
In so wild desolate clime?
This stream has no special sanctity:
The Ganges alone can set man free
From the contagion of Space, and Time."

* * * * * * * *

Amazed, and aghast—and, brimming with tears,
He turned up to heaven the whites

Of his eyes : those winged words they smote his ears,
As a blacksmith's hammer the anvil smites.
"What ! This too not the Ganges !—Then
I'm the unluckiest of all luckless men.
I thank you, Sir, for enlightening me"—
And precipitately
The pious man again took up
His staff, his scrip, and his drinking cup,
And set out once more for the Ganges.

* * * * * * *

He tramped in the summer sun all day,
Day after day, till the sun went down,
Feeding on roots, and berries, dry, and brown.
That cluster the shrubs in the month of May,
And the bastard toddy tree date—
So dreary place, and so desolate—
No vagabond ever passed that way.

* * * * * * *

Lo ! there the Ganges ! I see the gleam,
The silver line of the winding stream—
The Ganges !—The Ganges !—
And he came to the swift flowing river's bank,
And sat down there;
And day after day, for five long years,
He bathed in the running water,
Begging a scrap from the passers-by,
And slept at night 'neath the starry sky.

* * * * * * *

And long reeds grew on the river's bank,
And wild shrubs grew on the plain,
And he made him a hut with the rushes lank,
To shield him from sun, and rain;
For truly it was a most desolate clime,
To inhabit for so long time.

* * * * * * *

At night he heard the jackals' cries,
And the hyaena's hideous wail,
And mocking laughter of savage guile,
And he saw, in the darkness, glowing eyes,
That glowed like balls of fire;
When morning came, round his wigwam hut,
In the plashy mine,
He saw where deep paw-marks went, and the rut
Of the upturned clay showed the winding trail
Of the python, and crocodile.

* * * * * * *

Then the monsoon came in loud torrents down,
Flooding the river's jagged banks,
And huge banyans torn up by the roots,
And rafters, and wandering gipsies' booths,
And wreckage of houses, and floating plants;
And swollen corpses, pulpous, and brown,
On the rushing torrent floated by,
A ghastly sight to see.

* * * * * * *

Such a deluge of rain was never known;
The river, like a wild horse, snorted, and champed;
And the people came from the terrified town,
And threw flowers on the rushing water—
Suppliant flowers, of sweet scent, and varied hue,
Champak, and jasmine, and pale oleander,
Sweet basil, and adorous rue—
(As once by Severn stream, to the goddess there,
Chaste daughter of Locrine, Sabrina fair)—
And chanted a song—and a thousand throats
Took up the burden of plaintive notes :
" Nerbudda !—Shri Nerbudda !—
Swift-flowing, grain-giving, great Nerbudda !"—
Then the zigzag lightenings flashed, and peals of thunder
Scattered the suppliant crowds asunder.

* * * * * * *

The pious Hindu gazed on the scene,
Spell-bound, with wonder aghast—
What ! This too not the Ganges !—Then,
Truly, I am the unluckiest of all luckless men.
Quick—No time to lose now—the die is cast—
And once more he took up
His staff, his scrip, and his drinking cup,
And set out once more for the Ganges.

* * * * * * *

But fifteen long years had now gone by,
And fastings, and penance more terrible
Than flagellant anchoret's blood-stained rods,
And living in wild, and desolate places,
And under inclement skies—
(His austerities
Terrified even the gods)—
Had taken their tithe relentlessly,
And he was now grown feeble, bloodless, wan,
And thin as a skeleton :
A living thing that only did not die :
The ravenous panther averted his eyes
From so lean scraggy prey;
The jackal, and the carrion kite,
Looked once, and passed scornful by.

* * * * * * *

Haggard, and lank, he tramped, tottering, lame,
O'er stony places, and waste lands never sown,
And the hot sun beat on his wasted frame,
And smote him with fever down—
" Nerbudda—Shri Nerbudda—
I heard them chanting that river's name—
Ah ! that too was not the Ganges then—
Unluckiest I of all luckless men ! "—
And then, with his last strength ebbing fast,
He struggled, and crawled to a rising ground—
When—Lo ! There—There at last—
The mighty Ganges, flowing past,

Majestic, broad, with a rushing sound—
Ganges !—The goal of all human clay—
And thousands of pilgrims on its banks,
Crowding the long stone steps, and the sloping plants,
Bathing in the running water.
He saw—or was it only a dream ?
" O mighty Ganga !—sacred stream—
Alas ! If only....". But the Fates denied
The finishing of that last sentence
And the pious Hindu died.

* * * * * * *

Yama to Chitragupta said—
" There's one more dead.
Where was his birth ? "
Chitragupta said, " Earth."
Yama said, " What is there down against the man ? "
Chitragupta said, " Only one mortal sin,
But that he has, in his allotted span,
Washed away, by long time bathing in
The water of the Ganges."

* * * * * * *

Wondering, astonied, the pious Hindu heard
That soul-harrowing, fateful, staggering word—
" The Ganges ?—The Ganges ?—
Long time bathing in the Ganges ?
Lord, I never bathed in Ganga's stream.
Only from far I saw—as in a dream—
Its sacred waters rise and fall :
I never reached the Ganges at all.
But Yama only smiled, and said.
" The whole world is Maya, and Karma;
And only what the soul intends,
And strives to do, is the really Dharma "—
Then Yama smiled again, and said—
" Be happy now with the living dead."

WIDOW-BURNING IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Prof. Dr. JATINDRABIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London)

When in course of time the Indian society did not approve the rites of Niyoga and Widow-marriage,* widows became victims of a cruel and wicked intrigue against them, *viz.*, the Suttee or widow-burning. The right of Sahamarana or dying with the husband on the same funeral pyre is certainly not Vedic.[1]

Colebrooke in 1795 stated that the Rig-vedic verse, X.18.7. is " the only Vedic authority for the rite of Satī."[2] But this view is not tenable for two reasons. Firstly, the reading that he accepts cannot be traced. He somewhat followed Raghunandana's reading as is found in the Serampore edition of his works.

With this miserable pass-port to heaven Raghunandana arranged to send thousands and thousands of deluded women at the moment of their severe grief (in the case of Anumarana, even later) to the blazing pyre. Colebrooke probably got the reading from some Bengali pandita of his own time who knew evidently Raghunandana's reading of the last few words as given here.[3] As the reading followed by Colebrooke cannot be traced anywhere, it is to be rejected altogether. The right reading is :—

आरोऽन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ।

The translation of the verse by Wilson [5]and Max Müler[6] is not satisfactory. The verse should be translated as :—

* For these, see *Modern Review*, November, 1941, pp. 472-473 and January, 1942, pp. 68-71.

1. Some later Smritikaras recognise also the Anumarana, *i.e.*, the death of a widow after some time as prescribed, though not on the same pyre, in the fire lighted up with the fire preserved from the funeral pyre of the husband. Pregnant widows in an impure state cannot immolate themselves.

2. Miscellaneous Essays. Modern, 1872, 1, 114 *ff.*

3. Candesvara about 1400 A.D. quoted the verse as the authority for widow-burning. Candesvara cites a corresponding verse from the Brahma-purana, as well. So about 1400 A.D. this verse or some Khila Sukta not now-a-days known beginning as such appears to have passed as an authority for widow-burning.

4. Prof. Wilson's reading, JRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 205, सुरत्ना-रोऽन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे । Dr. Max Muller accepts this reading, only correcting Suratnarohantu as Suratna aroi antu.

5. Asiatic Researches, IV, p. 213.

6. Max Muller (Essays, Leipzig, 1869, II, p. 31 *f*) who once thought the verse to be " eine Anspruche an die ubrigen Frauen, die dem Leichenbegangnis beiwohnen und ol und Butter auf den Holzstoss zu giessen haben " translated it as :

" Lasst diese Frauen, die keine Witwen sind, sonder gute Manner haben, sich mit ol und Butter nahern. Die welche Mutter sind, lasst zuerst zum Altar hinaufschreiten ohne Tranen, ohne Kummer, sonder geschmuekt mit schonen Edelgestein," again translated it as follows in ZDMG., Band IX, p. XXV :—" Es treten ein die Frau'n, mit ol und Butter, nicht Witwen sie,

"Let these women, not widowed, having good husband, dress their eyes with butter serving as eye-salve; without tears, without disease, well-ornamented, let these wives enter the house first."

In any case, it cannot have any reference to widow-burning whatsoever.

Secondly, Colebrooke takes it for granted that it is an appropriate mantra uttered during the funeral ceremony. But it is quite otherwise. The ancient authorities on Vedic rites such as Asvalāyana,[7] the Brihad-devatā,[8] the Taittirīya Aranyaka,[9] Baudhāyana[10] and Bhāradvāja,[11] prescribe it as a mantra to be used during the Sānti-karman which is performed on the tenth day after death. When the relatives of the deceased assemble on the burning ground for the Sānti-karman *i.e.*, the rite for the well-being of the living, a fire is lighted up and all sit down on a bullock-hide.

The chief mourner then offers four oblations to the fire with a spoon made of varuna wood. All the relatives then rise up and recite a mantra. The women are then requested to put on collyrium and the chief mourner looks at them with this verse.

In the Atharva-veda too, the verse appears twice (XII, 2. 3. XVIII. 3. 57). AV. XII. 2. 3. appears among verses meant for Sānti, *i.e.*, the appeasing of Agni Kravyāt and for the consecration of the new house fire. According to the Kausika-sūtra 72. 11, the verse is used for the preparation of the new domestic fire wherein the women are presented with grass-shoots dipped in butter. Thus it is the same rite as Santi-karman. AV. XVIII. 3. 57 is used in connection with ancestral rites. The Kausika does not mention of its specific ritualistic application. Following the other schools, the verse is to be taken as a mantra of the Sānti rite.[12]

As the various Vedic schools mentioned above to which more may be added all prescribe the verse as an appropriate mantra for the Sānti-karman which is performed ten days after the funeral ceremony, Colebrooke's contention that this verse applies to the funeral ceremony is utterly baseless.

Raja Radhakanta unhesitatingly declares that the Rig-vedic verse X. 18. 8 refers to the Suttee.[13] He says when a Satī lies on the pyre, she intimates her resolution to immolate herself. She is then requested with this verse to come back to the world of the living, but she shows her valour by refusing the requests of her kinsmen. Radhakanta cites in his support the fact that even at the latest phase of the Satī, the widow is requested by her friends and relatives to live.[14] If even then she remains firm in her determination, she is burnt to death. But this view is not tenable.

The first half of the Rig-vedic verse, X. 18. 8 represents, probably, a relic of widow-burning that was known in the Indo-European period;[15] but nevertheless shows that widow-burning was at the period of the composition of this Rig-vedic verse forbidden. A similar relic is also traced in the Atharva-veda (18. 3. 3)[16] which refers to some rescue of a young wife from self-immolation. In fact, this symbolical burning is self-evident from the ritualistic application of the verse itself. Thus, Baudhāyana says that the wife should lie down on the left side of the corpse. Asvalāyana recommends that she should be placed near the head of the corpse on the north side. But it must be a matter of ritualistic observance pure and simple as irrespective of the RV. X. 18. 8 we see that in a subsequent mantra[17] the widow of a Brāhmana is asked to carry in her hand a bit of gold, the widow of a Ksatriya the bow and the wife of a Vaisya the jewel which is

nein, stolzauf edle Manner. Die Mutter gehn zuerst hinauf zur statte, in schonen schmuck and ohne Leid und Tranen."

7. Grihya-sutra, IV, 6, 8. The commentators Gargya Narayana and Haradatta Acarya differ as to the manner of salving the eyes. However, the women are to salve their eyes with bundles of Kusa stalks and then throw them to their back and then the chief mourner looks at them with this verse.

8. VII, 12.

9. VI, 10, 2.

10. Pitri-medha-sutra, ed. in ZDMG, X, No. 3, pp. 28, 1, 21, 11.

11 Pitri-medha-sutra, ed. in ZDMG, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 1. 22.

12. It is interesting that the Paippalada recension adds another corresponding verse for the use of men.

13. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVII, 1860, p. 215 *f*.

14. Compare the identical fact in the last act of the Mricchakatika where the relatives of Carudatta endeavour to dissuade his wife from her resolution to immolate herself.

15. Schradar, Pre-historic Antiquities, pp. 390-391; Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde, p. 958. For the custom of burning widows among the Northern Indo-Europeans, see V. Nehn's Kulturpflazen und Haustiers, 7th Auft., published by O. Schrader, p. 473 f; for other peoples, see p. 533 ff. For the custom prevailing among the Ancient Germans, see K. Mullenhoff. Deutsche altertumskunde, Berlin. 1900, IV, p. 312 f. The custom of widow-burning is found also among the primitive peoples; cf. Ploss-Bartels, Das Weib in der Natur und Volkerkunde, 9, Aufl., II, p. 672 ff.

16. Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 8, p. 849.

17. Taittiriya Aranyaka, VI, I.

offered along with the corpse of a Brāhmana, Ksatriya or Vaisya respectively.[18]

The Atharva-veda[19] clearly shows that the wife is to come back to a life of prosperity and bliss of children. The Rig-vidhāna says[20] a brother-in-law (Devara) should dissuade his sister-in-law from ascending the funeral pyre of the dead husband. The A-recension of the Brihad-devatā shows that this is the verse uttering which the younger brother of the husband dissuades the widow lying on the funeral pyre by the side of the deceased husband from burning to death.[21]

Thus it is clear that all the Sutra texts and other Vedic works prescribe that the wife should lie down by the side of her husband and she is to be raised up and is to return to the world of the living.[22] This verse can therefore by no means refer to Widow-burning.

Again, the silence of the entire Sūtra Literature, Buddhist Literature, Megasthenes, Kautilya and early Smārtas such as Manu and Yājñavalkya confirm that this abominable custom was not in vogue in India even in their times.

There is ample proof to show that even in later times when widow-burning became a religious practice in some parts of the country, well known Smārtas as well as literary giants denounced it as strongly as possible. Thus, Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu vehemently protests against the custom and considers it wholly opposed to the Vedas.[23] Virāta as quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya 1·87[24] also holds the same view, emphasising that the Suttee is simply committing suicide for nothing; moreover, it means totally ignoring wifely duties for which a Suttee is liable to religious penalties. Bānabhatta opposed the custom tooth and nail.[25]

It is thus proved conclusively that widow-burning is not Vedic. It is not Tāntrika either.

The Tantras hold a very important position from the point of religious practice in particular. They as a rule denounce the Suttee or Saha-marana rite. Thus the Mahānirvāna-tantra[26] declare the Suttee a criminal; by following the husband on the funeral pyre, she paves herself her way to hell.

Thus the rite of Saha-marana is neither Vedic nor Tantric. It is at best Pauranic.

In the Mahābhārata, there is a single solid instance of widow-burning,[27] *viz.*, that of Mādrī. But it is clear that her self-immolation was not at all prompted by religious considerations, for paving the way of the husband and his ancestors to heaven but on personal considerations pure and simple.[28] All the sages present tried to dissuade her from this ignoble act. Again in the original portion of the Rāmāyana, *viz.* Books II-IV, there is no reference to the Suttee rite. The instance of Vedavatī's mother in the Uttara-kānda (17. 14) refers to a much later date. The burning of the widow as a religious rite did not develop certainly in the epic age about 5th century B. C.

Presumably this rite came into existence about the beginning of the Christian era or soon after. In the fourth century A.D. in Kālidāsa's Kumāra-shambhava (Canto IV) Rati is depicted as ready to follow Madana on the funeral pyre. The incident in the last act of Sūdraka's Mricchakatika also represents this age. Subsequently a few centuries later this abominable custom is shown as receiving the support of some law-givers such as Angiras,[29] Vriddhahārita,[30] etc.[31] By the fourteenth century A. D. attempts seem to have been made even to adulterate the ancient texts such as the Mahābhārata and the Parāsara-smriti. The verses "Avamatya tu yāh," and "Bhartrānumarana-kale," etc., attributed by Mādhava in his Parāsara-Madhavīya on Parāsara-smriti[32] are not traceable in the Mahabhārata. Verses IV. 31-32 of the Parāsara-smriti which advocate widow-burning somewhat contradict the last but one verse (IV. 29).

Raghunandana managed to find out even Vedic sanction for this wicked custom as we

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18. The opinion of one of the scholiasts of Asvalayana (IV, 2, 17-18) slighly varies here.
19. XVIII, 2, 1.
20. III, 8, 4.
21. VII, 13-15. The B-recension, however, seems to have been tampered with; or probably, it simply notices a later development; it says that the widow-burning is optional in the case of other castes than the Brahmana. The burning of Brahmana widows is, however, a heinous crime.
22. Only the later popular works such as the Paddhatis and Prayogas mention that "the raising up of the wife" (Utthapana) is applicable to those cases only where the wives are not willing to immolate themselves.
23. V, 157.
24. Anandasrama Sanskrit Series ed., Poona, 1903-1904, Vol. I.
25. Kadambari, purvardha, Kale's edition, pp. 264-265.
26. X, 80.
27. *cf.* also Mahabharata, 1, 174, 44 *f.*; XI, 26, 28 *ff*; XVI, 7, 18, 24, 73 *f.*
28. MBH, 1, 138, 71-72.
29. Quoted by Apararka on Yajnavalkya, 1, 87.
30. Verse 201.
31. Brihaspati, 24, 11; Vyasa-smriti, II, 52; Vijnanesvara on Yajnavalkya, 1, 86,
32. IV, 32.

have shown before. Instances of Suttee of this and subsequent times may be heaped up from various sources.[33]

It seems that for some reason or other widow-burning was resorted to by Kshatriya-women, particularly for getting rid of the oppression of the invaders.

It is significant in connection with the spread of this custom that some invaders such as the Hunas and the Scythians considered widow-burning as religious. Scythian rule in Northern India must have helped the spread of the Satī rite there. The example of the rulers in particular is bound to be followed at times by the people at large. The other reason seems to be that some widows, at the moment of their deepest grief, could not think they would be able to live without their husbands and had recourse to self-immolation. Their example, considered as noble, was also sometimes followed. By and by the Saha-marana rite gained popularity and public approbation and subsequently, religious sanction in some parts of the country.

Thus neither the Vedas nor the Tantras sanction the Saha-marana rite. The ceremonial procedure of the rite has, however, been detailed in the Paurānas such as the Padma-purāna.[34] As such, the Saha-marana may be called only Pauranic.

33. *E.g.*, Candesvara's Vivada-ratnakara, Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 440-445; Dasakumara-carita, IX; Bana's Harsa-carita, at the death of Pravakara Vardhana; and other references. Katha-sarit-sagara, 9; Kalhana's Raja-tarangini, many instances. For an account of the latest phase of the Suttee, the travelling accounts of Foreigners in India are instructive and interesting, though at times exaggerated.

34. Patala-khanda, 102, 67 *ff*.

THE WAR AND THE CHURCHES

Can They Survive ?

By FREDERICK GRUBB

Militant Christianity

War arouses the elemental emotions of man, and it is sometimes claimed that religion itself stands to gain by such a struggle as that in which we are now engulfed. But does it ? That is the question which I propose to discuss, with necessary brevity, so far as Great Britain is concerned, from the point of view of an unprejudiced observer.

One must start from the premise that, whatever our religious convictions might be or even if we had none at all, there was no alternative open to honest men but to wage this war against Nazi Germany and all the forces of evil it represents. There are a few convinced pacifists among us still—let them be honoured for their courage !—who insist upon following the injunction of Jesus as to loving our enemies and who adhere absolutely to the non-violent teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. But these are as voices crying in the wilderness of hate and slaughter. Public opinion pays little heed to them, though there are those within and without the Churches who cannot withold a wishful respect for the advocates of non-resistance.

There is no doubt about the militant attitude of organized Christianity in general. It preaches a twentieth century crusade against all who fight on the other side, and it does not scruple to bless, or at least to tolerate, whatever methods are used to defeat the common enemy. The end would seem to justify the means, even in the eyes of many whose ethical standards are normally beyond reproach. Where everything is in the issue religious scruples must take a back seat. Military necessity admits of no law but the law of force. There is no super-national authority in the world which can impose a just settlement upon the warring races of mankind. The struggle must be fought out to the bitter end, and we must trust the God of Battles to give victory to the allies (who alone deserve it).

The Unchurched Masses

It is not too much to say that the above more or less represents the position of the average church-going Christian in the present world war. Even the Roman Catholic Church, which in the past established some claim to international authority in Christendom, finds itself powerless to influence the course of events. The pathetic appeals of the supreme Pontiff—now virtually a prisoner in the hands of Fascist

Italy—pass unheeded. The Papacy itself, indeed, sowed the seeds of war during many centuries, and though it had no share in promoting the present Armageddon, its past record in countries like France, Spain and Austria gives some clue to the causes of its obvious futility.

The failure of the Churches to prevent or restrict the last two world wars is often advanced as a considerable factor in the alienation of the masses from organized Christianity. The criticism is certainly an unjust one. Men give rein to the vices of greed and racialism; they reject the spiritual ideals to which all religions would call them; and then they blame the Churches for the catastrophe which their own follies have precipitated.

We have to face the fact, whether we like it or not, that the great majority of the population, in Britain at any rate, are today entirely outside the radius of the Churches. There is no need to reproduce the statistics of church attendance to prove this. The position is known to all with eyes to see. However wide open the church doors may stand the man in the street passes them by, with hardly a thought for what is taught within. From every denomination comes the cry of half-empty pews, depleted Sunday schools, and enfeebled organizations. To speak of churches being half empty is anything but an exaggeration, for in too many of them congregations have been reduced to a mere handful.

Nor are these conditions peculiar to special areas: They prevail in all parts of the country, urban and rural, though here and there an attractive preacher or an elaborate ritual may still draw a substantial assembly. I write with some knowledge of widely-separated districts in England, Scotland and Wales. The Welsh chapel continues, in the main, to be well-attended, but in the big cities—especially London—the masses of the people may be truly described as unchurched.

The Retreat from Religion

These deplorable results cannot be attributed to the war alone, though many of them have been accentuated by it. German blitzes could not have caused the losses we now contemplate. The rot had set in even before the Four Years War of 1914-18. At the beginning of this century the leaders of every denomination were lamenting the exodus from the house of God. The more optimistic among them assured us that one of the compensations of that war would probably be a revival of religion and a return to the churches. But a whole generation has now waited in vain for the coming of that happy day.

The truth is, and as realists we may as well face it, the movement has been almost entirely in the opposite direction. Thoughtful men and women have found it almost impossible to reconcile the existing state of society with the ideals which the Christian Church is supposed to represent. The more radical and less reverent among them can find no place for a beneficent Creator, either in their own hearts or in a universe where such things can happen as are happening now. They scoff at the poet's dictum, "God's in His heaven: all's right with the world." They are not impressed by belligerent Bishops uttering slogans which smack rather of hell than of heaven, and they are alienated by pulpiteers who are anything but heralds of the Prince of Peace.

In our own day we have seen whole nations and races turning to sheer paganism or communism; and for much of this apostasy a distorted presentation of Christianity must be held responsible, *e.g.*, Russia. Some will say that the "Higher Criticism" is to blame, and they cite modern Germany as proof of it. Yet if there is one country in Europe where the Roman edition of Christianity at any rate has strengthened its position within the last hundred years it is Germany—though the same is true in a lesser degree of England. Perhaps we shall have to wait for missionary societies in Asia to undertake the reconversion of Europe to Christianity!

Most people care nothing for theological disputations. Their absence from church is sufficiently accounted for by sheer indifference. They are not conscious of a spiritual need or a spiritual world. The Christian Gospel, for them, has no relation to the realities of life. *They see nothing of God in the busy streets of our great cities, and they cannot hear His voice* in the subtler sounds of nature. They think Westminster Abbey does very well for a Royal Coronation or a state funeral, and St. Paul's Cathedral is useful for a Church parade. Of course, the conventions should be observed on occasions such as births, marriages and deaths, though the registry office threatens to supplant the church in providing even for these ceremonies. If present tendencies continue our cathedrals and churches may be reduced to the status of museums, or in the case of nonconformist institutions in residential areas, they look like becoming, in too many instances, little more than social clubs.

HOW WAR PROMOTES SECULARISM

I must not be understood to include all places of worship under these strictures. Many a parish priest is giving his life in self-sacrificing service to his fellowmen; there are numbers of Free Church ministers who are equally devoted to their sacred vocation; and there are thousands of saintly women who are living up to the lofty standards of Jesus Christ. Not less is it true that many churches are centres of healing influence, social uplift and evangelical zeal. Yet it is surprising how few of them succeed in evoking any deep or lasting response from those for whom they labour.

Alas! our poor humanity, whether in the East or the West, finds it very difficult to worship the Invisible. It cannot grasp the intangible. Man, for the most part, if he has a God at all, must have one whom he can make in his own image. The spirit of the age is unfavourable to the message which the Church has to deliver. Years of war have undoubtedly done much to develop the prevailing secular attitude. One by one time-honoured religious observances have been subordinated to military exigencies. Not a few of the churches destroyed by enemy bombs will never be rebuilt. Even before the present war the process of closure had begun, and it became plain that many of the down-town churches in particular had no future before them.

This is an age when men, women and children alike must have thrills, and plenty of them. What has the Church to offer that can in any way compete with the sensationalism of the popular Press, the colour and movement of the cinema, or the glamour of the dance-hall? We all have to live dangerously nowadays. Life is crowded with dramatic incidents. At every corner we are confronted by a new surprise or staggered by a fresh discovery.

Fed daily on this heady pabulum of pleasure and excitement, as are the vast majority of our people, it is no wonder that the churches are deserted while the cinemas are full, that a quiet Sunday is a thing of the past, and that many of the other old landmarks of Christian England (as it used to be called) are blotted out.

In the midst of so many counter-attractions little else was to be expected. A pleasure-loving generation can get no "kick" out of Bible-reading, prayers, hymn singing and pulpit oratory, which are all they understand by religion. They want more than these they will tell you, to escape from the drab boredom of their daily lives.

CONFUSION IN THE CHURCHES

There are devout Christians—Catholics in particular—who declare that it is the very freedom on which we pride ourselves that is largely responsible for the latter-day drift from religion. We have seen liberty running to seed, with each man's whim a law unto himself. The faith once delivered to the saints is derided, the authority of the Church is repudiated, and religious chaos is (in their view) the inevitable result.

To add to the confusion, we have zealous sects in Britain and America who proclaim that the trials through which we are now passing—war, irreligion, social upheaval, and all the rest of it—are the direct judgment of God upon our national and individual sins. Not until we repent of our misdeeds (incidentally by adopting their particular shibboleths) can we expect the hand of an angry Deity to be averted.

Others again can only see in current events the fulfilment of what they call "divine prophecy," and they are not slow to produce from the Bible chapter and verse to prove, to their own satisfaction, that the rise of Hitler and the return of the Jews to Palestine are clear precursors of the approaching end of the world and the second coming of Christ.

The Church as a whole is baffled by a situation in which the Founder of Christianity seems to be crucified afresh and the professed followers of the Lord are doomed to mutual slaughter, according to their respective nationalities. We have yet to devise the means for putting an end to this tragedy of centuries, though it is hard to see why the Church alone should be expected to perform the miracle.

Catholicism, at any rate, if true to its name, should stand for the unity of the Christian world. Too often the Catholic Church has provoked the very schism it condemns, trying to enforce an artificial uniformity by the denial of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment. In some countries, *e.g.*, Spain, it has not scrupled to ally itself with a reactionary nationalism, with results which could only be fatal to true religion. Nevertheless, the Roman Church—a fact which Protestants are apt to overlook—may claim to be the largest body of professing Christians on earth, and it is entitled to be so regarded by the non-Christian world.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE SCHOOLS

In the midst of all these contending, confusing, factors other ominous features are developing in such a way—especially as affecting the adolescents of both sexes—as to become the

despair of the Churches and of social workers alike. Juvenile delinquency has increased seriously in recent years. This, no doubt, is largely due to the absence of parental control and the weakening of other old-time restraints. It is hardly surprising, perhaps, that the age of violence threatens to return in our social life when war is raging in so many parts of the world. There was never such a demand for miniature weapons and martial toys as there is today. Recently I saw a group of schoolboys quarrelling because one section of them refused to play the part of German soldiers in a mock street battle, and the dispute could only be decided by fisticuffs!

Clergymen complain in letters to *The Times* that the religious ignorance of the modern child is appalling. Lately there has grown up a united demand from the Churches that more definite religious teaching should be given in the schools. This was for years the subject of interdenominational controversy, and even today it is doubtful whether all those who advocate it mean invariably the same thing. The high churchman's idea of religious teaching would hardly be covered by the simple truths which others would deem sufficient, and the teachers (a powerful community) are suspicious of all attempts to extend the school curriculum, whatever the reason advanced.

The co-operative spirit which now prevails among all denominations—of which the movement known as "The Sword of the Spirit" is an expression—is to be warmly welcomed. Another favourable sign was the friendly way in which all the Churches joined in the recent Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving at the call of the King. But the problem of religious teaching will put them all to a very acid test. Experts in education and sociology are far from being agreed as to what sort of instruction should be given.

In a letter to *The Times* Mr. Claud Mullins, a London magistrate of long experience, gives reasons for doubting whether the kind of teaching which most reverend gentlemen have in view would do much to correct the wayward tendencies of modern youth. In his opinion—and many will agree with him—the present ugly situation will not be improved by religious education if it means (as he puts it) the exposition of the difficult dogmas that worried the Christian Church many centuries ago.

"Today the challenge, both from our national enemies and from our own youth, is not to the dogmas of theology, but to the ethical standards emphasised in the teaching of Jesus. Only if religious education places foremost the standards of conduct set up by Jesus is youth likely to be changed."

True Religion Abides

Traditional creeds and unbending orthodoxy, Christian or any other, can provide no adequate answer to the questions, ethical, social and economic, which are now perplexing a world at war. Truly humanity needs a deep and sincere revival of the religious spirit, which can alone exorcise the evils now afflicting us all, and it should be the aim of earnest pioneers in every country to discover and develop the means by which this desirable end can be most effectively attained.

Yes, these years of war mean hard times for organized religion in all lands. But the real thing will survive the destruction of church buildings and the disappearance of doctrinal yardsticks. Faithful followers of the highest, by whatever name they are called, will always be a minority, but they will be (let us hope) a representative minority. Fortunately, religion is not confined to the churches or to any other conventional institution. There are numberless avenues of human activity along which the worship of God can be expressed in the service of man. That is a fact which should dissipate all pessimism about the future.

At the same time there are few people, even in material-minded Britain, who would care to see all existing facilities for public worship shut down, just as in India the general closing of temples and mosques would be regarded with almost universal horror. We may well be depressed by the barbarism of war. The failure of the Christian Church to prevent it or to mitigate the hatreds which it engenders, the social evils which accompany it or are aggravated thereby, the decay of home life, the undue limitation of families, the menace of juvenile crime, and the infection of violence everywhere. But a firm faith in the resilience of the human spirit and the survival of a divine order in the Universe will, in spite of all, preserve our confidence in the ultimate triumph of right over wrong.

BOSTANE-KHAYAL

By SYED HAKIM AHMAD NAQIR, B.A., (Alig.)
Minister for Jagirs and Co-operation, Gwalior

"BOSTANE KHAYAL," one of the most fascinating books in Urdu fiction, was originally written in Persian by one Mohammad Taki Khayal, who is supposed to have migrated from Gujrat to Delhi during the reign of the Moghal Emperor Mohammad Shah. It is related that in the locality at Delhi in which he took up his residence people used to gather at a common friend's house for gossip and story-telling, the most commonly interesting story of those times being the *Adventures of Amir Hamza.* In the course of discussion on the merits of that book (its authorship is ascribed by reputation to Faizi, brother of Abul Fazal) Taki was challenged on an occasion to point to any other work of fiction, which could compare favourably with it. The challenge was gladly accepted; the more so, as Taki's wife happened to be very fond of stories and liked to be entertained and amused every evening with such things. He set to work immediately, and wrote out a few pages, which were very much liked by his friends.

Taki took thirty years to complete his story, which began at Delhi and is said to have been continued at Alwar and to have come to a finish at Patiala, under the patronage of the Rulers of those places. It seems that Taki was a Shia Muslim of the sect of the seven, that is to say, he belonged to the sect, which believed in Seven Imams only, as against twelve of the orthodox Shias, the last of those seven being Ismail, the eldest son of Jafar-i-Sadik, the Sixth Imam. Ismail is believed by his followers to have hid himself from the eyes of men, while his father was still alive, to appear again at the proper time. Those who follow this cult are known by the name of Ismailias, the best known branch of the sect these days being that of which His Highness the Aga Khan is the spiritual head. The story begins with the introduction of the founder of the dynasty which propagated this faith with great success. His name was Mohammad Ibna-i-Kasim and he declared himself to be the promised Mahdi of the Shias. He founded Rabat in Morocco and gradually came to hold sway over the whole of North Africa. It was his great grandson Muizuddin, who extended the rule of his dynasty still farther and wrested Egypt from the Khalifas of Baghdad.

The story is contained in nine big volumes, the first of which is devoted to a description of the adventures of Muizuddin's forefathers. Muizuddin's own story is taken up in the second volume. It is a work of mere fancy, like any other oriental book of fiction of old times. The *Arabian Nights*, the *Bagh-o-Bahar*, and the *Fisna-i-Ajaib*, as works of fancy, are well known, the first one to all Europeans perhaps and the latter two to such of them as have had to go through local languages examinations in India in connection with their official duties. Taki's fiction is more or less a work like the aforesaid stories. At the same time, there is a very important difference between this work and the others mentioned.

The story in the second volume attempts to give a picture of the universe as understood in the author's time. It is full of doctrinal and traditional matters and follows a fixed arrangement in contrast to other Eastern works of fancy, which usually are not based on any sensible plan but proceed haphazard without rhyme or reason and without presenting to the reader any fixed ideas, moral or intellectual.

Prince Muiz hears of a foreign Princess—Shamsa Tajdar and gets enamoured of her. He leaves his home and with a chosen band of followers proceeds towards the country of his beloved. On his way he meets a 'Hakim'—a wise man, who sends him to a 'Talismanic World,' where he gathers experience and knowledge of wordly affairs. The author tells you what Talismans are and how they are brought into being.

As soon as the Prince enters the Talisman, he loses all consciousness of his previous identity and outside connections. Forgetful of every thing, he immediately falls in love with a beautiful Perizad. She, however, leaves him abruptly, after he has been with her for a few days only. His madness for her drives him on to traverse the Talismanic world from one end to the other. In the course of his wanderings he meets with adventures and has occasion to study the multifarious problems, with which he is confronted. The reader thus comes across descriptions and, sometimes, discussions on such subjects as cosmology and cosmography, astronomy and

astrology, the place of man in the universe, holy and black magic, theistic and non-theistic philosophy, the hidden creation such as bhouls and ghosts, angels and jinns, devs and peris.

The entry of the Prince into the Talismanic world may be taken to represent the birth of man in this world of ours. After his appearance here, man forgets his previous existence and even God,—the original object of his love. Some other ideal of a material type presents itself to him, the pursuit of which makes his life worth living and leads him from one experience to another. That is the broad idea the story suggests. Closely connected with it, is the well-known theory of the Sufis, which distinguishes between 'Ishk-i-Hakiki' (the real love or love of the reality—God) and Ishk-i-Majazi (love of the unreal). As is well-known that theory lays down that in order to attain the former state, it is necessary for man to pass through the latter stage.

We may find next that for successful life in this world, the guidance of a spiritual master is necessary. Without such guidance, a man cannot hope to fulfil the purpose of life granted to him by God. In the case of Prince Muiz, the spiritual guide is the Hakim, who has sent him to the Talismanic world. The Hakim is helping the Prince in his Talismanic career from behind the scene in an invisible manner; whereas his agents or disciples aid him overthy. This fits in with the Shia theory that their last real Imam remains hidden from view and is represented on this earth by one—as in the case of the Ismailia sect—or more than one agent —as in the case of the general body of Shias who have local Mujtahids.

After his beloved has left him, the search for her leads the Prince to visit fourteen houses. These are the various stages, which he must pass through to reach the abode of his beloved. Of these fourteen stages, four represent the globes of earth, air, water and fire, one above the other. Seven of them represent the spheres of the seven planets. The twelfth is representative of the heaven comprising the stellar constellations; while the thirteenth is the Highest Heaven, the Primum Mobile as it is called. Beyond it are regions which are the seat of the sovereign of the Talismanic world. That sovereign is in fact the beloved of the Prince but as she keeps herself out of sight, her subjects do not know who or what their sovereign is. They pay court to her in the manner prescribed for each set of people. That reminds one of God, the Sovereign of the Universe who remains unseen,—a circumstance which explains the existence of so many varying conceptions of His nature and so many divergent modes and methods of His worship. A wonderful description of the various stages, involving a depiction of fantastic scenes in consonance with and illustrative of current theories and beliefs meets the eye of the readers as he skips over the pages. He will find here the Platonic idea of 'Alam-i-Misal'—the World of Similitudes, the Ptolemic theory of the construction of the heavens and the astrological belief in the influence of the stars over the affairs of our mundane world, curiously mixed up and brought in accord with theological conceptions then current in Muslim countries.

After the Prince has been through the regions of the four elements and the planetary and starry heavens he is made to enter the ninth heaven, which represents the World of Similitudes. In this region he is introduced into 'Alam-i-Sughra'—"the Lesser World,"—the world as manifested in the creation of man. The Prince proceeds to it from a mosque—the proto-type of Masjid-i-Aksa, the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem. It just reminds one of the traditional ascent of the Holy Prophet of Arabia to the heavens. As the Prince gets entry into the region of the Lesser World, he meets, one Ikbal Shah. The latter informs him that he was proceeding with his army to bring about reconciliation between the Sultan of that territory and his four feudal chiefs, who were at war with each other. He also discloses that he had undertaken the mission to secure the marriage of the Sultan's daughter with his own brother Mukbil. Eventually, he induces the Prince to accompany him by assuring him that he would also meet with the fulfilment of his ardent wishes. The story which follows makes it clear that the Sultan represents the soul or the active principle of life in man while his four feudatories are the four kinds of the elementary matter, which nourish the body and maintain the physical constitution of man. So long as equal treatment is accorded by the Sultan to his feudatories, he reigns peacefully, but when he begins to favour any one or more of them to the prejudice of others, quarrels take place and the peace is broken. The Sultan in such circumstances manages to put down rebellion with the help of the chiefs who remain loyal to him; but when all of them turn against him, the Sultan is deprived of all help from within and rendered quite helpless. When this condition is reached, an old enemy of his, who reigns in unknown desolate regions round about the Sultan's country, launches an attack against the monarch. He begins to capture strongholds in the Sultan's territory one by one until the latter

is besieged in his capital and for want of help from any quarters, succumbs to the attack. The visit of the Prince takes place at a time when the Sultan's territory has been invaded by his old enemy. His relief is impossible, unless and until his four cheifs are reconciled and hasten to his aid. The task of reconciliation is assigned by Ikbal Shah to the Prince, who finds that none of the chiefs is willing to co-operate unless his Rabb-ul-Nau,—god of the Species,—authorises him to join the Sultan against his enemy. The theory of Rabb-ul-Nau,—the origin of which may be traced to the Avesta,—comes thus to be illustrated in a material form, showing how natural forces act upon this earth under the guidance of Muwakkils (spiritual agents) and in what manner the planetary spirits influence and direct the actions of man. Even man himself has a spiritual agent to guide his destiny. Ikbal Shah is only such an agent, who has been subjugated by the Hakim to help the Prince in the material world in the form of a human friend.

After reconciliation between the four chiefs has been effected and the Sultan saved from the clutches of his old enemy—Death, the Prince is induced to marry Princess Natika (Speech), daughter of the Sultan, by way of proxy to Mukbil, as he himself cares for nobody except the Queen Naubahar. After the marriage, the Prince has to stay for some time at the capital of the Sultan, where he is to visit a number of places as a matter of sight-seeing. It might be noted that the Talismanic universe throughout represents the worlds of the four elements and the seven planets with the regions beyond them. After his first meeting with the Queen Naubahar in the Garden of Pleasure, the Prince has visited eleven houses—the worlds of the elements and the planets. This is perhaps the elementary and material representation. In the twelfth house the Prince's visits to the Zodiac belt and the Square and the Octagonal Palaces disclosed to him sights which are in essence the same but in a non-material form. The next region through which the Prince passes on, reflects the life of man on this earth influenced by the four elements and the seven planets. These might well correspond with the World of Similitudes. It might further be noted that the Prince's search for his Talismanic beloved after his first meeting with her in the Garden of Pleasure is fruitful only progressively. In the first four Houses of the Palace of Wonder, he scarcely gets any information about the Queen Naubahar. The same may be said about the remaining eleven Houses though he may be credited with having gained a bit more knowledge about his beloved than before, such as the name or address of his beloved. In the Square Palace, he finds curtained doors in the four halls he visits but is prevented from looking inside. In the Octagonal Palace, similarly curtained doors are confronted by the Prince but he becomes so impatient in the course of his visit to the last hall that he raises the curtain and finds a momentary glimpse of his beloved. Further on, when he visits the Lesser World, he is led to a place where the conjunction of the two auspicious stars—Jupiter and Venus—enables him to secure a closer meeting with his beloved. During his stay at the Sultan's capital, he is again to meet her at the last house—the High Mansion. The meeting, however, does not take place as the Prince is induced by Natika's nurse—Nafs-i-Ammara (the spirit of carnal desire in man) to mix freely with Princess Subn-i-Dilkhusa in the fourth House. That displeases the Queen Naubahar, who has ever been keeping a secret watch over him, and she manages to have him turned out of the place. The Prince is thus deprived of the opportunity to approach her, while he was, so to say, at the very threshold of his beloved's residence. Such perhaps is the way, which a Sufi or a seeker after God has to traverse before he can attain union with his beloved in a slowly progressive manner.

Viewed at from another standpoint, the visit of the Prince first to the eleven Houses and then to the Lesser World may be understood to suggest that in order to prepare himself for the seemingly endless journey imposed on him, man has to equip himself first with all external knowledge and then to look to himself for the reformation of the inner self. While engaged in the latter pursuit, he is apt to be led away by his carnal desires, like Prince Muiz. It is after much repentance and suffering that the Prince reaches the quarters, where he may find his beloved. Those quarters represent the regions, which correspond to the heavenly stages, according to popular Muslim belief, nearer to God, such as Kursi (Chair), Arsh (throne), Ala Illiyeen (the abode of high spirits). When he reaches these regions, his case comes to the notice of the Queen; but she remains indifferent and is not inclined to allow him to be admitted to her presence. The fact that the Prince is loyal to her and that his love for her is sincere is pressed again and again on the Queen by her companion and Chief Minister,—Nadira Khatoon. At last a test is arranged. The Prince comes out of it successfully and proves himself loyal to the core. The Queen relaxes somewhat, but still refuses to admit him into her society. Providence, however, brings about their union

under strange circumstances. That is, however, a mere Talismanic union and not real marriage, which can only take place outside the Talismanic World. The Prince begins to enjoy the society of his beloved, but as real union has not taken place, he gets dissatisfied with the state of things after sometime. His heart begins to yearn for something which is not very clear to him. He presses his beloved to find out fresh objects of interest to engage him for the time being. There is a place in the Talismanic world which has yet to be visited by the Prince, but that is the place where he comes to the end of his Talismanic career. The Queen tries to see that he does not get any hint of that place but the jealousy of Natika brings the knowledge of it to him and thus he gets out of the Talismanic world.

Man has in the end to leave the world and what urges him on to do so is the yearning of his heart for real union with the object of his original love. The instinct of love in him is developed in this world by devotion to the form of beauty, which finds attraction in his eyes here. But that is love for unreal things and fails to satisfy his inner soul, which ever remains desirous of union with the reality. Towards the close of his Talismanic career Prince Muiz begins to have hazy ideas of his pre-talismanic life, testifying perhaps to the fact that man grows more thoughtful about his past and future life in his old age. In fact the Prince used to have short remembrances of his former life every morning and evening. That is nothing but the expression of what man generally feels daily, especially in the silence of the morning before his daily engagements divert his attention.

With the exit of the Prince from the Talisman, the story in the second volume comes to an end. He meets the Hakim who then undertakes to instruct him in the various branches of knowledge. He is taken to a place where, in the figurative language of the story, he is made to pick up the Fruit of Intelligence from the Tree of Wisdom, which grows under the deep sea—that part of the sea in which a portion of Greece is popularly believed to have been submerged in the past.

The reamining volumes deal with the further adventures of Prince Muiz and the history of the founders of the dynasty, to which Shamsa Tajdar belonged. Her marriage is conditional on the reading of a mystic book containing the aforesaid history. Progress of the Prince in his adventures represents his triumphal march and that of his faith, in opposition to the evil forces of the world—open and hidden. Atheists, Satan worshippers, magicians etc., are such open forces, the hidden ones being represented by beasts, evil genii and so on. For instance, the Prince is made to destroy a Talisman ruled over by seven beasts, which may mean the suppression of evil desires in man. As regards the history of the ancestors of Princess Shamsa, the broad point which may be noted here is that the dynasty was founded by two brothers. The elder of them fell in love, of course, with an unknown Princess but his love was of a spiritual nature. He overcomes his difficulties by the spiritual force of his love. The younger brother represents the material side of man. He conquers the world by physical force and his love has earthly texture. After Prince Muiz has fulfilled the condition attached to the marriage of Shamsa and suppressed all evil forces he gains his object and the story closes with his conquest of Egypt.

In conclusion, we may invite our readers' attention to one point more. In the Eastern stories of the type we have just mentioned, the heroes and heroines are mostly passive characters with scarcely any personality. They remain merely love-sick and things are done for them by others. Muizuddin's career is, however, suggestive of a particular idea, which has reference to the vexed question whether man has freedom of action. Prince Muiz has courage and initiative, unlike heroes of old fiction, but his course of life has been pre-ordained and he must pass through the stages fixed for him. Events must befall him in the order arranged by Providence and he cannot achieve anything before the appointed time. Briefly the Prince's life is illustrative of the middle course between the two opposing forces 'Jabr' (Predestination) and 'Ikhtayar' (Free-will).

I wonder whether the story contained in the aforesaid nine volumes of the *Bostan-i-Khayal* —'The Garden of Fancy'—has been looked at from the viewpoint of allegory just explained. I have translated the title of the book as 'The Garden of Fancy' but as the author's poetic name also is 'Khayal,' it may as well be taken to mean 'Khayal's Garden' like Sadi's 'Bostan' (Garden), and Jami's 'Bahristan' (Spring).

WILL SPAIN JOIN WAR ?

BY R. A. MAITRA

INTERESTING speculation has started in political circles regarding Spain's future since a recent Madrid message stated that "the Axis Powers are planning a series of large-scale operations on various fronts." Such a scheme of large-scale operations was long awaited as a "sop" for the Italo-German population whose morale is reported to be gast cracking in view of the continued stream of "gloomy stories" from Russia about Nazi reverses.

The Manchester Guardian's Diplomatic Correspondent writes :

"The extent to which war-weariness and doubt as to the outcome prevail among active participants on the German side is impossible to gauge. While the German soldier, as the result of the Eastern campaign, can no longer be so cocksure of success or so confident of the invincibility of the instrument he serves, it is hard to tell how this change may affect the general situation. Perhaps the most that can be said is that spectacular military victories would be the only certain means of restoring to the German armies their former zest and confidence."

It is not unlikely, therefore, that Hitler's megalomaniac mind—in the present state of desperation—is busy exploring new fields where the sorely needed "spectacular victories" can be achieved. May be, he is planning air attacks on England with greater violence, actual invasion scheme having been shelved long ago, or a drive to the East through Turkey, or the most likely of all, to cross the Pyrenees into Spain with the ultimate object of capturing the British fortress of Gibraltar.

The last named possibility was emphasised by a Reuter Correspondent who reported that

"Spain is grappling with some vital decision regarding her future. A possible explanation is that Germany has demanded of Spain more complete co-operation than she has given hitherto."

Whatever Hitler has in mind, he will do it quickly and unexpectedly in conformity with his usual *blitz* tradition.

The Iberian Peninsula has long remained free from battle scars in spite of the vandalism that has swept a major part of the European Continent. It is sought to examine here the possibility of Spain—Portugal's fate is bound to be influenced by it—being the next victim of Hitlerite aggression or a collaborator with the Axis in the sense Finland, Italy and Rumania are.

Spain is the only important country not yet involved in a totalitarian war, although Spanish volunteers are known to have been fighting for some time past alongside Hitler's men on the Russian soil. Spain's attitude of non-belligerence in the present war has been so far due to various reasons. The foremost of these is that Hitler has, notwithstanding Spain's strong pro-Axis leanings, so long refrained from dragging her into war, as she remains the only channel through which Germany must communicate with the outside world. Switzerland, Sweden and Turkey, the three remaining neutral countries in Europe, are of secondary importance to Hitler in this respect on account of their less advantageous geographical position.

Since the American entry into war, Hitler has been extremely eager to use the submarine bases on the coasts of Spain to attack the Atlantic shipping to hamper communication between U.S.A. and Britain. This had not been done so far because Hitler feared that if Spain became a new theatre of war, Britain would get a new base from where to strike at his ramshackle "new order." But Hitler is now apparently prepared to take the risk. Naturally, therefore, he must increase his pressure to involve her in war.

Further, the debacle of the Nazis in Russia has been responsible for rapid worsening of the situation on the German home front. It necessarily follows that Hitler must score some startling success to divert his people's mind from the rankling of humiliation suffered at the hands of the Red Army. The easiest way for Hitler to do it, it seems, is to move into Spain, with or without her will, with the object of storming Gibraltar as well as gaining important submarine bases on the Spanish Atlantic coast.

That Spain will not (or cannot) resist is evident. There are elements in Spanish national life which are prominently pro-Axis. General Franco and his Foreign Minister Suner are renowned Germanophiles and admirers of the antidemocratic policy of the Italo-German bloc. Following the not-long-ago Suner mission to Berlin and Rome and the meeting of Hitler with Franco, it was thought that steps were in preparation for Spain's formal entry into war. But

a political contributor commenting on that remarked that Spain was allowing her "diplomatic nuisance value" to be exploited in full to squeeze some concessions from Britain.

"Whatever Falangist hotheads may say," he said, "however much Suner may threaten, Franco's Government is opposed to war in view of internal dissensions and depleted conditions of the country due to the civil war."

This was two years ago. Since then Axis agents have been preparing Spain for use in military operations against the Allies. As in Japan, there has existed in Spain, too, a powerful Nazi fifth column. Germans have been known to be making full use of this weapon in influencing Spain's internal as well as foreign policies. It is estimated that there are at least 50,000 Germans in Spain at present. By every possible means they are interfering with Spain's affairs to further their own strategical and political ends. Nazi economic experts have been attached to German Consulates in Spain to make close contact with Spainish authorities. Nazi advisers of Franco's army and Government have also acquired partial control of the Spanish radio and press to further totalitarian propaganda.

It has been common knowledge that Axis agents in Spain have built strategic railroads, airports, submarine refuelling stations along the coastal districts—Galicia, Andalusia, and in Morocco. Long-range guns have been mounted to command the straits from Ceuta to assist in the storming of Gibraltar. All this has helped to tighten the Nazi grip on Spain. But this has not been carried out in the teeth of the people's opposition. Spain has long been a favourable country for anti-British intrigues of the Axis fifth column.

German exploitation of Spain has been made possible, to a certain extent at least, by the peculiar temperamental and racial characteristic of the Spaniard. The Spaniard, as a race, takes little interest in politics. "Monarchism or republicanism, democracy or oligarchy, liberty or dictatorship stirs him little." The past few years of Spain's internal history bear ample testimony to this. An English foreign correspondent, who knew Spain well, wrote:

"The voice of tradition in the Spanish heart still sounds. The Spaniard is still conscious of his country's past splendours. War has small temptation for him, although the proud and sensitive dignity of the race makes him dream not unoften of the past days of Spain's imperial glory and kindle in his heart a desire to see his country once more a powerful nation in Europe."

This emotionalism of the Spaniard has been exploited to the full by the Nazis. The Spaniard has been taught to hate England and France. These two countries have for long been regarded by Catholic Spain as her spiritual as well as political enemy.

She has long nursed resentment against France and Britain for being instrumental in the decline of her empire and curbing her expansionist ambition in North Africa. In this connection, one may recall the scant attention paid to the voice of Spain when in 1914 she offered to enter the war against Germany provided the Allies agreed to restore to her Tangier and Gibraltar when peace came. In the scramble for territories in North Africa her right has always been subjected to the will of Britain and France. Spain has never been able to forget this.

The Germans have not been slow to turn this feeling of the Spaniard to their own advantage. Hitler has long been dangling the bait of Gibraltar and Tangier before Franco and Suner and the temptation of regaining those two much-coveted places has not failed to arouse widespread enthusiasm and outburst of anti-British sentiments throughout Spain. The result is obvious. As Hitler said, "Have-nots will be friends," Spain is more inclined towards the Axis than towards the Imperial democracies like Britain and France. By cajolery and threat, Spain has been prepared for complete co-operation with Hitler. She is bound to succumb to the Axis, time alone will show when.



GANDHIAN ECONOMICS UNDER THE LENS

By TARANATH LAHIRI

The article of Mr. Sriman Narayan Agarwal, M.A., F.R., Econ. S., in the February issue of *The Modern Review*, 1942, does not, to be fair, reveal either the flaws of Gandhian Economics or a correct grasp of Socialist Economics.

Notwithstanding the continuation of private property in the means of production Gandhian Economics claims to end the present exploitation of labour. But, exploitation of labour in the Marxian sense, meaning the appropriation of labour of others in exchange of wages, is bound to continue so long as private property enjoys its lease of life. The wonder of human labour is that aided by proper means it can produce more value than is necessary for its own immediate needs, *i.e.*, it can produce a surplus-value over and above its exchange-value represented by wage. Private property stands for the appropriation of this surplus value by the owner of capital, and thereby creates and perpetuates the class division of society and the widening of the hiatus in the property relation of the two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The private character of the capitalist has got little to do with this, be he an imperious bully or a suave philanthropist.

It is argued that in Gandhian Economics the wealthy would act as the trustee of society and the surplus value would be spent not in the personal interest of anybody but in the interest of the society as a whole. This implies a complete change of the human nature as constituted at present apart from and independent of any change in the objective conditions, which is impossible. And if indeed such transformation of human nature comes true by a miracle, we are left with no point in arguing the pros and cons of different economic systems, for, that human nature would weave the same pattern out of any Economics.

The material safeguard, in Gandhian Economics, against the evils of capitalism is small-scale production, self-sufficient village being the quiddity of the whole scheme. But can petty-production, as something permanent, ever become a possibility in a world which is never static? Petty-producers can never remain petty producers as a body for all times to come. The demand of ever expanding reproduction of a growing society is sure to develop production gradually, in the natural course, from even the tiniest scale into large scale, *i.e.*, present capitalism, if people enjoy economic freedom of private property, (freedom to hire labour and invest capital).

Large-scale industry is also not ruled out in Gandhian system. Railways and steamships and printing presses and all the rest that go to promote the progress of civilization are to be countenanced. Their effect in an inter-linked world of commodities will be to multiply large-scale production in the whole of the industrial field. Railway transport for instance, would require iron and steel foundries, coal mines, quarries for ore and stone, besides many other industries of varied importance. In fact, the linking of commodities is so close that a speedy and large-scale turn-over of the one sooner or later brings about a similar phenomenon in all the others. This means an inescapable contradiction for Gandhian Economics which wants to eliminate the use of machine on any grand scale. Its charge-sheet against machine is a long one: machine makes life dull and drab, kills creative genius, promotes idleness, brings unemployment and makes the social fabric complex.

But is that really so? If machine makes life dull, then how is it that the higher cadres of the industrial army—the managers, technicians, foremen,—escape the dulling effect? If it kills the creative genius, then how the regular stream of first-rate inventors to whose creative faculty the world bears testimony, is maintained by the machine industry? If machine is the real spring of unemployment then why Russia which uses much more machines than India, has no unemployment while India has? Then, the leisure that machine brings does not degenerate into idleness if there be proper education and environment. The life of the hundreds of college professors of even our day is an illustration to the point. The determining factor is social structure and not machine. Change the status of the worker and give him genuine education and he would be altogether a new personality, very different from the lifeless automaton that he is today under capitalism. And after all, the life of the handicraft worker, *e.g.*, a common weaver who all his life weaves but the plainest fabrics requiring little skill and no talent, may

not turn out to be so idyllic in the last analysis, as is sometimes supposed.

As to the complexity of the machine age, it is a condition necessary for progress. *Plain living and high thinking* may be applicable to individual instances but not to the whole society. Human achievements both in arts and science do all sprout from the bed of complex societies.

In dealing with Socialist Economics Mr. Agarwal avers that 'Lenin tried to harness capitalism to social welfare'. But all we know is that Lenin fought capitalism and ended it, far from harnessing it to social welfare. If Lenin's *Nep* (New Economic Policy) is in view under which operation of private capital was allowed, it must be recognised that that was only a provisional measure to recover from the shock of civil war. To describe Russian economics as State Capitalism now, is really erroneous. In that workers' state, representatives of the state power are not capitalists, nor there exist any contradiction between them and the workers; the former are not appropriators of surplus-value. And unlike the state undertakings elsewhere the earnings of the Russian state enterprises do not go to lubricate any machine of the plutocracy. Unemployment, periodic crisis or belicose state policies to dominate in the world market are unknown in Russia. If "the world, instead of being an abode of peace has become an arena for callous destruction," Lenin or the Economics of U. S. S. R. is not by the remotest chance responsible for that. The Economics of Russia is of absorbing interest indeed and a very good picture of it is contained in the two superb volumes of *Soviet Communism : A New Civilization* by the Webbs who are not communists.

Civilisation is in the throes of a momentous crisis. Clashing theories proclaiming New Orders clamour incessantly for their acceptance. It is time to trim our conception of them and make the choice. For, we never know at what odd moment the march of the most devastating armageddon in the history of the world would throw us all in the vortex of an unprecedented cataclysm.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The First Bombay Provincial Art Conference"

I have to thank you very much for the sympathetic publicity given in your esteemed journal to the First Bombay Provincial Art Conference; I must also request you to convey our sincere thanks to Mr. O. C. Gangoly who contributed the article regarding the Conference.

May I point out a small discrepancy in the article regarding the mention of Mr. V. P. Karmarkar, Sculptor, as Secretary of the Bombay Art Society. Mr. Karmarkar has often worked on the Managing Committee of the Bombay Art Society but was never a Secretary of the Society—Mr. V. V. Oka, B.A., Bar-at-Law has worked for more than a decade as the Secretary of the Bombay Art Society. Mr. V. P. Karmarkar is the President of the Art Society of India and was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference.

Let me also point out that the Congress Ministry headed by Mr. B. G. Kher never had any intention of acting on the recommendations of the Thomas Committee which suggested the abolition of Sir J. J. School of art or its curtailment in many ways. It would also be unfair to say that Sir J. J. School has a programme of studies to teach Western Art. Will you kindly publish the corrections and oblige.

N. M. Kelkar,
Honorary General Secretary, 1st B. P. A. Conference,
Chairman, M. C. Art Society of India





Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

SOME SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGES—A RESURVEY: *Edited by P. J. Thomas and K. C. Ramakrishnan. Published by the Madras University. 1940. Pp. 460. Price Rs. 9.*

In 1916-17, Dr. Gilbert Slater got eleven villages surveyed. In 1918, *Some South Indian Villages* was published, which included nine more "summarised surveys." Of the 11 villages, one was from the Mysore State, one from Cochin State, and the remaining nine were from seven districts of the Madras Presidency: Kistna, Chitoor, North Arcot, Tanjore, Ramnad, Tinnavelly and Malabar. The editors of the publication now being reviewed admit that these villages were selected in view of their being "most accessible to the students of the University." Twenty years later, in 1936-37, seven villages out of the eleven originally surveyed were re-surveyed, one from Chitoor, one from Mysore and two from Malabar (one of them surveyed but not included here) having been excluded. Eruvellipet, South Arcot, was surveyed for the first time, but the editors refer to a "dozen villages" surveyed originally, and eight "re-surveyed"! This is too important a slip to be overlooked in economic surveys. Also, Village Vunagatla is mentioned in this volume as belonging to West Godavari District, but Dr. Slater's volume shows that village as belonging to Kistna District. In case the village had been in the interval transferred from one district to another, this fact should have been mentioned in the preface. The title of the volume is thus rather inappropriate: "Some Madras" or "Some Tamil" villages should have been more suitable: South India includes the Andhra Districts of Madras, Travancore, Mysore, part of Bombay Province and even Hyderabad State.

The number of villages intensively examined is much too small for a regional title: twelve villages have been intensively studied under the auspices of the Rural Section of the Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry, but no one there has even thought of talking of all-Punjab on this basis. Re-survey of some villages does pay the trouble: for instance, two villages were re-surveyed by this reviewer during a different season from the time of the original survey, and it was very instructive to see that in almost all cases, the householders were able to explain the differences in their statements of debts as in the different seasons: the resurvey was in May shortly after marketing their produce, the original survey was in the cultivation season when borrowing was at its height. But to confine economic investigations to seven villages in the name of "re-survey," and that after twenty years, takes away largely from the value of the work. Even in these seven villages, the editors could persuade only one investigator to do the re-survey work: in the other cases, the re-survey was done by some other person than the original investigator. The editors themselves admit: "No other twenty years in the recent history of India could be said to be so full of economic ups and downs for the village folk, or so marked by political stirrings with their repurcussions on economic and social life. The biggest boom and the deepest depression have left their indelible marks on the villagers. . ."

Village Guruvayur had a population of 9,775, and the general impression one gets from the report is that it is certainly a town and not a village: it has got five motor bus connections daily, and buses arrive and depart seventeen times a day! It is no wonder at all that the editors developed the view that means of communication among the villages had improved in the two decades! The reviewer has broken, not only pencils and carts, but also ribs while journeying from village to village in many parts of South India while on economic inquiry work. And if Dr. Slater did the mistake of taking up Guruvayur for survey, there could be little justification for the present editors to have persisted in the mistake.

We are not told how long each surveyor took for the work: the editors say: "Some months." More specific information should have been given. The re-survey could have benefited a great deal by securing the close co-operation of the Revenue Department: the volume shows little evidence of the inquiry having utilised the help of that Department. In the Punjab, in almost every inquiry, the help of one Department or other was taken: in the latest survey, of Village Launa, a nutritional survey by the Public Health Department was utilised as an opportunity for collecting family budgets. The price of the volume is prohibitively high. The purpose of publication by the University must have been to spread knowledge regarding the importance of such surveys, and with lighter paper and thinner cover, the price could have been reduced materially, thus enabling a much larger number of interested persons and institutions to buy the volume.

The "scheme for survey of a village" is much too beyond the domain both of economics and intensive inquiry. The editors claim that their "scheme" has been adopted even outside Madras, and is panoramic, but if the surveys do not tell us how much bad debt there was in the co-operative society, how many arbitration cases, how much of land was saved for the cultivators through the society, etc., that would be poor study. The details with regard to total debts incurred, of Rs. 78,700, are most scanty, consisting of four lines, but the surveyor

uses about a page on "Health and Sanitation." "In one part of the village, water is *said to be* filarial and cases of Elephantiasis are common." Such a report would look all right from village officers to higher authorities, so that further steps could be taken by the latter, but coming from an economic investigator, it is quite uncalled for and out of place : doctors have not agreed on the *real* cause for this disease, and the investigator is depending on "said"s!

The "scheme" contains quite a number of items which bewilder the field worker. "Number of acres per plough in garden land"! There are certain types of gardens in which the plough has no place : the spade does the work because there is no place for the ploughshare and the bullocks to furrow. The questions on the size of the holding (agricultural) do not lead to a correct assessment of the fragmentation of holdings : "pattadar" has not been defined. "Number of children in families—living—dead." Who is a child? Children dead since when? The great-grandmother might have lost 10 children 20-30 years ago. What is the purpose of these figures? Many more defects could be pointed out, but there is pressure of space. The inquiry should have been much more profitable if it had been confined to a few definitely economic major issues—instead of trying to conquer the whole world.

Dr. Slater's organisation of those inquiries in 1916-17 deserves all credit from contemporary standards; but the great pains the present editors have taken to impress on the reader that Dr. Slater must be *followed* in all later inquiries, are quite disproportionate. On page 435, they say : "We hope that the same villages will be re-surveyed after an interval of ten or twenty years." A few points have been noted *supra* as to how and why the selection of villages was not appropriate in 1916-17, and in 10 or 20 years to come, no one can say what changes will have come about—generally with regard to rural conditions in India, particularly with regard to the villages handled in the volume under review. The Committee on Constitutional Reforms in Mysore very truly observed : "We are passing through times of such rapid change that it is impossible for any one to foresee the trend of political actualities a decade ahead." This observation holds truer of economic matters in India : ten years hence, Vadamalaipuram might develop into a Habbaniya, Palakkuruchi into a small Daventry.

How fast, not only economic conditions in the particular villages, but ideals of life and public opinion, change in India should be clear from the following passages from Dr. Slater's "Concluding Observations" in 1918 : to put it very politely, these and such views must be agreed on all hands to be too archaic in 1940 :

"I believe that one of the greatest benefits which could be conferred on India at the present time would be to popularise the use of tea." (Page 232, *Some South Indian Villages*) "Taking *raiyatwari* properties only, the land revenue may be about five per cent. of the gross produce" (page 235). If both the gross produce and land revenue were counted in terms of the actual produce, Dr. Slater might have had some claim to give some percentage, but so long as accounting is in terms of rupees, and price levels of most of our important crops *normally* fluctuate widely, any percentage estimate like this in money terms over long periods could not take us very far towards the understanding of the truth.

"To reduce the land revenue is a sure way of intensifying and perpetuating destitution among the poorest class of pattadars" (page 237).

In economic research, India is still in the infant condition and Dr. P. J. Thomas and Mr. K. C. Ramakrishnan deserve credit for this part of pioneering work done by them, although it is defective in certain very important matters. This review closes with the plea that Universities and Governments in India ought to make a methodical use of such initiative and experience in realising more realistic inquiries—specially in rural areas : "urbanisation" has come about in Indian mentality and outlook so largely that often times even inquirers and editors look at rural problems from the urban viewpoint.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

WORLD WAR AND ITS ONLY CURE—WORLD ORDER AND WORLD RELIGION : *By Dr. Bhagwan Das, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Author from Benares Contonment. Pp. xxiv+544. Price Rs. 2-4.*

A knowledge however slight of the deep erudition and saintly character of Dr. Bhagwan Das and of the way in which he has always kept himself aloof from the least touch of sordidness in his public life should prepare the reader for the way in which the author would be likely to look at the world war. Dr. Bhagwan Das analyses the causes of the present war and draws the attention of his readers to the shortcomings of the present social, economic and political organisation of the world. After proving that "we have all sinned" and that national greed and national vanity are the root causes of all our troubles, he offers two suggestions for remedying them.

The first of those addressed to the British Government is an appeal that, with certain conditions, Dominion Status should at once be granted to India. The second suggestion is for the consideration of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress is in two parts. In the first part, they are requested to issue a "call to all belligerents to announce an armistice and to place their respctive schemes of a Better World before the World and before a representative International Committee." In the second part, they are asked to appoint "a Committee to draft a scheme of Swaraj for India, embodying a comprehensive social structure."

So far as the second part of the second suggestion is concerned, Dr. Bhagwan Das has not shirked what must have been for a man of his nature, the unpleasant duty of expressing his views on Hindu-Muslim differences. His loyalty to his motherland and to her traditions has compelled him to hold that the Hindus and their communal organisation, the Hindu Mahasabha, are as responsible as our Mussalman brethren and their communal organisation, the Muslim League, for these differences.

A pronouncement of this type made deliberately and after mature consideration of the question is most valuable as we have here a diagnosis of our troubles, the treatment of which should, under these circumstances, be comparatively easy. In his view, the disunity between the two major communities in our motherland is only a phase of the larger conflict which has world-wide ramifications and the remedy he proposes and the utility of which every man will recognise is the voluntary surrender of greed masquerading under different forms.

This giving up of selfishness and of greed is possible only when man becomes truly religious. When once this change of heart has come, there must appear a general will for mutual peace and of friendship as opposed to the existing one for domination and power.

The only objection which may be urged against the remedy suggested by the author would of course be that there are bound to be parties or nations which will persist in their present attitude. As the author has nothing to say about the organisation of an international police or army, there is utter absence of that sanction

of force, which is the only kind of sanction selfish nations or parties can understand.

Dr. Bhagwan Das has anticipated this criticism in his Apologia with which he practically opens his book and from which the first three sentences are quoted below.

"If any 'practical' man sneers at me, and tells me that you cannot run the world on the basis of 'sentimental idealism,' then I appeal to 'practical' experience, and ask him to look at the actual results of trying to run the world on some other basis. There is War from end to end of the Earth. What further proof does the 'practical' man require? There can be no peace in all the world now, but a Common Peace, no prosperity but a Common Prosperity."

The reviewer strongly recommends this book to the attention of all who seek a radical solution of our troubles and in doing so asks the readers of this book to remember that however long the period which must elapse before the world learns the lesson Dr. Bhagwan Das seeks to teach it, it will either have to be learnt and applied or our present-day civilisation which has been built up after thousands of years of incessant and painful effort must collapse utterly.

H. C. Mookerjee

1. THE CHILD. 2. RECONSTRUCTION IN EDUCATION: *By Maria Montessori. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. Price annas three.*

The Theosophical Publishing House has placed the schools of India in its debt by publishing these two short but stimulating pamphlets from the pen of Madame Montessori at a price which enables them to be in the hands of every English-educated teacher. If in places she seems to those of us concerned in them to fail in recognition of such living experiments in education as are being already carried out in this country, it is probably good for us to be forced to ask whether our experiments are as sound and alive as we had thought. Of the two essays the one on "The Child" is to be especially warmly recommended. Its two chief pleas, for the child's right to self-reliant independence, and for its right to the solitude of creative concentration, should be pondered by us all in their relation to the actual practice of our schools.

REAL EDUCATION. *By G. S. Arundale. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. Price annas eight.*

This booklet is written in the readable form of questions and answers. It certainly raises the right questions, even though one may not always consider that it gives the right answers. And where Dr. Arundale provokes violent disagreement with his answers, as he well may in some of the statements on the relation of education to religion or to national defence, he will have done a valuable service if he forces others to state their own convictions, even if only to themselves, with the same reasoned clarity. And there is very much with which most thoughtful teachers will find themselves in hearty agreement, and they will be grateful to Dr. Arundale for his suggestions on such subjects as punishment, competition, and co-education. The book can be heartily recommended as a basis for study and discussion in teachers' meetings.

Marjorie Sykes

INDIAN PROBLEMS IN MALAYA: *By K. A. Neelakandha Aiyer. "The Indian" Office, Kuala Lampur, F.M.S. Price Re. 1-8.*

The writer who has been Honorary Secretary to the Central Indian Association of Malaya states the position of Indian labour there with enjoyable lucidity. Malaya occupies an area little less than that of Assam, and 1931 census show the population distributed as follows: 19 lakhs Malayan, 17 lakhs Chinese and 6 lakhs Indian. Indian labour is most employed in rubber cultivation, while Chinese competition is strong in other avenues of work, even in clerkdom the Chinese greatly outnumber the Indians by more than 2:1.

What has been the economic condition of the Indians? What about their political status? It is easy to sum up: administrative discriminations, practical exclusion of all Asiatics from all superior services, indifference regretably displayed by India, lack of organization consequent on the lack of an intelligent interest even in the matter of self-preservation—whence "the cheapness and docility" of labour of the Indian brand—Mr. Aiyer has ably developed them by means of facts and figures.

His statement is generally corroborated by the report for 1940 of the senior Indian officer of the Labour Department, Malaya, while noting a sudden change in the outlook of Indian workers in towns towards the use of creches and hospitals and maternity hospitals, and in the disappearance of intercaste disputes and distinctions among South Indians in the working classes, he states that the Chinese earns more because he works on the contract method, while the South Indian worker clinging to the time rates gets a lower scale of remuneration. The North Indian labourer, however, is adopting the Chinese method.

An informative book: but are not *Indian Problems in Malaya* past history now? New times will bring new problems, and the present is a time of violent flux when all judgment has to be suspended.

P. R. Sen

DRAWINGS, PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES: A Portfolio of 18 Reproductions: *By P. T. Reddy. Published by the New Book Co., 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. October, 1941. Price Rs. 25 only.*

The war has taken away the bottom of support from the practising artists in India, and the study of Indian Art is at a standstill. The above portfolio is, therefore, a pleasant surprize, and a creditable and a welcome venture on the part of the publishers, and a tribute to the vitality of modern artists, who are determined to keep the banner of Art flying, and to pitch the still small (?) voice of Art to a key above the roar of guns and of the beastly barbarity of bombs. This is a modest collection of 18 paintings, drawings and sculptures, executed by a young artist, from Hyderabad, a product of the "School of Western India" (= Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay). The works reproduced (12 in colour and the rest in black and white), mostly executed between 1938-1941, claim to have made a "contribution to contemporary movement" in Art. There is a very interesting Preface by the artist himself and an explanatory "Foreword" by the Principal of his school, Mr. C. R. Gerard, which seem to contradict each other. "I am an Indian Artist. I live in the India of today. In my paintings, I try to speak the language of our country and of *our* times." Unfortunately, most of the pictures speak in the language of Gauguin, Matisse and Picasso. The European Modernists have undoubtedly many valuable lessons to offer to the Indian Artist, but where is the penetrating analysis and the power of assimilation of new methods of approach, and newer ways of vision? It is as much sin to "copy" the manners of Ajantan Frescoes, as to copy the technique of Western Studios. Jaminy Roy has made certain interesting experiments in assimilating the new "ways" of the Post-Impressionists, and we know of no better success in this line than

those of the late Amrita Sher-Ghil. Mr. Reddy's wooing of the Beauties of the Kangra School is not very happy. In his "Farewell" (No. 12) he borrows types and drapery from Chamba miniatures—but displays a lamentable ignorance of the "language" of Indian Painting. Whether under the pressure of his teachers, or by his inclination,—Mr. Reddy has more leanings towards the Art of the West than of his own country. The great traditions of Indian Sculpture are missed and caricatured in his "Nartaki" (No. 17). Has he been prevented, under the censorship of his distinguished teachers, from making contact with the Masterpieces of the Andhra School—at Amaravati, at Nagarjunikonda, at Goli? His drawings (Nos. 15 and 16) are obviously Rodinesque, and his paintings, aggressively Gauguinesque. His "Mother and Child" (No. 1) is perhaps the finest in this collection and absolutely free from "influences." The "Death of Sha Jehan" (No. 11) undoubtedly, a skilful composition, is a vision through the borrowed spectacles of Modern Europe. One wonders if Mr. Reddy has seen Dr. A. N. Tagore's Masterpiece of the same subject. His teacher may feel happy in the fact that his pupil has thoroughly de-nationalised himself,—but the *manas-putra* of European artists is least qualified to build up the National Art of Contemporary India. Mr. Reddy's teacher respects the hackneyed platitude: "Art knows no boundary." But Sheldon Cheney asserts with equal emphasis: "Nationalism is going out; but, there *will always be* a geography of Art." There is an astounding assertion in the Foreword: "Art in India today is passing through an interesting experimental stage." It may be news to some that Indian Art passed the experimental stage sometime in 1895, exactly 46 years ago! We wish Mr. Reddy all success in finding himself and in discovering the genius which makes Indian Art *Indian*,- and let him in his next productions, happily answer the query which Maurice Maindron had put half a century ago: "Art in India, should it be *Indian*, or should it *not* be so?" The portfolio is very well reproduced and is a credit to the publishers. We recommend the same to be placed in the shelves of all schools in India. It should also provide an excellent Prize-book for beginners in Art.

KAUNDINYA

INDIAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: *By Dr. Nolin C. Ganguly, Ph.D., Shastri. Published by Kamala Book Depot, 15, College Square, Calcutta, 1939. Pp. 414+xi. Price Rs. 6 only.*

This is a balanced, workmanlike survey of Indian political philosophy which earned for the author a doctorate from the Calcutta University. The learned author does not claim any originality relating to data or any bold approach to the various conclusions of previous writers. "The book combines the results of the accumulated labours of Eastern and Western savants, in the sense that their writings and conclusions have been fully laid under contribution." In fact, Dr. Ganguly is often too scrupulous in referring to almost all the writers on a particular subject. On many an occasion he refers to the Western writers for comparative and explanatory material and interested but non-specialist students would often feel grateful for this. Chronological presentation of the ideas is another helpful feature and in several places the background of theories is succinctly sketched. To the reviewer, the chapters on Political Authority, Doctrine of Resistance, Principles of Punishment, Philosophy of Dharma (Law) and the Appendices, especially the notes on "Matsya-Nyaya," and Practical Political Ahimsa, evoked greater admiration.

We hope the book will be widely used by scholars, political workers and students of social sciences.

PSYCHOTHERAPY OF INDIAN RIOTS: *By Nakuleswar Banerjea, M.A. Published by the Viswa Banee Grantha Bithee, 29, College Street, Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 79+ii. Price Re. 1.*

This is an attempt at an analysis of the "causes, the consequences and the remedies of the communal riots in India" on what the writer thinks to be, sociological lines and pleads for a "thorough reconditioning of our social economy and a recasting of our existing social relations." In spite of what may be accounted for by youthful enthusiasm, journalese and hyperbole, the pamphlet contains some good general suggestions.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

BHAVNAGAR STATE CENSUS, 1941—TABLES: *By Ramanlal K. Trivedi, B.A., LL.B., Bhavanagore. Pp. 1-180. Price not mentioned.*

The Government of India decided on the limited tabulation of the 1941 census statistics; and in British India tabulation work is confined to preparing Imperial Tables I—V, XIII and XIV, that is, those relating to Area, Houses and Population; Variation in Population; Towns and Villages classified by Population; Towns classified by Population with Variations; Towns arranged territorially with Population by Communities (Religions); Community (Religion) and Variation in Selected Castes and Tribes. To these may be added the Provincial Tables I and II, *i.e.,* area and population by Union Boards and Thanas and Population of Union Boards and Thanas by Communities (Religion) and Literacy. It has further decided to defer the fuller tabulation till the end of the war, and so stored away the enumeration slips.

As a result of his short-sighted policy the valuable results of the 1941 census will be published at a time when they will be stale, to say nothing of the communal proportions of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in constitution-making or in determining their representation in the Municipalities and District Boards. In Bengal, there have been charges and counter-charges of the systematic deflation of the other community and the inflation of one's own community. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference at its annual session at Burdwan under the presidency of the Hon'ble Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee demanded fresh census and test census to prove the deflation of the Hindus. Had the official census statistics been published in detail, it would have been easy to show the inflation of the Muhammadans in some districts. For example, in Noakhali the Muhammadans have increased by 33 per cent.; a proportion not reached by any other district in India at this census; while in some Thanas and Union Boards their rate of increase is as much as 80 to 100 per cent.!!! And this although it is an emigrating district. Had Table VI showing Birth-places been ordered to be compiled, it would have been easy to prove that Noakhali men are spreading all over Bengal. But political—cum—economic reasons prevent the details being published early.

The Bhavnagar State is to be congratulated for deciding to publish all the Tables at the earliest opportunity; and thus helping the students of sociology and census statistics in their studies. They are full, well-classified, and nicely printed. We must thank Mr. Trivedi for the nice get-up.

Bhavnagar City has a population of 1,02,851; made up of 23,203 families. These 23,203 occupy 15,558 structures or buildings, of which 6,303 are 1-floored, 6,187 are

2-floored, 2,716 are 3-floored, and 352 more than 3-floored. Of the 23,203 families, as many as 10,202 occupy one room only; 6,245 occupy 2-rooms. The number of buildings containing one family is 12,042; while that containing more than one family is as great as 3,516. 283 structures accommodate six and more families. The normal number of persons per family in the State is 5·1. The respective number of families in Bhavnagar City by the number of occupants are :

Number of families containing

5 persons and under	6-10	11-15	16-20	21 and over
16,550	6,001	539	79	34

We can estimate the over-crowding, economic-status and break-up of joint-family system in the City from the above statistics.

What about Calcutta? The answer is we do not know.

J. M. DATTA

THE DVAITA PHILOSOPHY AND ITS PLACE IN VEDANTA : *By Vidwan H. N. Raghavendrachar, M.A., with a foreword by A. R. Wadia, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, Professor of Philosophy, Mysore University. Published by the University of Mysore. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 3.*

Vidwan Raghavendrachar who is a lecturer in Philosophy in the Mysore University is a profound scholar of South India. He is trained not only in the ancient time-honoured Punditic traditions of Sanskrit learning but also in the critical methods of Western Philosophy. Professor Wadia who is now the Director of Public Instruction of the Mysore State rightly remarks in the foreword that the author is eminently fitted for the task he has underaken and accomplished with efficiency. The book under review, which is beautifully got up and nicely printed, fulfils a long-felt want and is a masterly study of the philosophy of Madhvacharya, the founder of Dvaita Vedanta.

The book is divided into five chapters of which the first contains a learned introduction to the three systems of Vedanta. The next three chapters are devoted to short expositions of Advaita, Visistadevaita and Dvaita Vedanta respectively followed by searching analysis of each. In the last chapter the erudite author concludes that the "philosophical reflection in India has reached its culmination in the Dvaita Vedanta" and shows how "the best of Indian thought is preserved in this system" and how "this system was needed to bring the Vedanta teaching to its perfection." He also argues with cogency how in essence Madhvacharya is a monist, in the real sense of the term. The learned author who is a confirmed Dvaitin by birth and conviction has very carefully and creditably brought out in this book the philosophical merits of Dvaitism. The extensive Glossary and Index in the appendix which will greatly help both the general reader and the serious student.

While showing in the concluding chapter, how Dvaita philosophy occupies the highest place in the Vedanta, the Vidwan points out the limitations of the Advaita school. He observes that regarding the knowledge of Ultimate Truth, the Advaita grants higher authority to scripture than to reason whereas in the Dvaita, reasoning enjoints as much authority as the scripture which proves that the Dvaita justifies the philosophical significance more than the Advaita.

Another notable feature in Madhvacharya in the opinion of the learned author is catholicity, as throughout his system, he recognises what is really valuable in other philosophies, on the other hand Sankaracharya finds fault with other systems. The Advaita practically denies the world and annihilates the jiva but according to Dvaita, Brahman is the source of the reality of all. The author then concludes that Brahman of the Dvaita is a higher conception than Nirgun Brahman of the Advaita and Iswar of the Visistadvaita and that Madhvacharya has thus fully reconciled absolutism and realism in his Dvaita Vedanta. We cannot say how far the Vidwan's conclusions are correct and how much his exposition will carry conviction to the Advaitists and Visistadvaitists.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE LEGACY OF INDIA : *Edited by G. T. Garratt. With an introduction by the Marquess of Zetland. Published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. Pp. 428. Price 10s. net.*

The different chapters of this excellent book have been contributed by writers all eminent in their respective lines, such as F. W. Thomas, S. N. Dasgupta, S. Radhakrishnan and others. The legacy of India has been well preserved and nothing better could be presented to the reader within so small a compass. Every lover of India should read this book just to know what ancient India has bequeathed to the present and coming generations of mankind in Art, Literature, Science, Philosophy and Religion.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS : *By Sri Aurobindo. Published by the Sri Aurobindo Library, 12 Kondichettey Street, Madras. Pp. 88.*

Sri Aurobindo occupies such a position in the intellectual and spiritual life of India that whatever comes from his pen, must at once be accepted as very much above criticism. The reviewer of any of his books necessarily finds himself in an awkward and perplexing situation. Praise bestowed on him would be considered superfluous and perhaps even disingenuous; and an animadversion would certainly be regarded as hostile and perverse. Yet if an essay like the one on *Meditation* or *Astrology* were placed before an average reader without disclosing the author's name, the excellence of exposition and the depth of thought exhibited would extort praise even from the most high-browed critic. Without necessarily accepting all the conclusions, the reader would unhesitatingly say that the writer is one who thinks deeply and knows how to express his thoughts.

The book before us is a small one and contains some short reviews of books and still shorter views on some topics. We cannot say we agree with all the views that have been expressed in this book; but being the views of a master mind, they are undoubtedly entitled to our respectful consideration.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

EXCAVATIONS AT RAIRH : *By Dr. K. N. Puri, D.Sc., D.Litt. (Paris), Superintendent of Archaeology, Jaipur State. Pp. iv+73+36. Price Re. 1.*

This report of excavations carried out at Rairh in Jaipur State is of an unusually high quality. A great deal of care must have been bestowed on the actual work of excavation, as well as in the presentation of the results. Dr. Puri has offered several new suggestions among which one is in connection with "ring-wells" found in various sites in India. In his opinion, they may have been soak-pits, and he has offered fairly sound reasons in favour of the view. Certain parallel brick walls have been supposed by him to have been foundations of a special kind. May they not have been parallel sets of privies, as are common today in parts of the Punjab?

The brief general account of punch-marked coins, and the sumptuous illustrations which enrich the text, are a special feature of the volume. The price is un-

usually moderate; and we hope the book will be in the hand of all students of archaeology in India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ASTRONOMICAL EPHEMERIS OF GEOCENTRIC PLACES OF PLANETS FOR 1942: *By R. V. Vaidya, M.A., B.T. Published by Shree Jiwaji Observatory, Ujjain. Pp. 82. Price annas ten.*

This book removes the want now-a-days felt by the computers and astrologers. The positions of the sun and other planets and the Sidereal Time are computed for the meridian of Ujjain—the Greenwich of India—for 12 o'clock noon Indian Standard Time. Mr. Vaidya made the computations from the Tables of Newcomb, Brown, Jyotirganita and Sarvanand-Laghav by the late Principal G. S. Apte. The Heliacal risings and settings of Jupiter and Venus are also included.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

NARADA'S APHORISMS ON BHAKTI: *Edited by Y. Subrahmanya Sharma. Published by the Adhyatma Prakasha Office, 65, Second Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City (India). Pp. 22.*

This edition of *Narada's Bhakti Sutras* contains Sanskrit texts and their English translations with explanatory footnotes of difficult and technical words.

MAHATMA SHRI NATHURAMA SHARMA AND HIS MESSAGE: *By Karansinh Lalsinh Thakore, B.A. To be had of Shri Anandsram, Bilkha (Kathiwar, India). Pp. 86. Price annas four.*

This biographical sketch is dedicated to the hallowed memory of Mahatma Sri Nathuram Sharma, better known as the Saint of Bilkha. Mahatmaji was not only a saint and religious teacher, but was also a prolific writer.

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

NYAYA-RATNA-MALA OF PARTHASARATHI MISRA WITH THE COMMENTARY OF RAMANUJACARYA ENTITLED THE NAYAKA-RATNA: *Critically edited with an introduction and indices by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri Siromani of Baroda Oriental Institute. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXV. Baroda, 1937. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The Nyaya-ratna-mala of Parthasarathi Misra, an exponent of the Bhatta School of Purva-mimamsa, is edited here for the second time. The work was published for the first time in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. The commentary of Ramanuja who flourished at least 400 years later than the celebrated author of the Sri-bhasya is published here for the first time. Ramanuja, author of the Tantra-rahasya, belonged to the school of Prabhakara and still commented upon a leading work of the Bhatta School, most hostile in attitude towards his own, probably because he wanted to go deep into the philosophy of his rival school. The result has been the provision of a synthesis and a real understanding of the doctrines of the two rival schools, represented by Sabarasvamin and Kumarila Bhatta on the one hand and by Prabhakara on the other, for the Mimamsakas who can thoroughly see into their respective intricate and subtle details through the assistance of this unbaised scholar Ramanuja. The publication of the commentary Nayaka-ratna is also destined to offer great help to modern scholars in their proper understanding of many technical terms of the Prabhakara-mimamsa the published literature on which is still very meagre. Pandit Ramaswami Shastri has discharged his duty as an editor faithfully and enhanced the worth of his edition by adding two useful indices. All lovers of the Purva Mimamsa Philosophy are sure to be delighted at the publication of the Nayaka-ratna for the first time in the present form.

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

SANSKRIT

DAYANANDACARITAM: *Author and Publisher—Vallabhadas Bhagavanji Ganatra, C/o Sheth Gopalji Ramji, Pratap Building, Nyubhatbadi, Girgaon, Bombay, No. 4.*

DAYANANDADIGIVIJAYA: *Author—Kaviratna Pandit Sri Medhavratacarya, Principal, Aryakanyamahavidyalaya, Baroda. Translator—Pandit Sri Srutabandhu Ji Shastri Vedatirtha, Upadhyaya, Aryakanyamahavidyalaya, Baroda.*

Sanskrit has been put into use by different sects of the Hindus, orthodox and heterodox, old and modern, nay even by non-Hindus like the Christians, to propagate their religious doctrines as well as to narrate the life-stories of various religious teachers. It is no wonder therefore that several works have been composed in Sanskrit on the life and works of Swami Dayananda, the great vedic scholar and founder of the Arya Samaj.

The works under review give accounts of the Swami in an ornate Kavya style. The first work, the smaller of the two, is in prose. It presents in a brief outline the story of the manifold achievements of the great sage. The second work, of which we have here only the first part in 12 cantos, follows the model of the ancient court-epic and runs up to the earlier stages of his career as a propagator of the teachings of the Vedas which according to him did not contain any sanction for later Hindu rites specially those connected with image-worship. The work possesses the conventional characteristics of a *mahakavya*. The last canto is particularly interesting in this respect. It consists of verses each of which is composed in a different metre the name of which is ingenuously inserted in the body of the verse. The work abounds in different types of poetical embellishments and some of the verses are really beautiful. In a long introduction in Hindi Pandit Srutabandhu Shastri, whose translation in Hindi follows the Sanskrit text of each verse, gives a sketch of the life of the poet and compares the present work with a work of the same name by Pandit Akhilananda.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

ARATI: *By Probodh Ghose. Published by the author, 11/4A, Lake Road, Calcutta. To be had of: Lake Book Stall, 51B, Rashbehari Avenue. Price Re. 1.*

Short story, like Proteus, is capable of taking various and varied shapes. An incident, a character, a group of characters, a bit of life, a moment caught in a camera—everything may supply materials for short story. It all lies on the author's mode of treatment. *Arati* is a book of short stories. There are twenty-one of them in all, and most of the stories are told in four pages, none exceeding five. A short story may or may not be very short. Its quality does not depend upon its length. What is peculiar in these stories is not their shortness but that the writer has been able to give within a very short limit each story a desired shape and complete form. There is a laconism in the language, style and treatment of these stories which produces an effect akin to that of an epigram in respect of a sentence. The method has its limitation. Short story of the sort must be pointed and as soon as it loses its precision it falls flat, which has been the case with one or two stories in this book. But in most cases the author has

been successful, to wit, in *Alo O Chhaya* ("Light and Shadow") the casual remark of a fellow-passenger in a railway compartment about only one death in the city the day before to a bereaved husband expresses in a flash the tragic irony of fate. Our elusive every-day life finds in the author a skilful photographer. The structure and treatment of his short story is quite out of the beaten track. He keeps his voice pitched to a low scale, proceeds with a conversational tone and is content with producing a shock to our mental inertness or giving a shake-up to our placid self-satisfaction. The author does not appeal to our sentiment; his writing rather evokes in us a response more intellectual than emotional. In a Foreword, the renowned critic and litterateur Sri Pramatha Chaudhuri, in recognising the merit of the book, observes that the writer's short story is a true specimen of realistic art. Because of his self-imposed restrictions, selective taste and the absence of sentimentalism, the writer may not earn cheap popularity but he will be amply rewarded by the recognition of the discerning reader.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

MAJA NADIR KATHA (NOVEL) : *By Sri Ramapada Mukhopadhyay. Published by Katyayani Book-stall, 203, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Bengali life in lower middle class society today is like a stagnant river—narrow, shallow and unhealthy. The author presents herein a faithful picture of it. Our hard struggle for existence, our baffled hopes and shattered dreams have been vividly portrayed. Amiya enters a Railway office as a clerk and discovers there an absolutely different world, whose air is thick with jealousy and intrigue, flattery and hypocrisy, humiliation and anxiety. Biswajit, also a clerk, keeps himself aloof from all petty quarrels and self-abomination, and holds his head high amidst the tribulation of life. His is a noble character, convincingly drawn, that inspires our hearts with hope and confidence and brightens up the gloom.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

MERA BACHPAN : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Published by Visva-Bharati Publishing House, 2, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1-12.*

This is a translation in Hindi of Rabindranath Tagore's "My Boyhood Days," rendered by a scholar of repute;—namely, Pandit Hazariprasad Dwivedi, of Santiniketan. The atmosphere of the original *Chhele-Bela* has been skilfully captured,—thanks to the translator's insight into the Bengali language and his command over Hindi. The Poet's story of how he played truant from school and took vital delight in the world without with its call of the Infinite and his vivid picture of the Calcutta of the seventies of the last century will enthrall any young reader. The book will be a more suitable text for the students of our schools than the usual abridged biography of a great man or woman, used by them at present. For *Mera Bachpan* is a model study in the heart of a sensitive child placed in the context of city-life with all its "imprisoning" interests and outlook.

NAYA HINDI SAHITYA : *By Prakashchandra Gupta. Published by the Saraswati Press, Benares. Pp. 228. Price annas eight only.*

"Literature is, no doubt, a mirror of life, but not necessarily only of that aspect of it which is reflected in our society. For, to parody the well-known words of Hamlet, there are more things or truths in Life than are embodied in your books." As such, therefore, a sociological approach to literature often lacks an integral character. But that does not mean that it has no value of its own. The book, under review, has been written from such a standpoint. It attempts to interpret Premchand, "Prasad," Mahadevi, Janendrakumar and other contemporary writers in Hindi for the busy man of the world, who has neither leisure nor patience to sit down in his study, but who is all the same anxious to keep himself in touch with the literature of his own times. *Naya Hindi Sahitya* is therefore, a handy handbook on modern Hindi literature.

G. M.

TAMIL

KAYATARAM—BULLETIN NO. 4 OF THE TAMIL DEPARTMENT, MADRAS UNIVERSITY : *Edited by Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, B.A., B.L., Reader in Tamil, Madras. 1939. Pp. xviii+108. Price Re. 1.*

This is a lexicon of synonyms and homonyms composed in verse about the middle of the fifteenth century by Kayatarar of Thevai, the modern Ramesvaram. This work closely follows an earlier lexicon-Divakaram, with such omissions and additions as have been warranted by usage or lack of it during the intervening period. This is therefore dependable for the vocabulary of its time. The learned editor has given the other versions at the foot of the page itself and added an useful index at the end of the book.

MADHAVAN

TELUGU

KADAMBARI : *By A. Naga Gopala Rao, Governorpet, Bezwada. Published by A. G. Press. Pp. 81. Price annas twelve only.*

The above book is an excellent adaptation in Telugu Verse of Bana's original in Sanskrit. These poems are of fine artistic quality and have been treated in a compact and lucid form. In its modernity, the book enhances the elemental grandeur and the classical beauty of Bana.

The get-up of the book is attractive and the poems contained in it form a very pleasant study.

STORIES FROM JATAK : *By S. Surayanarayana Sastri. Printed at Andhra Grandhalaya Press, Bezwada. Pp. 111.*

This book contains five stories in Telugu verse from Aryasura's *Jatakmala* in Sanskrit. These stories give us an introspective study into the fundamental traits of Lord Buddha in his pre-births that contributed towards his greatness. The poems are throughout elegant and dignified.

The present translation is a welcome contribution to the Telugu Literature.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

SHRI MAHAVIR JAIN VIDYALAY RAJAT MAHOTSAVA SMARAK GRANTH : *Published by M. G. Kapadia and C. S. Modi, Bombay. 1941. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 230+61+148. Price Rs. 3.*

This magnificently printed volume published in celebration of the Silver Jubilee (A.D. 1915-1940) of the Mahavidyalay gives a short history of the Institution which has fulfilled its purpose in entirety by sending forth from its portals, doctors, lawyers and other professional young men. It is a valuable proof of the keen interest taken by its compilers in the continuance and maintenance of the hostel. The contributions cover a wide range of subjects and are both in Gujarati and English and furnish interesting and instructive reading. The pictures break new ground.

K. M. J.

FAILURE OF CRIPPS' MISSION: WHAT NEXT?

By Prof. K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.) LL.M. (Lond.) *Barrister-at-Law*, *Reader of Law, Allahabad University*

Sir Stafford who came to India as a member of the War Cabinet with certain proposals has failed to convince the Indians as to the suitability thereof. The interim arrangements proposed by Sir Stafford were not at all calculated to enthuse the public opinion of India, he did not want to transfer the Defence department to any Indian. In all times especially in times of great peril to a state, if the defence is whithheld, it is like the taking of the heart out of human organism. He after much deliberation was at last ready to transfer some unimportant functions to an Indian who would be styled the Defence Minister, but who would in fact have become a puppet of the Commander-in-Chief. The Commander-in-Chief will be virtually controlling the armed forces, operations, strategy and all that is virtually important to the army leaving a few crumbs from his table to the so-called Defence Minister.

The Congress Working Committee insisted upon giving the reality of power to the Defence Minister, but unfortunately Sir Stafford could not belittle the position of the Commander-in-Chief by one jot or tittle. If General MacArthur, an American, can work under an Australian Defence Minister, it passes beyond the range of human comprehension why General Wavell cannot act under an Indian Defence Minister. If it is a question of prestige, all false notions of prestige and dignity must be discarded in order to instil vigour, enthusiasm, and idealism into the Indian mind, for Indians cannot cooperate with the singleness of purpose in war efforts, unless they are convinced that the war is India's as also Britain's war. The Indians insist upon the transfer of real power. They do not want to play a second fiddle to the British Government. They want to participate in the war as free agents, as sons of free India, as men who are convinced that they have got freedom in reality, and therefore they must resist any aggressor who wants to rob them of that priceless jewel.

The proposals of the Congress Working Committee to Sir Stafford cannot be characterised by even the bitterest enemy of the Congress as revolutionary. They were unusually moderate and the members of the Working Committee put their demands very low indeed in order not to embarrass the British Government. Their benevolence has been construed as malevolence by Sir Stafford. They wanted a national government, but they did not insist upon the Congress only to run the Cabinet. In fact, they had no objection to an all party government on national basis, *i.e.*, they were not concerned with the fact that the Congress alone shall be ruling the destinies of the nation. Cognisant of the imminent peril to India they were willing to take in members of the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Sikhs, and the Depressed classes, etc., in the Cabinet, yet Sir Stafford in a fit of petulance stated that what the Congress wanted was the dictatorship of the majority, which would have amounted to, according to him, tyranny by the majority over the minority. Nothing can be farther from truth, for when a Cabinet was to be formed on such a basis, the members of the minority communities could have withdrawn themselves from the Cabinet if they thought that the interests of the communities they represented were not being safeguarded, and thus might have brought about the dissolution of the Cabinet. When a government is formed consisting of members of all parties, questions like tyranny by the majority over the minority, dictatorship by one party over the other party or parties are utterly irrelevant. If Sir Stafford's reasoning is correct, may it not be pointed out that the present government of England, where there is a large number of Conservative members in the Cabinet, the Labour and the Liberal members are being tyrannised over by the Conservatives?

Sir Stafford has stated that the Congress wanted everything, so got nothing. This is utterly untrue. The demands of the Congress were irreducible minimum demands, which have uptil now been put forward by that great organisation. The Congress wanted to befriend the Britishers, wanted friendship with honour, but got only humiliation and rebuff.

The Congress Working Committee insisted upon the fact that the Viceroy would occupy the same position in the interim period as is occupied by the Governors-General in the Dominions, *i.e.*, he shall have to give his assent to the decisions of the Cabinet. The Congress rightly pointed out that this change could be brought about by convention, and in my judgment it is correct. It is indeed lamentable that a man of the legal eminence of Sir Stafford could not realise the nature and character of conventions. Lowell in his book on *Government of England* says that conventions do not abrogate or obliterate legal rights and privileges, but merely determine how they shall be exercised. They are superimposed upon the law and modify

political relations without in the least affecting legal ones. He further says that by leaving the prerogative substantially untouched by law and requiring that it should be wielded by ministers responsible to them, the Commons have drawn into their own control all the powers of the sovereign that time has not rendered obsolete.

Sir Stafford has not merely forgotten the role played by conventions in his own country, but also the role played by constitutional development of the six self-governing Dominions. Before the Statute of Westminster of 1931 was passed, conventions curtailed considerable amount of the Governor-General's power. In fact, the Statute of Westminster set the seal of approval upon the conventional practices and usages that were governing the relations of the six self-governing Dominions in regard to the United Kingdom long before the Statute of Westminster was enacted. The Resolutions of Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 definitely reduced the Governor-General in regard to the administration of a Dominion to the same position as is occupied by the British King in regard to the administration to the United Kingdom. It was not merely by the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 that the position of the Governor-General was determined, even before 1926 the Governors-General through conventions stood robbed of many of their powers conferred on them by the Acts.

I cannot understand why Sir Stafford could not, on the analogy of the Dominions before the Statute of Westminster, agree to the Congress demand on the point that the Viceroy shall cease to be dictated from Downing Street or by the Secretary of State, but shall have to act on the advice of the National Government.

If the Britishers cannot trust the Indians even at this great hour of peril, how can the Indians be expected to believe that the Britishers will fulfil all that they have promised after the war through Sir Stafford.

Now turning to the promises of the British Government after the war, I may state at once that the scheme outlined is highly unsatisfactory on many points, because it definitely sets forth a scheme of partition of India, and as such is unacceptable to vast majority of Indians. India will resist any attempt of vivisection. It is one indivisible whole, and any scheme therefore which has got such an idea must be buried. Pakistan or 'Balkanisation' of India must be resisted.

Under Sir Stafford's scheme there would be not one Dominion but a number of Dominions, the financial stability of some of which might be very doubtful indeed. Furthermore, there would be quarrels and jealousies and bid for power and supremacy among those Dominions, and some of the Dominions may even go to the extent of seeking foreign help and thus India may be under foreign domination again.

If Sir Stafford really had contented himself with merely saying that India after the war would be given the right of self-determination, to choose her own form of government, and according to her genius and needs, there would have been little objection against his post-war scheme, but what is objected to is that he has already framed the outline, and all that he wants of Indians is to fill in the details within his outlined framework.

He should not have forgotten that Indians are not enamoured of Dominion Status. Dominion Status in regard to the six self-governing Dominions might be a great boon, but the Indians insist upon complete independence. Indians are socially, culturally, economically, and ethnologically poles apart from the people of the six self-governing Dominions as also from Britain. Sir Stafford therefore should have left the choice whether India shall be a dominion or not to the Indians as also given the Indians the right to frame the Indian constitution without any dictation from British Parliament. The obligations which Britain thinks she has towards various communities should not have been harped on. Even if the view is taken that treaties with Indian states are of the same nature as treaties with independent sovereigns (a view which is not held by the authorities of International Law), by the application of the doctrine of *Rebus sic stantibus* the treaties can be well modified at any rate. It is a well-known proposition in International Law that every state is entitled to throw off the obligations of a treaty as soon as the conditions which preceded its formation nave undergone a material change. Furthermore, no government can indefinitely and for ever bind its successors by any treaty.

Sir Stafford's scheme also does not provide for proper representatives for framing the future constitution of India. He should have accorded the right to every adult of sending out a number of representatives for the Constituent Assembly which was to draw up the future constitution. The members of the legislatures, provincial and central, had no mandate from the people in regard to this matter. Therefore, the present members of the legislature are not fitted to be members of the Constituent Assembly. There must be a fresh election with that object in view. In regard to the Indian States it must be stated

at once that the nominees of the princes must not be allowed to come. Only the elected representatives of the people of the States should be allowed to join such an Assembly.

Sir Stafford laid stress on a phrase, 'peoples of India,' which is resorted to by all the imperialists, but which is wholly untrue. Can it not be then said with equal appropriateness 'peoples of the United Kingdom,' for the United Kingdom embraces people of Scotland, Wales, Southern Ireland and England.

Sir Stafford should do well in cool moments now to think what a splendid opportunity he has missed in bridging the gulf of difference between the Britishers and the Indians. The Indians wanted Britishers to give clear and unmistakable proof that there was a parting of power by Britain in the interim arrangements, but Sir Stafford wanted to maintain *status quo*, of course with slight touches, till after the war. How would Sir Stafford like if hungry men asked him for food and were only left with the assurance that they should continue in hunger for an indefinite period after which they might be served with rich and plentiful dishes. Would it satisfy their hunger? Similarly while the Indians are at this moment eager to share all the burdens and responsibilities of office which would entail at this hour a huge sacrifice of their manpower and resources, could Sir Stafford be expected to satisfy the political hunger of Indians by holding out to them the prospect of Dominion Status after the war?

A golden opportunity by which Britain could have galvanised the whole Indian nation into defenders of Democracies has been missed. Britain cannot morally claim to fight for democracy and freedom while denying the same to one-fifth of human race. Example is better than precept, and even at this late hour if Britain could have set that example, millions of men with smiles on their lips would have braved all the dangers for saving their newly won freedom, as frantically as tigresses do in order to save their cubs.

In the supreme interests of Britain as also of the United Nations, Britain must accede to the interim arrangements as proposed by the Congress Working Committee, and simply say that after the war the task of framing the Indian constitution is to devolve upon the Indians.

The War Cabinet, British Parliament and British politicians must realise that at this dark hour—dark not merely to India but to Britain—high moral considerations should only guide the policy of a state in regard to a country which wants to see the dawn of freedom immediately. Britain with the help of a free India would be more effective than China and other nations in ensuring the triumph of democracy, by freeing India from British domination.

TWO MEMORIES*

By AMAL HOME

Editor, "Calcutta Municipal Gazette"

I JOINED the Calcutta University Institute as a Junior Member in 1910 when I entered college. I had just completed my sixteenth year.

The Institute was then housed in a detached one-storied wing of the Sanskrit College, opposite its present palatial premises. Apart from a hall, not a big one by any means, where public meetings were often held and debates took place some times—the Institute occupied a set of rooms where we had the library and the reading room, the offices, a room set apart for Committee meetings and a small gymnasium. The rooms were neither bright nor cheerful but that mattered little to those who gathered there in those days,—some of the brightest youths of Bengal, who, in later years, proved their worth in different walks of life. They made everything up by their spirits.

Before, however, I come to speak of some of them, I must make my obeisance to two whose memory must ever remain enshrined in the heart of every one who had the privilege of coming into contact with them,—I mean *Gurudas Banerjee* and *Benoyendra Nath Sen*.

I

Sir Gurudas, who had retired from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court some years ago, was our President and Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen, who taught History at the Presidency College, was our Honorary Secretary.

In spite of all his eminence Sir Gurudas was accessible to the humblest of us. He would come very often, at the end of a long series of

* These reminiscences were written for a proposed Commemoration Volume to be published on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Calcutta University Institute in 1941.—Editor.

engagements that crowded his day's programme, and sit with students around him and talk to them and, what was more, listen to them. His courtesy was unique. To him the Under-Secretaries elected by the Junior Members were so many colleagues. He would treat us as such, and even when we proved unreasonable sometimes he would remonstrate and not reprove, persuade and never press. Nothing could disturb his equanimity,—he was dignity personified. Once only I saw him agitated. A play was being staged on the boards of the Institute by the Junior Members. A young actor was guilty of a slight breach of decorum, hardly noticed by the audience. But nothing could escape Sir Gurudas's eagle eye. He quietly left the hall and retired to the Committee room where he sent for one or two of us and gently but firmly expressed his displeasure at what had happened. We begged his forgiveness but nothing could induce him to return to the auditorium. The performance over, we brought our erring and penitent friend to him. He saw him and forgave him and never once afterwards referred to the incident. It was closed.

It was by example such as this that Sir Gurudas set before us high ideals of conduct. He never preached. He would only sometimes tell us of the rigours he had gone through for self-discipline. One such story I remember and is worth recording. From Simla he was travelling down to Calcutta in the Viceroy's 'Special' at the end of the deliberations of the Calcutta University Commission of which he was a member. Along with him was his son Sarat Chandra Banerjee, who held high office under the Government of India. At Cawnpore or some such place Lord Curzon sent an A.D.C. to Gurudas with a request to see him in his saloon. After the Chancellor and the *ex*-Vice-Chancellor had been closeted for some time discussing and arguing some of the problems facing the Commision, on which, it is well known, they had fundamental differences, came lunch-time. Lord Curzon brought the discussion to a close reminding Dr. Banerjee, as he then was, that it was time he returned to his carriage and had his midday meal. Gurudas thanked the Viceroy, adding, however, that he did not eat anything in the train. Lord Curzon was so surprised that he could not believe it. He asked Gurudas again and was told that Ganges water, which he carried when travelling, was the only thing that he permitted himself. "But how about your son?" asked the almost incredulous Viceroy. "He cannot eat, your Excellency, when his father fasts," came the reply; "but I see that he takes some home-made sweets he carries with him." "No, Dr. Banerjee, I cannot eat while you fast. I shall have the train stopped for you so that you may get down and have your meals with due Brahminical observances." Gurudas begged the Viceroy not to have the train delayed and inconvenience himself. But Lord Curzon would not listen, he had made up his mind. He rang the bell, sent for his A.D.C. and asked where the train stopped next. "Allahabad, your Excellency." "We stop at Allahabad till Dr. Banerjee has his meals." So the great Viceroy's 'Special' stopped at Prayag at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna longer than the scheduled time and the son cooked a simple meal for his father and himself on the sands of the holy *Sangam*. Only after Gurudas had eaten did the Viceregal train move.

One of us asked him if the observance of caste rules was worth all this trouble, as it seemed to us, and if such strict adherence to them was really essential to Hinduism. He said he knew many good and honest Hindus would not do what he did, and it might not indeed be necessary for the observance of caste but he thought that Hinduism called upon its votaries for self-control and he believed in such self-discipline. He laid emphasis not so much on the social aspect of the matter as on the personal aspect of it. We never found Gurudas Banerjee dogmatic.

II

Benoyendra Nath Sen was a scholar and a humanist. He was a scholar by instinct as well as achievement, and his humanism had its springs in his living faith. A personality that seemed to live in a world of its own, yet he exercised the most profound influence on his pupils and all those who came in touch with him. As Secretary of the Calcutta University Institute he was our idol. We could think of doing nothing of which he might even in a remote way disapprove. We knew he did not like students smoking, and none of us ever thought of smoking in the precincts of the Institute. We knew he did not approve of students flocking to public theatres, and we would think twice before we ventured to go. We had profound admiration for his learning, his idealism, his grace in doing things. We could never forget these.

I have never had the privilege of sitting at the feet of Benoyendra Nath as a pupil but I remember a distinguished pupil of his describing him as a "creative teacher." I had often heard him speaking at the Institute or from the pulpit of the Church of the New Dispensation of which he was a distinguished member. Whenever he

spoke, whether on history or literature, philosophy or religion, he raised the discourse to a level attainable by few. He was a great admirer of Browning and his imaginative insight, aided by his critical scholarship, threw light on Browning's poems revealing a new world of beauty and thought. Of Rabindranath he was a devotee, if I may use the expression. I have known few who have read his works deeper than Benoyendra Nath had, or entered into their spirit with a finer understanding and juster appreciation. Between the Poet and the Professor existed a bond made stronger by the love and regard that they both cherished for their common friend Mohit Chandra Sen, who edited the second collected poetical works of Rabindranath and was his principal colleague at the Santiniketan school in its early days. I do not know who was more disappointed—Benoyendra Nath or myself—when a lecture arranged to be delivered by Rabindranath at the University Institute had to be abandoned for reasons over which we had no control. It was like this.

I was then Under-Secretary in charge of public meetings and discussions. My duty was to organise from time to time meetings in the Institute Hall addressed by well-known people on different topics. Shortly before the Puja holidays in 1911 I heard that Rabindranath had come to Calcutta with a paper giving his views on the proposal for the establishment of a 'Hindu University' at Benares. A controversy had been going on for some time on the subject, opinions being sharply divided in the country on the necessity and advisability of having a separate University for Hindus only. No sooner I received the information I saw the Poet, armed with a letter from Benoyendra Nath with a request to read his paper at the Institute. I had heard a story that Tagore had been annoyed, some years ago, with a paper a young Bengali writer—now a well-known journalist of this city—had read in the Institute severely criticising some of his poems. I was told that he would never agree to address a meeting under the auspices of the Institute. But Rabindranath readily agreed. How little these people knew him. He could never be petty.

The date was fixed, and an announcement was about to be made when a circular emanating from the Education Department of the Government of India forbade all educational institutions and the teaching staff attached to them to take part in any form in the controversy. The ban could not be disregarded. I was almost in tears. I ran to Rabindranath. But what could he do? I ran to Benoyendra Nath. He was more helpless than the Poet. They met. I was with Benoyendra Nath when he called on Rabindranath at the Tagore House at Jorasanko. I remember how warmly the Poet received him and some of the things they discussed. It was a rare privilege. As we took leave of Rabindranath, he consoled me by promising to read another paper in the Institute on a non-controversial topic at the earliest opportunity. Soon afterwards he left for Europe on his famous *Gitanjali* tour and my term as Under-Secretary expired (1912).*

I have spoken of Benoyendra Nath's "living faith." He bore striking testimony to it during his prolonged illness, which ended fatally early in 1913. For more than a year he was laid up,—the victim of a most painful malady. But he bore all his sufferings in a manner which left an undying impression on all who saw him in his sick-bed. Despite the deepening shadow of approaching death the spirit rose above the ailments of the flesh. The room at his house in Mechuabazar Street (now named after his Master and Minister Keshub Chunder Sen) was like a temple, consecrated to faith. Like a child he clung to the Divine Mother; never complaining, never faltering, he surrendered himself completely to Her will. He was passionately fond of flowers and music, and often would we take to him our floral offerings, and our friend the late Jnanapriya Mitter come and sing to him his favourite songs—two of which I remember. One was Rabindranath's:

"आमार माथा नत क'रे दाओ हे तोमार चरणधूलार तले"

and the other was Dwijendralal Roy's:

"ऐ महासिन्धुर ओपार ह'ते कि सङ्गीत भेसे आसे!"

He had heard the Great Call, he was preparing himself for it.

The end came on the 13th April, 1913. I still remember the short and erect figure of Sir Gurudas Banerjee clad in his usual *choga* and *chapkan*, the short, stiff tasselled turban crowning his head, walking behind the bier from Mechuabazar Street to the Institute and the tall white-haired Prof. Henry Stephen next to him as we carried the precious burden, robed in silk, decked with flowers. The memory of that funeral abides with me.

* The paper on the Hindu University was read by the Poet at the Ripon College under the auspices of Chaitanya Library with the late Sir Asutosh Choudhuri in the chair. Among those present was the Editor of *The Modern Review*. It was later published in *the Prabasi*.—Writer.

BARDIC LITERATURE AS SOURCE OF LIGHT ON THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MARATHAS

By Professor VASANT DINANATH RAO, M.A., LL.B.

It is said that the literature of a particular period contains a reflection of the social, political and economic conditions of that period. Of the Marathi Bardic literature, this can be said with ample justification This Marathi Bardic literature has two main branches, (1) Historical Lays or Ballads (*Powadas*) and (2) Light Poetry consisting mainly of love lyrics (*Lavanis*). Of these the first give descriptions of the historical episodes of the time (the 17th & 18th centuries) and give a picture of the political conditions in Maharashtra and the patriotic sentiment of the Marathas. It is in the second branch of this literature that we find a realistic reflection of the social conditions in Maharashtra. These Lavanis depict Maratha life in its true colours, with their glories and failures, with their strength and weaknesses. They were composed by Shahirs or bards who had no pretensions to any learning for an audience (for these poems were meant to be sung at the musical concerts known as Tamashas—a very popular type of pastime indulged in by the Maratha gentry and peasantry of the time) which comprised of the simple soldiers and peasants with little or no education. Naturally enough the themes of these songs had to be of such a nature as to appeal to the simple unrefined mind of the hearer. Episodes from ordinary life, passions and sentiments governing the lives of ordinary people, offered the best themes of universal appeal. This literature is, therefore, of a truly representative character and gives a realistic reflection of the social life of the Marathas, although they may, not infrequently, contain exaggerations or flights of imagination, or even perversion of facts to some extent. Small wonder that this was the only type of literature with which the ordinary Maratha of the time had any acquaintance.[1]

It is really deplorable that this branch of Marathi literature has been up till now almost completely ignored by the Marathi scholars; nay it is almost tabooed as morally objectionable. No doubt quite a large number of these Lavanis altogether ignore the conventional code of morality and give a false impression of the moral depravity of the Maratha soldier. But before condemning the Maratha soldier for indulging in unconventional enjoyments or the Sahir for depicting pictures of the same, one must take into consideration the peculiar conditions under which the Maratha soldier had to live. One could not possibly condemn outright the Maratha soldier, who after spending the major part of the year on the battlefield or in campaign in the service of his motherland undergoing the rigour and perilsome hardship of the military life, indulged a little in the gratification of the sensual pleasures without much regard to the conventional code of morality; nor could one blame a youthful widow, who in the prime of her youth had to sacrifice her spouse to the deity of war, cherished amourous sentiments in her afflicted heart. The slackening of the moral standard was, therefore, the natural result of the above factors; and if the Lavanis abound in amourous episodes and sentiments, they reflect in some measure at least the true state of the society of the time.

Leaving aside the above aspect of this type of Marathi poetry, one may find in these simple songs a mine of information throwing light on the social condition of the time to which they refer. In the following lines I have attempted to touch only a few aspects of the Maratha social life of the time as reflected in these Lavanis just to show the potentiality of this branch of literature as a source of the social history of the Maratha of the Pre-British period. My survey is but a cursory one and I have selected only a few illustrations at random.

Maratha Ladies of the 17th & 18th Centuries

A favourite topic of the Shahirs is the delineation of the mode of life, passions, etc., of the Maratha ladies, especially the wives of the soldiers. They had to spend the major portion of the year in separation from their husbands engaged in military campaigns far off from home. It was natural that they spent a very anxious time and languished and eagerly waited for the time of reunion. Their feelings and sentiments are picturesquely depicted in a number of Lavanis.[2]

1. Acworth : *Introduction to Powadas or Historical Ballads of the Marathas* (1891).

2. Monaji Bala krit Lavanya (Chitrashala Edition), p. 76.

The Maratha society of the time was generally illiterate; but ladies seem to have sometimes acquaintance with alphabets and could probably read.[3] Not infrequently, ladies attained musical accomplishments and knew classical music.[4] We thus see that the Maratha ladies were not altogether without accomplishments.

Now and then we come across picturesque descriptions of the typical Maratha ladies, their dresses, their ornament and daily toilet.[5] This shows that the ladies enjoyed fair amenities of life and also reflects the prosperous conditions then prevailing.

Some Lavanis give graphic description of the life of the Maratha lady during pregnancy, the various ceremonies performed during pregnancy and the superstitious beliefs cherished in this connection.[6] We also see that the ladies were firm believers in the efficiency of visiting shrines in fulfilling the cherished objects, in superstitions and omens.[7]

The custom of polygamy was in great vogue among the Marathas which often led to disastrous consequences and these bards often strike the note of warning against these.[8]

We thus find reflected in these Lavanis a vivid and realistic picture of the typical Maratha lady of the time, a simple, devoted and ardently passionate creature.

Maratha Festivals

This Lavani literature is replete with descriptions of various Hindu Festivals, which were celebrated by the Marathas of the time with great devotion and ceremony.

Nagpanchmi or The Festival of the Cobra Deity.—This was a very popular festival amongst the Marathas and the Shahir Prabhakar in one of his Lavanis gives a picturesque description of the worship of the image of Cobra and the feast in honour of the deity.[9]

Navaratra (Nine Nights) Festival.—This was also one of the most popular and important of the Maratha festivals; for it was at the end of this festival, on the tenth day (*Vijayadashami*) that the Marathas used to set out for the new year's campaign. Prabhakar gives a picturesque description of this festival.[10]

Shimga and Rang Panchami Festivals.—These festivals were also celebrated with great enthusiasm and mirth by the Marathas. We find beautiful descriptions of these festivals, in the Bardic literature.[11] The Ranga Panchami Festival was also a court festival and Prabhakar gives a picturesque description of the celebration of this feast at the Peshwa Durbar.[12]

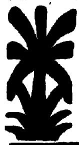
All these descriptions of the Maratha festivals bring out the religious fervour and devotion of the people and keenness to enjoy life. They give us an insight into the brighter aspect of the home-life of the Marathas.

Then we come across picturesque descriptions of the dress, ornaments, accoutrement and equipage of the typical Maratha soldier of the time.[13] From these we can see that the early Maratha soldier marching into the field dressed in his loin cloth and with his scythe or spear in the hand had in course of time developed into a well-dressed and well-equipped soldier.

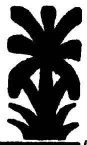
There are a number of other aspects of the life of the Marathas of the time depicted and described in these Lavanis and a systematic study of this literature is sure to cast an illuminating light on the social life of the time. It may be noted that the sensuous and pleasurable aspect of human life is not the only theme favoured by these Maratha bards, but moral preaching, presenting the typical moral ideology of the Marathas very often is made the theme of these Lavanis.[14] The ephemeral character of worldly pleasures and enjoyments is tried to be impressed on the minds of the people and they are exhorted to strive after something that would do them lasting good. Thus the Maratha society was not without its code of morality; religious and spiritual solace was sought after by the Maratha soldier after he had his fill of worldly pleasure of happiness.

I have tried to point out, in the above lines the possibilities and potentialities this bardic literature of Maharashtra holds out for throwing light on the social life of the Marathas, I stress the need of exploring this literature carefully in this light.

3. Prabhakar krit pode, Lavanya (Chitrashala Edition), p. 67.
4. Ibid, p. 116.
5. Ibid, pp. 15, 17, 18, 49. Monaji Bala, p. 66. Ramgorhi (Chitrashala Edition), pp. 69, 123.
6. Parasharami Lavanya, p. 82. Monaji Bala, p. 129.
7. Prabhakar, p. 11. Parasharam pp. 81, 86. Monaji, p. 54.
8. Parasharam, pp. 46, 47, 60-64. Monaji, p. 54.
9. Prabhakar, p. 21.
10. Ibid, p. 32.
11. Ibid, p. 7.
12. Ibid, Powada, p. 2.
13. Monaji Bala, p. 170.
14. Ibid, pp. 121, 122.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



A Poem

A hurricane of tempest,
A sea of sorrow wide,
In fearless, proud assurance
My fragile boat shall ride.
Hearing Thy word, and lifting
Torn sails that scorn the seas,
My boat shall reach the haven,
Cool shadows of Thy trees.

Who thus my soul desireth,
He shall my Pilot be:
Mine but to leave the clinging shore
And venture fearlessly:
And landing in the sunset
To bring an offering meet,
Red lotus of my sorrows
For mercy to His feet.

(From *Mukta-Dhara*)

Rabindranath Tagore in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

On Tagore's Art

Nandalal Bose writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Those who want to get into the heart of Gurudev's paintings would do well to remember one thing: that Gurudev took to painting pictures at a time when he had already established himself as a world-figure in the realm of literature and had earned a recognised place as an original thinker in such profound subjects as religion, politics, sociology, etc.; that his musical compositions had won the heart of his countrymen, while in the field of education his deeply-thought-out schemes and bold experiments had already aroused a sympathetic interest all over the world. All these he had achieved before he took up the painter's brush and colour board.

* * *

In the *Aitareya Brahmana* there is a passage which says that the artist's self gets "soaked in rhythm," as it were, through his own artistic efforts. For seventy years Gurudev worked hard to attain that state and he succeeded in making himself "soaked in rhythm"—much more than any other man in his generation, perhaps.

* * *

That which lends charm to poetry and clothes it in beauty is the same element which gives life to line and colour in art compositions. When Gurudev began to play with his brush—he was seventy at the time—he had already passed through the travail of a great *sadhana* and had attained *siddhi* in the cognate spheres of literature and music. He had learned the secrets of proportion and selection and the value of timing and pause. These are lessons which no artist can do without. These in their turn become essential qualities. No less essential is the quality of what an English critic has styled "direct and absolute vision," which leads to the power of identifying one's self with the object depicted or the character portrayed. This Rabindranath the actor-dramatist had in abundance. Thus we see that Gurudev had already developed in himself the three essential qualities of an artist before he took up the brush, namely, a sense of rhythm, a sense of proportion and a sense of indentity.

Tagore Day in Prison

K. Ramakotiswara Rau writes in *Triveni*:

As a member of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislative Assembly, I offered Satyagraha in November, 1940, and was sentenced to imprisonment for one year.

So much has happened during my imprisonment that it is impossible to comment on events of even outstanding importance. The event, however, which overshadowed all else was the passing away of Rabindranath Tagore. There must be some means of giving expression to a great sorrow. But prisoners can neither broadcast a talk, nor address a public meeting, nor write to the press. So, on the Shraddha Day, the political prisoners in Trichinopoly met in 'Azad Maidan' under the chairmanship of Sri Gopala Reddi, ex-Minister and an old student of Santiniketan. The speakers were in a reminiscent mood. Even more than the literary achievement of Tagore, it was the influence of his personality that commanded attention at the moment; and each of us spoke of the ways in which Tagore had shaped our individual lives. It was an affirmation of our faith in the values Tagore had stood for.

Tagore is among the Immortals who are seers as well as poets. He summed up in his life the rich experience of man through the ages. He gave us the vision, without which we might have perished. He was Indian in the sense in which Valmiki and Kalidasa were Indian, for, like them too, he belonged to the world.

In Tagore there was no conflict of nationalism and internationalism, and East and West were but parts of his Father's manion.

Through a life given utterly to the worship of Beauty, Tagore contacted the Light that shed beauty all around. Through song and verse, story and play, he gave us glimpses of that effulgence. Santiniketan was the outward expression of that yearning for the Beautiful which filled his life, as the yearning for Truth filled Gandhiji's. Like the sun and moon, these two have ruled the firmament of Life.

Tagore was India's cultural ambassador to many lands. In visiting Santiniketan, the Chinese Generalissimo and his wife were paying their tribute of affection to one who had linked China and India in bonds of cultural fellowship. Amidst the din of war, and the many pre-occupations of a political and military mission, the Chiangs felt that their pilgrimage to India would be robbed of all meaning unless they met Gandhiji in the flesh at Calcutta, and communed with the bright

spirit of Tagore at Santiniketan. There could be no happier expression of the faith that even this ugly Armageddon will pass and the great values of life enthrone themselves in the hearts of men.

—

Rabindranath : As I have Understood Him

In the course of an article on Rabindranath in The *Hindustan Review* Prof. P. B. Adhikari gives an explanation of the unique attitude Tagore adopted at times towards the current political movements of the day :

Politics have a lower and a higher level of standpoint—they have their universal and partial aspects. The level of insight from which Tagore looked at the current events of the day with no regard for their future results and wider outlooks could, of course, evoke no response from his mind. But for this reason it would be far from the truth to assert that he took no sympathetic interest in them. He had, on the contrary, a deeper and wider interest in them. But his interests were not centred in any affairs of temporary value or in any movements which aimed simply at the attainment of an exclusive nationalism of the type that prevails in the West in an aggressive form, the disastrous results of which we are finding today in the bewildering affairs of the whole continent of Europe (as also of the Far East) and the adjoining countries involved in them. His politics are far above any such low and narrow level. Here also his vision reaches out to that which is truly of universal and permanent value for humanity at large. Any measures, social or political, which look only to the immediate results of exclusive (and so dubious) value for any nation or nations could not, therefore, find a responsive appeal in his mind. For he stands at a height where reigns no such exclusiveness generating discord and disaster. His politics are neither national, nor even international (in its usual sense), but truly *humanistic*. He was not unsympathetic at heart, rather deeply sympathetic by nature. But his sympathies are broader and universal, as we find it pointedly expressed in many of his writings on the subject. He was not without a true love for the motherland. But this love issues from a deeper level of his thought and feeling and is the outcome of an insight into the spirit of humanity and its onward course of progress.

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China and India

Between the two neighbouring countries, China and India, one to the far East and the other to the extreme south of Asia, there are many points of affinity. Pandit Kshitimohan Sen observes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

One of the basic lessons of the *Mahabharata* is that the tragedy of the battle of Keurukshetra was brought about by the Kauravas repudiating their relationship with their Pandava cousins. Mankind being one human family, this relationship covers every member of it.

Rabindranath acknowledged this relationship; that is why he unhesitatingly accepted the invitation from China in 1924 and undertook to recover the path of fellowship between the two countries which his noble predecessors in India had discovered several centuries ago. He set out on 21st March which happened to be the *dol-purnima* day, taking with him three of us, the artist Nandalal Bose, Dr. Kalidas Nag and the present writer. When on the 12th of April (1924) we entered the mouth of the Yangtse, after visiting Burma, Malaya and Hongkong on the way, I felt as if we had returned to my home in East Bengal. There is a striking resemblance between the Ganges and the Yangtse—the same expanse of muddy water, the same stretches of alluvial soil jutting out of water here and there, the same crowded and humming market-places, as we are familiar with in our own land. Gurudev was so struck with the resemblance that he asked me to recite the Sanskrit slokas which we address to the Ganges, and standing on board the steamer as it sailed up the Yangtse I poured one sloka after another.

From Shanghai we went to Hangchow, the beauty spot of China. The poets and artists of China have borne ample testimony to the enchanting beauty of the Hangchow Lake. On one side of it was to be seen the famous Ling Yin Monastery. About seventeen centuries earlier, in 204 A.D., Hui Li, an Indian sage, had founded his monastery.

During our stay in Hangchow I used to watch processions of pilgrims going to the monastery with offerings of flowers and fruits. The sight stirred me deeply, recalling as it did my own experiences of the holy places in India.

On the 25th of April, the leading intellectuals and scholars of China accorded a formal reception to Rabindranath. The venue chosen for the purpose was the Imperial Tea Chamber in Peking. Mr. Liang Chi Chao, Chairman of the Peking University and a most venerated savant of China, delivered a memorable speech on the occasion. India and China, he said, are like two brothers. When the ancestors of the so-called civilised nations of today were lost in the torpor of slumber, China and India were already well on their way to realise the best fruits of a civilised existence.

It was during the reign of the Emperor Asoka that cultural contact was first established between the two countries.

Under the direction and patronage of that great and wise ruler, Buddhist missionaries undertook journeys to China. When Ming Ti was the Emperor of China, Kashyapa Matanga, an outstanding spiritual personality of India, felt the call to take to his Chinese brethren the gift of the *Dhamma*. Accordingly, he set out on the long and arduous journey, reaching the Celestial Empire in 67 A.D. and made his abode in Lo Yang by the Lo river. He was followed by a remarkable band of Buddhist scholars and missionaries, amongst whom may be named Dharmaraksha, Buddhabhadra, Jinabhadra, Kumarajiva, who set out at different times between the reigns of the Emperors Han Yung Tsin and Tang Chen Yuan (67-789 A.D.). From China too came famous Buddhist scholars, about 187 in number, amongst whom may be mentioned Fa Hsien, Hsuan Chuang and I-Tsin.

In speaking of this glorious period, Mr. Liang Chi Chao said : "India taught us to embrace the idea of absolute freedom . . . not merely that negative aspect which consists in ridding ourselves of outward oppression and slavery, but that emancipation of the individual from his own self, through which men attain great liberation, great ease and great fearlessness."

The Indian scholars who went as missionaries to China in the ancient times contributed a great deal to the literature of China, especially to that of Poetry.

Kumarajiva was a prolific writer in the Chinese language. Of his many works no less than forty-nine different volumes have come down to us.

Fa Hsien, that great scholar and traveller, was a

disciple of Kumarajiva. When after his long sojourn in India Fa Hsien returned to China he found his master as deeply immersed in his writings as when he left him.

It was in response to the injunction that he should study in minute detail the life and habits of the people of India that Fa Hsien wrote his famous work known as *Fu-Kao-Chi*—a book invaluable to all students of history.

Jinagupta who went to China towards the late sixth century translated thirty-seven original Sanskrit works into Chinese. His profound knowledge evoked so much admiration that an Emperor of the Tang Dynasty became his disciple. There is also the remarkable instance of Liang Wu-Ti, Emperor of the Southern Dynasty, who turned a monk.

Hawaii, the Sugar-Coated Fort in the Pacific

The $70 million naval base at Pearl Harbour on Oahu, one of the Hawaiian Islands, can hold, provision, repair, and refit the entire U. S. fleet if need be. We give below extracts from an article in the American Magazine *Fortune* (August, 1940) as reproduced by *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

Physically, Hawaii consists of a group of eight handsome volcanic islands, with black mountains rising dramatically from the fields of green cane.

Oahu—the island of Honolulu, Waikiki Beach, Schofield Barracks, and Pearl Harbour—contains more than half the territory's 415,000 people. Honolulu itself has a population of nearly 150,000. The biggest island is Hawaii, whose principal Port Hilo is 192 miles, south-east of Honolulu. Like Oahu, Hawaii produces sugar; but it is also fine cattle-raising country. The island of Lanai is owned entirely by the Hawaiian Pineapple Co.

Rice is the basic food simply because the bulk of the islands' 415,000 population is Oriental.

Brought to the islands over a period of eighty years for cheap labour in the cane and pineapple fields, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, and Chinese make up nearly 60 per cent. of the people. The Japanese alone account for more than a third of the population. In Hawaii, the second-generation Japanese grow two inches taller than their fathers, and their heads become shorter and their shoulders wider. But many remain Japanese in thought and feeling in spite of their enhanced physique and their U. S. citizenship. If they were born on U. S. soil before 1924, Japan still claims them as citizens. Besides, the Shinto religion implies fealty to the Japanese Emperor as a god; and the suspicion of double allegiance causes the U. S. Army and Navy to look upon Hawaii's 155,000 Japanese with undisguised alarm. As for the native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, these remnants of the old Polynesian race make up a miserable 15 per cent. of the population. The Caucasians, who include Portuguese from Madeira and the Azores and Puerto Ricans as well as Americans, number 26 per cent. The whites are always called haoles (pronounced "howlees"); the haoles are the undisputed masters of the land of sugar and pineapples. Filipinos, the latest immigrant group, are called goo-goos by sailors; they are lowest in the Hawaiian social scale. The Chinese, who were the earliest immigrants from the Far East, look upon themselves as superior to all later arrivals; a number of them have become prosperous shopkeepers, a faint beginning of a new Oriental middle class.

Officially, the Hawaiian Islands became part of the U. S. in 1898.

They were annexed by the government of William McKinley which was then busy with the Spanish-American War and the subjugation of the Philippines.

Labour in Hawaii has proved tractable—but the army and navy would have vastly preferred a white labouring population to the 155,000 Japanese. The majority of these Japanese are *apparently* good citizens and able workmen not addicted to sabotage.

Meanwhile both the army and the navy shiver when they think of the Japanese who man the fleet of sampans in Honolulu waters. Last year, the navy arrested fourteen small-boat crews for violating the rules about approaching Pearl Harbour.

The strategic justification for Oahu and Pearl Harbour is that it increases the westward reach of our Navy by 2,400 miles. Pearl Harbour is much closer to Tokyo than the suspected outlying Japanese bases in the Marshall Islands are to San Francisco or Seattle.

Oahu is fringed on all sides with coral reefs that extend far out to sea. These reefs are exceedingly dangerous. . . . Honolulu Harbour and Pearl Harbour have openings that have been dredged and dynamited to permit the entrance of big ships. But these entrances are easily covered from the gun emplacements on Diamond Head (to the east of Honolulu) and from the forts that line the approaches to Pearl Harbour.

Pearl Harbour reaches into the island of Oahu like an opened hand, the channel to its wide and safe anchorage being analogous to a long, thin wrist. Outside the headlands the channel is protected on the flanks by the jagged coral reefs. And the island of Oahu itself is protected by two saw-toothed mountain ranges. Between these ranges is a trough, where pineapples are grown. For the military standpoint the trough gives the defending forces on Oahu the advantages of interior lines : they can sit in the centre and swing up to the crest of either mountain range in a hurry should invading ships be slighted.

The army is present in Hawaii to defend Pearl Harbour in case the fleet is needed in other waters. The officers and men—a bigger concentration than exists anywhere else under the U. S. Flag—means that one-tenth of our present army is on the island of Oahu.

Literature, the Mirror of Life

Srimati Sarojini Naidu lectured at Bombay to a capacity audience on February 3rd, under the presidency of the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, R. P. Masani. She dwelt upon the special importance, in the present chaos, of literature as a creator of fellowship. We quote from *The Indian P. E. N.* :

When all that was builded up by centuries of dreams of the dreamers, by sacrifice, renunciation and achievement, is being destroyed . . . it becomes the function of the writers, because words can never be destroyed, to keep alive the flame of genius, to keep undimmed the vision and the hope, to uphold, before the eyes of a despairing world, the dream of a new world to be builded up by the writers and the poets of the world. Even when the whole of Europe was under threat of

destruction, when waves of hatred were passing across the face of the world, the writers of many different countries, meeting in Latin America, declared that they had nothing to do with the creed of hatred, with the breaking up of civilisation, and proclaimed as a living creed the international fellowship of those of all nations and races who will not let the world die if words can save it. And what can save the world save words?

She spoke of the great books which are the heritage of India.

The ideas which the great Epics enshrined were not original with their authors but drawn out of the dream of the people of those times. "The wind must blow before the æolian harp makes music." Poets cannot be independent of their age and their surroundings. The writer cannot create out of nothing. Whatever he writes about is drawn from life, "life made eternal by the magic glamour of his words." If we want to know a period it is not to the historian that we go but to the living word that recreates the past.

The purpose of literature, is not only to add to knowledge but also to make a great affirmation of the unity of human life, of human fellowship, no matter how much at variance, how much in conflict, the outer differences may be.

That is the purpose of literature, to give, irrespective of nation and creed, the sense of fellowship with every great thought, great word and great deed in the world.

And the fellowship of writers has to be more than international; they have to be for all times, not limited to their own generation.

The minds must be one though the tongues may be many; the message must be one, though the forms may be many, fellowship must be one though human experience may vary. And that is the purpose of the written word.

Sir Stafford Cripps' Indian Visit

In the course of an article on Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to India in *The Twentieth Century* Dr. M. R. Jayakar observes:

The present war situation is however such that Indians realise that they alone can defend India, provided they are convinced that in doing so they are fighting their way to their own freedom. We often hear that even without Indians' willing co-operation, England is obtaining India's best support in men material and money. No less a person than the Duke of Devonshire, who occupies the responsible and exalted office of Under-Secretary of State for India, has voiced this heresy. No foreign country ruling over India can obtain the best out of her people, except with their willing co-operation and in the ultimate achievement of victory their moral support is worth a great deal more than their men and money. The spectacle of the noble resistance offered by the Filipinos in the face of heavy odds, contrasted with the debacle at Singapore and Malaya, illustrates this obvious fact. It has recently come to light that nearly eight lakhs of Indians desired to form an armed volunteer corps in Malaya in defence of the land. The proposal was turned down, when every resident there, the pigment in whose skin was less than theirs, was allowed to bear arms. In a recent issue, the London *Times* observed that "India was in about the state of military preparedness she was in eighteen months ago."

Time after time, the offer of Indians to form an armed Home-Guard Corps has been ruthlessly turned down. The most recent illustration

is the Hon. Dr. Kunzru's resolution in the Council of State rejected by Government.

The Commander-in-Chief offered the excuse that there was not a sufficient number of instructors nor sufficient equipment to promote such a step. It was a disingenuous plea, as he must have known. In times of need, such as India is now passing through, the beginning has to be made with insufficient implements and materials. Is it not now well-known that, in certain self-governing countries forming a part of the British Commonwealth, in the absence of an adequate supply of fire-arms, citizen armies had to be trained with the aid of broomsticks and that in London itself, when Mr. Eden began his endeavour of L. D. V., no less a person than His Majesty the King offered his help by putting at Mr. Eden's disposal his private store of fire-arms to make up the deficiency?

It hurts the Indian citizen to be told, in and out of season, that he will not be permitted to bear arms, when he knows that certain Indian communities, for the mere fact that they have a whiter skin and claim a kind of ancestral connection with Britain, are allowed to enlist in large numbers. One sees, in recent times, members of such communities boastfully strutting about in khaki uniforms, trying to exact a kind of servile admiration from less fortunate Indians. Confronted on all sides with such a humiliating spectacle, the Indian naturally asks himself: "Are race *hauteur* and exclusiveness still the guiding principles of British rule, and is it so, in spite of all that has happened in Malaya and Burma? Does the British Government in India still believe in complexion being a passport to valour and courage?" I have not found anything so injurious to Indian self-respect as to be told that, when the contingency arises, Indians would be defended by white men and not by their brown brethren, that, when the Indians' hearths and homes, wives and sisters are threatened with attack, England will arm none but white men to defend them. This is carrying the theory of the white man's burden to the extreme of a ridiculous superstition. It hurts the Indian in the tenderest spot.

It was a cruel thing to disarm India 150 years ago. It was still more cruel to keep alive that embargo during intervening years, but it is the cruellest joke that, even when the enemy is knocking at India's door and all phantasies about the white man being superior in valour and courage are being daily exploded and torn to pieces by recent occurrences, the British Government in India still fondly clings to these worn-out heresies.

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Japan's Preparation

The New Review observes:

Japan prepared her war with cunning sagacity and technical skill; she had rehearsed and perfected her tactics and weapons in the China Incident, she had drilled her soldiers with Spartan austerity, she timed her attack with treacherous alertness. An analysis of the military factors of her successes may teach us many a lesson and also dissipate a fatalist impression of their being invincible.

First of all, Japan has up to now enjoyed the advantage of having inner lines of communications; she attacked neighbouring countries, British and American troops have to reach far away battlefields and move along outer lines. Japan's advantage is, however, not so great as Italy's in Libya which she can reach in a few days whilst English ships have to go round the Cape so that in one year an Italian ship can dump on the Libyan coast as much as ten British ships. One must also note that Japan timed her attack for a moment when a recent renewal of the submarine campaign cut down the Allied shipping resources for the time being.

On the other hand, Japan profited by the element of initial surprise which hampered a prompt Allied countermove, brought her forces on the battle-fields of her choice and gave her the initiative of imposing her strategic plan. She also kept the advantage of unity in Command which the Allies took time to attempt and which they could not fully realise all along the line.

A third factor of the Japanese success lies in the extraordinary mobility of their shock troops in land operations. These troops have been picked with care (between 300,000 and 500,000) and trained with totalitarian harshness. They do away with anything that can embarrass their movements, they reduce their clothing, commissariat and equipment to bare necessaries, they rely on lightning marches through impossible places. Such a mobility yields best results on islands which can be invaded from many points at a time and against fronts which are not continuous; it can be counter-checked with success on continental tracts of land. Moreover, it has failed to break through compact defence works such as General MacArthur planned and executed in the Bataan Peninsula.

Thanks to their treacherous surprise, their inner lines of communication, their extreme mobility, the Japanese could always choose their battlefields, impose their plan, and throw in more men and material, better trained men and more suitable material than the Allies; they did so because the same factors allowed them to secure local mastery on sea and in the air. Their success do not lend support to the fancy that they are invincible or that they have uniformly superior equipment; on the other hand, their fleet and air force have shattered any complacent contempt of them. Their *Zero Fighters* are formidable weapons to which insufficiently protected bombers will succumb and they proved superior to most of the Allied fighters which were available in the Far East up to early March. Their Navy is also stronger, faster and better armed than was generally supposed. 'The Little Men of the East' are redoubtable adversaries.

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Automobile Industry in India

But for the Government's attitude the army would have now got supplies of the country's own motor vehicles. In the course of an article under the above caption *Science and Culture* observes:

The present helpless situation with regard to a vital war industry has been precipitated in such a manner and during such a period as will be of benefit neither to England nor to India. In the belligerent countries, a large number of motor car factories have been converted into workshops for the manufacture of armaments and general military stores. Britain for two years after the close of the war may not be able to re-equip all her factories for the manufacture of motor vehicles. And when she begins to manufacture on the old scale, she will have to supply her own wants first before she is able to export. Germany and other continental manufacturers for the same reason may not be able to export automobiles for another five years. The United States of America is the only country which will benefit by the present impasse. American manufacturers are increasing their assembly plants in India. A certain truck manufacturing company of America is, it is rumoured, taking steps to set up a plant for the manufacture of

commercial trucks in this country. An American firm, the Firestone Tyre Manufacturing Company, has just started a tyre factory in Bombay. There is already the Dunlop Tyre Company with their factory near Calcutta.

Government refusal to help has meant not only a distinct economic and strategic loss to the country but also sacrifice of a singularly favourable opportunity for establishing the industry.

In normal times motor vehicles are sold in India at more than double the actual cost of production in the country of manufacture. During and for two or three years after the war the prices are likely to soar much higher.

The necessity of a policy has been forgotten by our rulers when troublous times are gone. The policy need not be a long-term one; what is wanted is the intensity of feeling for a real drive. The statement of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, that production of automobiles was not desirable at the present moment in India, appears to betray the sentiment that he is more afraid of the manufacture of automobiles in India by Indians than of a foreign aggression. The attitude of the British Government would be amply clear from the following statement by Mr. Arthur Moore, editor of the *Statesman*. "Last year when I pleaded with him (Lord Beaverbrook) in London to let us have, or at least to let the Americans send us machine tools and experts to build up belated war industry in the East, and to send us aircraft for training on a large scale, he replied in a short sentence of six words and thirteen letters which I shall never forget. He said, 'I'd be mad to do it!' It sounded like a knell in my ears. I knew then that I was listening to the death sentence of many brave men."

Is Dispensing Manufacturing ?

S. N. Biswas observes in the *Indian Eastern Chemist* :

The registration of dealers under the Sales Tax Act has been going on. Some dispensing chemists and druggists have been registered as manufacturers. According to Concise Oxford Dictionary, "Manufacture" means "Work up (material) for use, produce (articles) by labour especially on large scale." Manufacture is making of finished goods such as shoes, furniture, dresses, clothes, etc. The word manufacture both in its connotation and denotation, conveys to the mind the sense of large scale production and repetition of the same process or processes over and over again. Dispensing is individualist work. Dr. George L. Webster of the Illinois College of Pharmacy, in an article in the 15th August, 1940, issue of the *N. A. R. D. Journal*, declares that as a practitioner of his profession the pharmacist is an individualist. "This is necessary by the very nature of his service," he says, "just as each prescription written by a physician is an individual medication for a particular set of symptoms, so each prescription filled by the pharmacist demands his immediate personal supervision. The filling of prescriptions cannot be done on an assembly line. Each represents a special problem demanding the full attention of the individual from its beginning until it is ready for the patient. That is to say, pharmacists or our Indian chemists and druggists are individualists like other professional men. In the above quotation mark the words, "individual medication," "immediate personal supervision," "not on an assembly line," "special problem," etc.

Manufacture is mass production in which assembling or the joining together of different parts of an article produced by machinery is involved.

Dispensing is individual work, it is part and parcel of pharmaceutics or pharmaceutical chemistry. It has been confound with manufacturing because the professional character of the work has been lost sight of. We earnestly appeal to Mr. E. W. Holland, the Commercial Tax Commissioner, for having this question thrashed out before retail dispensing chemists and druggists are made liable to pay the Sales Tax, solely on the ground of their being considered as manufacturers.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Why are Indians so Poor?

S. Chandrasekhar writes in part in the *Asia*:

To my way of thinking the issue is neither one of underpopulation nor overpopulation but purely one of poverty—the crux of the Indian economic problem. I am all in favour of cultivating the small family habits. But, greatly welcome as a reduction of the birth rate would be, any undue and disproportionate insistence on such a factor would be side-tracking the real issue of the very low level of living of the Indian people. This poverty is, of course, not due to any apparent increase in numbers, but is the result of underproduction and maldistribution, which are an intregal part of the badly organized, imperialist-cum-capitalist exploitation of the country. A chronic state of underemployment, unemployment and an inequitable mode of distribution are the keynotes to that economic system. And, poverty being the core of the problem, what then is the remedy? Is it in the reduction of numbers or is it in better production and a better system of economic development? If, as the foregoing analysis suggests, the population problem is one of underproduction and maldistribution, why is there no attempt made to solve it?

Obviously, no such attempt could be made; for any such real and perhaps radical approach to the problem would be bound to come into conflict with the *status quo*—the existing politico-economic system that fetters India. The British Government by following for a century and a half a general system of ill-balanced taxation and feudal land revenue policy; by destroying handicrafts and village industries, leaving the peasant unemployed for four months in the year without any subsidiary occupation; by denying for decades India's right to foster indigenous enterprise; by economic devices such as "imperial preference"; by undue help to British interests to acquire predominance in Indian economic life; by a top-heavy bureaucratic administration; by setting up a high scale of salaries to members of the imperial services, mostly of British birth and domicile; by maintaining an expensive army to fight Britain's foreign wars at the expense of the Indian taxpayer; by regularly "draining" India's wealth for what are called "Home charges"; by creating conditions that cause conflict among different sections of India's population; by all the devious and diverse requirements of the British Finance Capital; and, above all, by bringing about a psychological sense of inferiority resulting in a feeling of frustration—has been responsible for the distressing state of affairs in the economic lives of India's teeming millions.

Added to these, of course, on the other side, are the evil social customs and obscurantist religious beliefs which, apart from the general harmful effects, cost the Indian people in terms of dollars quite a bit.

Fighting Fish of Siam

The following paragraphs are reproduced here from *The News Review*:

No other fish holds a position analogous to that of the little fighting fish of Siam.

The fights between these fish, which are held under recognised rules and are superintended by qualified umpires, are still as popular there today as was cock-fighting in this country a hundred years ago.

The fish fights are promoted with time-honoured pomp and ceremony. The *ring* consists of a glass bowl suspended from a rafter so that it swings some 4 ft. from the floor. The promoters, backers, bookies, touts, arrange themselves round the bowl, seated on benches or cushions, while deck-chairs accommodate the non-professional patrons of this sport.

The fight itself is sufficiently lurid apart from the general pandemonium which rages while it is in progress. The contestants are placed by means of small nets in the *ring* and almost instantly they engage.

With gill-covers and every fin fully extended, the belligerents close with each other, each tearing the rival's fins to tatters, so that at the close of a round even the winner is seldom able to fight again, and is only fit to be relegated to the stud.

The fighting fish is exceedingly hardy, and flourishes in almost stagnant water. It is 2 in. to 3 in. long, and the male exhibits brilliant metallic colourings which become greatly intensified under any unusual stimulus, such as the presence of a rival male.

The fighting fish's courtship is of a tempestuous nature. The male glows with vivid tints as though illuminated from within; the large gill-covers are extended at right angles to the head, and the vivid red gills become much in evidence. Thus displayed, he flaunts his charms before the female, showing feverish desire to win her approbation.

Should she be backward in succumbing to his charms, he seizes her fins or chases her with such fury that she may even leap out of the water in her efforts to evade him. As a rule, however, she eventually succumbs to his fiery brandishments, which, however, are not usually indulged in until he has prepared a home or, at least, a cradle for his prospective bride.

Once a male attains to months of discretion—and pugnacity—the slightest stimulus will rouse his fighting spirit. Not only the proximity of another male, but a mirror, watch-glass, or even a white handkerchief may make the tiny pugilist see red, and display ferocious and dauntless courage worthy of a better cause.

[Condensed from the *Mirror*, Auckland, New Zealand.]

China

Reviewing the present position of China, determined to resist Japanese aggression and enduring over five years of bitter war, attended by all the horrors of invasion, the *International Review of Missions* observes in part:

The invasion of Russia by Germany and the Japanese move southward have tended to help China. It is now plainer than ever that the Chinese resistance is vital to the whole cause of freedom, and an alignment of the U. S. A., the British Commonwealth, Russia and China may well be held to offer the surest hope for the future. One effect of the German attack

on Russia and of British help to Russia has been to destroy in the minds of the younger Chinese intelligentsia the widespread notion (derived from the Marxian analysis) that the war in Europe was a mere struggle between "capitalist imperialisms."

Inspite of outside help, which was very limited, the Chinese people has had to endure much privation and suffering. But calamities have in no way lessened their determination to fight until freedom is regained. The same journal writes :

The heroism of the Chinese ought not to obscure the extent of their suffering. In spite of the occupation of the ports, China has received a steady flow of material along the Burma road—now a main life-line —and from Russia, while as much material as from these two sources combined has come by devious routes through the Japanese blockade and even from Japanese sources. But prices have rocketed, and there is widespread destitution. The cost of living in many regions is ten or twelve times above the figure of 1936, while wages have risen perhaps two—or three-fold. A worker can barely feed himself, with nothing over for his family. The Generalissimo took stern measures in regard to food hoarding.

France from Inside

The collapse of France was attributed by Marshal Petain to "too few children, too few arms, too few allies." Peter Kline, who is an Englishman and who was in France, from May, 1940 till August, 1941, in an article in *The Month* gives his personal impressions and reflections. He writes in part :

The kaleidoscopic shift and whirl of successive French Cabinets, which culminated in the over-precipitate, unsettling zeal for social reform of the Popular Front, accompanied by the gravest civil disorders and a rapid decline of patriotic sentiment among the masses, had left wounds and disease in the body politic of France that were not to be healed by two years' slightly firmer handling under Daladier. The most profound element of weakness, throughout the first third and more of the century, was certainly the growth of irreligion and laicism, and an increasing abandonment of the Absolute.

At the opening of France's battle, only about 15 per cent. of the inadequate number of planes she possessed had been produced since the declaration of war.

What was worse than this disorder and indiscipline of the French troops under the demoralization of continued retreat, was their lack of stomach for fighting, as a general body, from the very start. The greater part were unconvinced, indifferent and irresolute, resigned to defeat even before they had given battle, and uncommonly relieved when it was all over.

It does not seem to be true that the officers were worse than the men, or vice versa; sometimes a regiment would find itself abandoned by its officers, sometimes in spite of all their officers' efforts, the men would practically refuse to fight and be glad to surrender. Yet the Armistice stunned France into a moment of incredulous silence, as though men had really believed victory possible without fighting for it.

What surprised me more than anything was the degree of fairmindedness towards the Germans. The order given them, and sternly enforced, to behave well in France, was a true stroke of genius. French peasants were further impressed by the organization and energy of the German troops, and their relative simplicity of diet; by the iron discipline, yet the general spirit of comradeship between junior officers and men when off duty; by their good pay.

There was much perplexity about the British. Why had they given France so little support ?

So few Frenchmen had seen our troops at all : and we seemed to them to have used our Air Force chiefly to safeguard our final withdrawal. The Dunkirk evacuation was exploited to the full by the Germans, immediately in control of press and radio.

In those early days a good deal of anti-British as of anti-Belgian feeling, supported by various accusations of treachery, was understandable as an attempt to shift some of the load of guilt on to other shoulders.

Now they wanted only peace and quiet, and the restoration of order; they were happy to be out of it with whole skins, and so few killed. The war was as good as over, anyhow: and God help the unmilitary English if France could fall so easily! The peasants got good money from the Germans for what was requisitioned; the women only wanted their prisoners back.

People were becoming less critical of Petain's Government, especially after learning that the economic situation in the "unoccupied" zone was as harsh as their own, if not worse. Following on the arrest and dismissal of Laval (the best-hated man in France after Hitler and Mussolini), appreciation of Petain rose to positive enthusiasm, as this seemed proof of his energy, his actual power and his determination to resist all

Quisling activity. About Christmas, 1940, three and a half million portraits of the Marshal were sold in one day's drive in Paris. This considerable support for Petain was natural: men must have some focus for loyalty and some incarnation of their hopes; and the old soldier who was given chief credit for nursing his country through the black months of 1917 might prove—who knew ?—more than a French Hindenburg in France's defeat. Confidence in the Marshal—often with explicit distrust of Vichy—remained widespread in the occupied zone at least till the French resisted in Syria and failed to in Indo-China.

There seems to have been as much misconception on this side of the Channel as, at first, in France itself, about the truth of the term "unoccupied." Actually the press, the wireless, the very text of laws and decrees, are all subject to German censorship, directly or indirectly. In practice the whole economic life of France, including her finance, is also at the Nazis' mercy. Completely open control by officials in German uniform is exercised only at seaports and airports and in general for the execution of the strict armistice terms. But "unoccupied" France swarms with German agents. A year ago a competent authority estimated that there were two thousand women agents and one thousand men working in Lyons alone.

The Germans have gained much by not allowing the degree of their control to appear, and by cowing the French Government into complete official silence on the matter. After five months of armistice Petain was still saying to visitors from the provinces: "Tell your friends that I am not free. The Germans do not ask: they command."

War-time Street Lighting

In a lecture delivered before the Royal Society of Arts, Mr. J. S. Dow, B.Sc., A. C. G. I., F. I. E. S., made some valuable observation on War-time street lighting. The following paragraphs are reproduced here from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.

Some useful experience had been gained during the last great war. The methods of screening existing street lamps first adopted produced a cone of light and a spalsh of brightness under the lamps and dense obscurity in between. It was largely as a result of an observation balloon trip taken by our President at that time, Mr. A. P. Trotter, that the drawbacks of such methods, which resulted in a multitude of points of light almost as visible from above as the actual street lamps, were realised.

The conditions to be met in the present circumstances were evident : (1) fittings should be so designed that no light was emitted above the horizontal; (2) the illumination should be evenly distributed between posts; and (3) the illumination should not exceed a certain maximum, still to be determined. The determination of the third factor, which involved prolonged experiment, was the crux of the problem. What was the hightest illumination that could safely by permitted for general use in the streets? And would this illumination, necessarily very low, prove of any substantial value?

It was ultimately decided that the order of illumination furnished by the now-familiar war-time street lighting or "synthetic starlight" (approximating to 0·0002 foot-candles) could be provided with safety. Although the amenity-value of this very low illumination was naturally very much less than that derived from the higher values previously mentioned (0·002 and 0·02 ft.-c.), it was still found to be of substantial utility. It is true that when the very much higher illumination of moonlight (0·01 to 0·02 ft.-c). is available its effect is but small, but on very dark nights there is all the difference in the world between "synthetic star light" and complete obscurity—and, as will appear later, it is on such nights that some degree of artificial lighting is most vitally needed.

Complete dark-adaptation of the eye is only attained slowly, and may be greatly impaired by a momentary flash of light. Hence the need for a period of at least several minutes, in order to enable the eye to function properly when one passes from a brightly lit interior into the external darkness, the importance of avoiding flashes from incautiously directed torches, and the need to keep the brightness of direction-signs below a certain level, which under conditions of war-time street lighting appears to be in the neighbourhood of 0·1 equivalent foot candles. Another peculiarity of the dark-adapted eye is that the centre of the retina is relatively insensitive so that one cannot see with certainty objects subtending an angle of less than 2 to 3 degrees at the eye. Vision is effected mainly by the peripheral region of the retina so that often—like birds—we see objects most clearly with averted gaze.

All these circumstances need to be taken into consideration in arranging matters in our streets so as to get the best value from war-time street lighting. Of outstanding importance is the accentuation of contrasts between objects and background, for under these "twilight" conditions an object of quite substantial size which reflects only 20 or 30 per cent. less light than the adjacent roadway may easily escape recognition. Such devices as the whitening of kerbs and the trunks of trees on sidewalks are therefore extremely useful, and the idea might well be more extensively practised, especially at important crossings, safety islands, roundabouts, etc. One step which we can all of us take—and which we have all of us from time to time been urged by the authorities to take—is to increase the contrast between ourselves and our background by wearing or carrying some white object of substantial size when using the streets by night.

It has naturally been a difficult experience for people to adapt themselves to such conditions, which have served to increase very greatly the normal hazards of the streets. The records of two years of war, during which about 20,000 people have been killed on the roads of Britain, surely, therefore, deserve study.

The only possible explanation of this difference in the experiences of pedestrians and "other road users" is that the latter carry lights whilst the former in general do not. So long as the present conditions relating to motor headlights and street lighting remain, the first step that suggests itself is intensive education of the pedestrian so that he may realise better the risks of darkness and can be induced either to wear or carry some white object of substantial size or—better still—carry a torch, constantly directed downwards, when crossing the roadway.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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Prabasi Press. Calcutta.

SIVA AND PARVATI
By Nihar Ranjan Sengupta

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE  1942

VOL. LXXI, No. 6 WHOLE No. 426

NOTES

"Free India Now"

Unity of Chicago, edited by John Haynes Holmes, has for its motto "Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion." It is fitting that its last March number bears on its front cover the following paragraph from the pen of Curtis W. Reese, its managing editor:

FREE INDIA NOW

The dictates of national self-preservation, military strategy, and political integrity require that Great Britain free India now. For complete victory over the Axis the United Nations need the full cooperation of India. This cooperation can be had by the stroke of a pen. This act of plain justice and common sense might save the allied cause irretrievable disaster in the Orient. The larger strategy of democracy is involved. Let there be no further delay. The time to free India is now.

Curtis W. Reese

"Japan for the Japanese": Why Not India for the Indians

WASHINGTON, May 21.

"Japan for the Japanese" was the new slogan evolved by today's 90-minute Pacific War Council meeting at the White House.

The Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Nash, described the meeting as "the most interesting ever held" when he smilingly revealed the slogan adopted by the Council.—*Reuter*.

The evolving of the 'new slogan' "Japan for the Japanese" is like pouring oil over oily heads, as we say, or like sending coal to New Castle, as Englishmen say. For it is an accomplished fact that Japan is for the Japanese. The Japanese do not depend on any foreign slogan for the international recognition of that fact. What Mr. Nash perhaps means is that the Japanese must be contented with the possession of Japan and must not cast covetous eyes on other countries!

Why does not some white Minister evolve the slogan "India for the Indians." Perhaps because it would not be a truism like "Japan for the Japanese," or because the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India, or because treading on British corns is not a paying proposition.

The Viceroy on National War Front

"We must achieve unity and action and we must combine them in a spirit of attack. Passive defence or masterly withdrawals, forced on us as they are at times, do not win wars. Let us attack our work, attack the rumour-monger attack the defeatist. We must make our front an attacking front, and think always in terms of the offensive."

This is one of the many spirited passages in a broadcast on the National War Front given by the Viceroy from All-India Radio, Delhi, on May 7th last.

We should all indeed attack our work, the work of defending the country and defeating the enemy. Rumour-mongers and defeatists should also be attacked, no doubt. But if anybody thinks that British defeats in Singapore, Malaya

or Burma were in the slightest degree due to the rumours set agoing by rumour-mongers or to the mentality of defeatists, or even to the use of big headlines by dailies, he is very much mistaken. The causes lie elsewhere.

After stating that

> The military and air strength of India is growing daily. Under a commander in whom we all have implicit confidence, our armed forces are going to give a good account of themselves against any attack that our enemy is able to launch.

His Excellency the Viceroy asked :

> What of the rest of us, the unarmed forces of the country ? Are we going to give a good account of ourselves ? Not, I suggest, unless we stand shoulder to shoulder and work actively for the common cause.

It is reassuring to learn that military and air strength is growing daily in India and that the armed forces here are going to give a good account of themselves against any attack that the enemy may be able to launch.

It was an act of great condescension on His Excellency's part to class himself with the unarmed people of India and use the pronoun "we" to refer to himself and them. For the real fact is that His Excellency most probably possesses some arms; but if not, he can arm himself at any time he likes. That is not the case with the vast unarmed masses of India.

As for standing shoulder to shoulder, those like the Britishers in India whose political status and stature are that of free men cannot stand shoulder to shoulder with Indians whose political status and stature are that of bondsmen. When we say this we do not mean that Indians in general, including Congressmen, need not co-operate with the Government in its war effort. We have made our position clear in this matter in another note in this issue.

The Viceroy proceeded to observe :

> I have often heard it said lately, "We are unarmed; what can we do ? Let Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man." Well, here is my answer to that. Were the people of Great Britain armed in June, 1940 ? Were the people of Russia armed in June, 1941 ? During the long agony of China have ordinary men had arms in their hands ? The answer is "No." The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign.
>
> The activities of irregular bands operating behind an enemy's advancing line can be of very great value provided they are fully trained for this most exacting task. This phase of warfare is being developed and will be more fully developed as arms become available. Meanwhile, the position is that the expansion of the regular army proceeds apace, and we put no limit on it. We require therefore for fully trained soldiers all the modern arms that are available.
>
> What then can we, the unarmed forces of the country, do ? Let me remind you of what General Wavell has said : That of the elements which contribute to success in modern war, the spirit of the people is the most important. That is our responsibility, yours and mine, and that is why I invite you again to join together in building a national war front.
>
> I do not care whether we spell this with capital letters; I do not care, in fact, what we call it. We all know what it means, a united determination, transcending all racial, religious and political differences, to stand up and stand together to defend the things we have and hope to have and to make sure that they shall never be so threatened again.

We need not enter into details. But we cannot appreciate the Viceroy's attempt to convince the Indian public that the position of the people in the matter of possessing, carrying and using arms is and has been the same in India, Britain, Russia and China and all other countries. His answer is unconvincing.

By the by, why did he mention the two dates "June 1940" and "June 1941" ? What is the state of things in Great Britain and Russia now ?

It may or may not be an historical fact that "the mass of the people have *never* carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign," but it *is* a fact that the people of free countries possess and have possessed *the right to carry arms*. This is not the case with the people of India under British rule.

We should like to know what is being actually done to train and arm "irregular bands operating behind an enemy's advancing line."

If the Japanese invade India, they are likely to attack Assam and Bengal first. But we do not know what the authorities are doing to arm and train the people of these provinces in guerrilla warfare.

The spirit of the people is no doubt the most important element which contributes to success in modern war. But there is a vital difference between the spirit of a free people and that of a subject people. No academic argument is needed to bring out this difference. Very recent events have demonstrated this difference. The free people of the Philippines have displayed a spirit in defending their motherland against the Japanese which the subject peoples of the Dutch East Indies, of Malaya and of Burma have not displayed.

We are for "a united determination, transcending all racial, religious and political differences, to stand up and stand together to defend the things we have and hope to have and to make sure that they shall never be threatened again." The Viceroy has, we believe, some power to bring about conditions which would favour the growth of such a determination. May it be hoped that he will exercise that power to the full ?

The Main A.-I. C. C. Resolution

The following is the text of the main resolution which was passed at the last session of the All-India Congress Committee:

"In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India and the attitude of the British Government as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All-India Congress Committee has to declare afresh India's policy and to advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future.

The proposal of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps have led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown.

They have demonstrated that even in this hour of danger not only to India but to the cause of the United Nations, the British Government functions as an Imperialist Government and refuses to recognise the independence of India or to part with any real power.

India's participation in the war was a purely British act imposed upon the Indian people without the consent of their representatives. While India has no quarrel with the people of any country, she has repeatedly declared her antipathy to Nazism and Fascism as to Imperialism. If India were free, she would have determined her own policy and might have kept out of the war, though her sympathies, would in any event have been with the victims of aggression. If, however, circumstances had led her to join the war, she would have done so as a free country fighting for freedom, and her defence would have been organised on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership and with intimate contacts with the people. A Free India would know how to defend herself in the event of any aggressor attacking her.

The present Indian army is in fact an offshoot of the British army and has been maintained till now mainly to hold India in subjection. It has been completely segregated from the general population, who can in no sense regard it as their own.

FOREIGN ARMIES IN INDIA

The essential differences between the imperialist and the popular conceptions of defence is demonstrated by the fact that, while foreign armies are invited to India for that defence, the vast manpower of India herself is not utilised for the purpose. India's past experience teaches her that it is harmful to her interest and dangerous to her cause of freedom to introduce foreign armies in India. It is significant and extraordinary that India's inexhaustible manpower should remain untapped, while India develops into a battle ground between foreign armies fighting on her soil or her frontiers, and her defence is not supposed to be a subject fit for popular control.

India resents this treatment of her people as chattels to be disposed of by foreign authority.

The A.-I. C. C. is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis as well as the experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain even in a partial measure British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of that nation may be. In case an invasion takes place it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation, as the British Government has prevented the organisation of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would, therefore, expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them.

We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and our fields, we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist him.

In places wherein the British and the invading forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. Not to put any obstacle in the way of British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invader. Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference.

The success of such a policy of non-co-operation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

Comments on the A.-I. C. C. Resolution

It is the last four paragraphs of the A.I.C.C. resolution which call for a few words of comment. We agree with the Committee in all that has been said in the previous paragraphs.

The Committee say :

"In case an invasion takes place, it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation, as the British Government has prevented the organization of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would, therefore, expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them."

The question is, by what means and methods and with what object is invasion to be resisted. Of course, the people of India should not and will not assist the invaders in any way. But, if the Japanese invade India in order to conquer and occupy it, they will not do so in the expectation of receiving any assistance from the people of India. They invaded and have taken possession of Singapore, the Philippines, Malaya, and parts of Burma without expecting and receiving any help from the people thereof. Therefore, not helping the Japanese, which may be called negative resistance at the best, will not be sufficient 'resistance' to Japanese invasion. There must be some positive and active form of resistance. "Complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces". is obviously not such a positive and active form of resistance. As no one can think of going out of India by land,

ocean or air to offer non-violent non-co-operation to the invading Japanese forces, members of the Congress and persons who are under their influence can non-violently non-co-operate with the Japanese only after the latter are on Indian soil and have occupied parts of it. But the *first and foremost object of resistance to invasion* should be and is to prevent the invaders from setting foot on our soil. As non-violent non-co-operation with them can begin only after their setting foot on and occupying our soil, it cannot obviously prevent them from doing so.

It is clear then that the *first and foremost object of resistance to invasion* cannot be gained by non-violent non-co-operation with the invaders. Non-violent non-co-operation cannot prevent the Japanese from marching into India along a land route across the Assam-Burma frontier, or from bringing soldiers into India by means of aeroplanes, or from landing troops from ships. For preventing invasion in these ways land armies, air forces and war vessels are required. A resolution offering from a distance non-violent non-co-operation with the invaders is not a substitute for a land army, air squadrons and a navy. The mere fear, if any, of Congress non-violent non-co-operation will not deter Japan from doing what she has set her heart upon.

The resolution proceeds to say :

> "We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and our fields, we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist him."

"The effort to resist him" would seem to imply use of physical force of some sort. That would certainly lead to bloodshed, and considering the kind of arms, if any, which we are likely to have to resist the Japanese after they have occupied any part of the country, we are likely to be worsted in the fight. The Japanese can occupy any part of India only after defeating the army of the Government of India. Therefore, for resisting any orders or actions of the invaders, we would have to depend solely on ourselves and our own arms, if any.

Not to bend the knee to the aggressor nor to obey his orders are heroic resolves well worthy of the men and women of sterling patriotism that Congress leaders are or should be. That they would not look to him for favours or fall to his bribes, is only to be expected. It may also be taken for granted that they would refuse to part with their homes and fields even at the risk of losing their lives. The question is, whether such heroic attitude and behaviour on the part of some hundreds or thousands or even of hundreds of thousands of patriots would lead the Japanese to depart from the country or any part of it occupied by them.

The Nazis of Europe have not hesitated to commit mass murders of thousands and hundreds of thousands of the civilian population of countries occupied by them to gain their ends. We do not know if the Nazis of Asia would be less ruthless and more humane *in India* : less ruthless and more humane they have not been *in China*, according to the accounts of their atrocities given by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and other Chinese authorities. It may be said that the Chinese are offering violent resistance to the Japanese and hence, the latter are so ruthless, but that if Indians were to offer non-violent non-co-operation, the Japanese would be more humane in India. We do not know what grounds there are for such an assumption. In any case, the choice before the Japanese would be between humanely withdrawing from India because of Congress non-violent non-co-operation and inhumanly and barbarously staying on and keeping their hold on priceless India even at the cost of shedding the blood of hundreds of thousands or millions of peaceful non-co-operators.

We have said above that the first and foremost object of resistance to invasion is to prevent the invader from setting foot on the soil of our motherland. That object will not be gained by non-violent non-co-operation. Another main object of resistance to invasion is and should be the expulsion of the invader from our country even if he succeeds in capturing it or any part of it. We have ventured to experss the opinion that it is problematical if non-violent non-co-operation can lead to the self-denying withdrawal of the invader from a country or area captured by him. We would feign wish all success to all peaceful methods. But our wish is not yet a compelling faith. Of course, violent resistance, too, to the Japanese before and after they have set foot on Indian soil may fail. But there are precedents in past and contemporary history for such resistance being successful.

We have every respect for the A.-I. C. C. We had and have no desire to criticize their resolution in any captious spirit. But we are constrained to observe that their resolution, though entirely in consonance with Congress principles and India's self-respect, does not show us the way to any such resistance to invasion as may succeed in gaining the principal objects of resistance mentioned above by us.

Object of Government's War Effort

The A.-I. C. C. resolution says that even at this crisis the Government functions as an imperialist government and is unwilling to part with any power. Members of the Congress and all those who think with them, hold that even after the war the British Government is determined to function as an imperialist government.

Well then, the object of the British Government's war effort is to prevent the Nazis, the Fascists and the Japanese Militarists from snatching its empire in India from its hands and to continue to rule here as an imperialist government.

Objects of Indian Nationalists

What are the objects of the Congress and other Indian Nationalist bodies ? What do they desire ? They desire the defeat of Nazi, Fascist and Japanese Militarist aggression and the establishment of a free democratic popular government in India. There is one point of agreement between the objects of the British Government and those of Indian Nationalists, namely, the defeat of Nazi, Fascist and Japanese aggression. This defeat would appear to be more certain if the people of India co-operated with the Government's war effort; it may be uncertain in the absence of such co-operation. That is an argument in favour of co-operating with the Government's war effort. But such co-operation and its result, namely, victory to British arms, would also consolidate Britain's imperialist position which is the other object of the Government's war effort. So the probabilities are that the Indian people's co-operation with the Government's war effort may ensure the defeat of the aggressors as also the consolidation of British imperialism in India, whilst on the other hand the people's non-co-operation with the Government's war effort may ensure victory to the aggressor's arms and the establishment of some non-British imperialist despotism in India. Neither Britishers nor Indians want that the aggressors should succeed. They are united in wishing defeat to the aggressors. But Indians do not want any imperialism, British or non-British, whereas Britishers prefer British imperialism in India. So Indians have to choose between British imperialism or some kind of non-British imperialism. We do not mean any permanent choice or choice once for all. What we mean is that Indians should judge whether India would be able to gain freedom sooner and comparatively more easily under British imperialism than under Japanese or Japanese *cum* Nazi imperialism. We think that India would be free sooner and more easily under British rule than under any other rule, particularly as Britain will have to win this war with the help of such democracies as those of China, Russia and the United States of America, whose influence and moral pressure cannot but tell in favour of India's liberation. That does not mean that we desire or expect any foreign help to win freedom. That must be our own concern. It is *we* who must free ourselves.

At each fresh conquest of a country by some foreign power, it is subjected to fresh spoliation and barbarities. Victory to the United Nations' arms will prevent such spoliation and cruel oppression of India by the Japanese or Nazis.

All these considerations lead us to think that co-operating with the Government's war effort even at Government's own terms would not spell sheer absence of patriotism.

We know and believe that the heart of the people of India would be in the war effort only if they felt that they were fighting as free men. We also know that Congressmen feel that co-operation with the war effort of a Government which far from giving them control over the conduct of the war, does not give them any voice in it, involves sacrifice of self-respect. But when Congressmen accepted office, they compromised their self-respect. When they enjoy the protection of the police and the military forces of an imperialist government whose moral authority they do not acknowledge, they sacrifice their self-respect to some extent. When they derive their authority from that imperialist government in district boards and municipalities 'captured' by them, that, too, perhaps does not add to their sense of self-respect. So, co-operating with the Government's war effort on its own terms in the expectation of whatever advantage it may bring to India, may not be quite unpatriotic. Unmixed blessings are hard to obtain. Very often we have to choose between two evils, the greater and the less.

Vernalization of Seeds

Now that the "Grow More Food" campaign is being vigorously carried on in Bengal by the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker and others and in other provinces by others, all matters relating to scientific agriculture should receive prompt attention. The process of vernalization of seeds is such a matter. With reference to it Mr. B. Sen of the Vivekananda Laboratory, Almora, writes in *Indian Farming* in his very useful and interesting article on "Vernalization":

All plants can be cultivated in any given place, provided their requirements of water, temperature, light and food material can be adequately supplied. Each plant has its individual requirements of these various factors, and if they are known, and suitable arrangements are made for their supply, any plant can be raised anywhere. When only a few plants are concerned, control or supply of these factors by artificial means does not present any insurmountable difficulties. In fact, all modern agricultural research stations are equipped with such facilities. For practical agriculture, in which large-scale cultivation is carried on with millions of plants, modern scientific methods of drainage and irrigation can be made to provide the water requirements of different crops, and manuring will supply the necessary food materials. But artificial supply and control of temperature and light for crops standing in vast areas of open fields still remain beyond the range of practical possibilities.

In recent years, however, an indirect method for supplying at least the low-temperature requirements of winter crops has been practised with great success. The method is an indirect one, since the low temperature is supplied not to the plants themselves, growing in agricultural fields, but to the seeds, or seedlings, before they are sown. The ultimate result has been found to be similar. This pre-sowing treatment of seeds is now generally called *vernalization*.

Mr. Sen points out two advantages of the vernalization of seeds:

By the use of vernalized seeds two advantages have already been achieved for agriculture. First, an earlier winter crop has been harvested, and, secondly, it has been possible to raise some of the desirable varieties of winter crops, which could not otherwise be successfully cultivated, in regions and during seasons normally lacking the necessary low temperature.

Explaining 'vernalization,' Mr. Sen writes:

Vernalization literally means 'making spring-like.' It is a Latinized equivalent of the Russian term 'Jarovization,' and of the awkward English term 'springification.' In 1858, the American agriculturist, H. J. Klippart, published a report about his observation that if germinated seeds of winter wheat were kept for several months at ice temperature, the plants grown from these seeds would show habits of spring wheat, *i.e.*, after this treatment, the seeds could be sown in spring and would produce a crop before the winter of the same year. But this discovery did not find any wide agricultural application before 1928, when T. D. Lysenko, the Russian agronomist, put forward his theory of the Phasic Development of plants to explain the performances of vernalized seeds, and elaborated a technique of vernalization. Both the theory of the phasic development of plants and the agricultural possibilities of vernalised seeds have since aroused world-wide interest, alike among plant physiologists and agriculturists. Since 1932, vernalized seeds have been extensively used in Russian agriculture, and with striking success. A good deal of work on this subject has been carried out also in other parts of the world in recent years, both on the practical and theoretical aspects of vernalization. As yet, however, very little work on vernalization has been done in India.

In his article the writer briefly notices his own experiments with mustard, linseed, sweet peas and wheat, bringing home the results with interesting illustrations. In a concluding paragraph he observes:

The fact that in recent years the agricultural use of vernalized seeds has been a great success in Russia does not necessarily mean that similar results can be expected from their use in India. But it can be concluded that before the possibilities of vernalization can be evaluated for India, a good deal of preliminary work must be carried out in India itself. The success of the Russian experiment has been due primarily to the immense amount of research undertaken before the agricultural use of vernalized seeds was recommended. For selection of the suitable strains of wheat alone, more than 6,000 different varieties were duly vernalized and tried out in different wheat-growing territories of the U. S. S. R. This was necessary because the vernalization response of different strains of the same crop varies considerably, as has already been explained, and some strains do not respond to the treatment at all.

Mr. Sen concludes:

In Russia, any well-proved scientific agricultural discovery may have an excellent chance of being immediately utilized for practical purposes. Like everything else there, agriculture is also under complete State control. Only the quantity and the particular type of seeds for which 'passports' have been issued are allowed to be cultivated in any given region. But even under the radically different conditions of the Indian agricultural industry, all cultivators in this country would welcome an earlier harvest to mitigate in some measure the hazards of flood, drought and devouring insects. Some of the more enterprising cultivators would also be glad to explore the possibilities of raising new crops. It only remains to demonstrate for them in a practical manner that the crop from vernalized seeds equals or betters in yield and quality the normal harvest (which has already been proved in the case of mustard), and to establish that the cost of vernalized seeds can be kept within the Indian cultivator's budget.

Importance of Food In War-affected Lands

Mr. Roland Elliott, Executive Secretary of the National Student Y. M. C. A., has written in *Worldover Press* after a two months' trip in Europe:

To understand Europe today one needs a vivid realization of three basic factors: the increasingly serious shortage and diversion of food; the steady strengthening of a positive spiritual movement which is the antithesis of Nazism, and, the new situation created by Japan's attack on the U. S. A. and America's entry into the war.

"Food is the capital question." Only after ten days in France, having money that was absolutely useless to buy meat or eggs or milk because the shops had none, did I begin to know what that meant. To be hungry and cold, without the possibility of a satisfying meal or a fire, was a new experience for me. I now have a tiny glimmering of understanding of what it means for mothers to have children with colds that don't get well, with cuts and bruises that will not heal because there is no nourishing food; or for students who cannot write in unheated rooms and who have difficulty with eyes and concentration because they lack vitamins. The adult and infant mortality rate has increased by over 40 per cent. in the occupied and dominated zones.

Mexican Farms to Cultivate Lost Asiatic Products

MEXICO CITY.

Free land and long-term loans have been promised Mexican farmers by President Avila Camacho in a move to increase Mexico's production of essential agricultural products cut off from the Western Hemisphere by the war in the Far East. Farmers will be given free land and farm implements on credit in rich sections of the Pacific and Gulf Coasts on condition that they grow such crops as rubber, copra, cacao, olives and oil-bearing plants. Since some of these crops take several years to yield returns, the Mexican Government has offered loans up to 50 per cent. of the amount invested. These loans will be made through the National Farm Credit Bank, which was originally founded to furnish credit to the "ejidos" or co-operative farms. Most of the suggested products are easily adaptable to Mexican conditions, but have not been grown here to any large extent because of the impossibility of competing with Far Eastern sources. About 1,600,000 rubber trees are planted in the State of Veracruz, but production so far has been slight.—*Worldover Press.*

Honduras Acts to Increase Sugar Production

LA CEIBA, HONDURAS.

The sugar-producing province of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, is hard at work improving the quality of existing canefields and preparing large areas of suitable land for new cane plantations. It is hoped that the increased sugar production will cut down the large sugar imports that have been necessary in the past, and which have been a drain on the national economy. The enlarged sugar industry will also give employment to hundreds of needy Hondurans.—*Worldover Press.*

Plea For Sparing Ancient Monuments

LONDON, April 30.

"Experience shows the worthlessness of any agreement entered into by Hitler," said the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, when returning a negative answer to Mr. Hannah (Conservative), who had asked whether the Prime Minister would consider, through the International Red Cross or otherwise, attempting to arrange by tacit agreement, or in any other way, mutual forbearance to destroy ancient monuments of no military value.

Mr. Attlee added that it was already the policy of the British Government to avoid unnecessary damage to such monuments.

Mr. Hannah: "Is not the present condition of the world more utterly deplorable than at any time since the fall of the Empire of Rome?"

Mr. Attlee: "That opinion will be shared by a great number of people."—*Reuter.*

Why not attempt to arrange mutual forbearance to destroy ancient monuments of no military value, through Roerich Pact for preservation of cultural treasures?

First Hindi Literary Conference in Mauritius

The first Hindi Literary Conference in Mauritius was held in the town of Port Louis in December, 1941. It was held under the auspices of the Mauritius Hindi Pradharani Sabha. More than five thousand Indo-Mauritians attended it.

Many old manuscripts and books in Sanskrit and in the modern Indian languages were exhibited on the occasion. Thousands of Indo-Mauritians set their eyes on the four Vedas, the six Darshanas and other ancient sacred books for the first time. Indo-Mauritian artists exhibited their work, and the general impression was that, given the necessary training and encouragement, these artists would not be behindhand in reaching the standard of other and more fortunate artists of the island.

One or two of the most promising of the Indo-Mauritian artists should be sent to the Kalābhavan at Santiniketan for training.

Other Indo-Mauritan Cultural Endeavours

Sjt. Droopnath Ramphul of the Indian Cultural Association, Mauritius, writes to us from that island:

"I have much pleasure in sending under separate covers the last issue of our quarterly Review, *The Indian Cultural Review,* and a copy of the first Hindi drama published in Mauritius, *viz., Jeevan Sangini.* The author who is Sri Jaya Narayan Roy M.A., LL.B., is also a member of our association."

The Quarterly and the Hindi drama mentioned above have not been yet received. Sjt. Ramphul continues.:

"I take this opportunity to give you some idea of the recent happenings in the Island. It is interesting to see that the past few months have witnessed a general tendency towards the revival of Hindu Literature and Culture. The need of encouraging the study of Indian languages in the schools has been repeatedly stressed by the local Indian Press, and it is encouraging to note that even the Government is not indifferent to this important question. The proposed scheme for the revision of the present educational system in the Colony makes provision for the teaching of Indian Arts in the schools. A Hindu teacher has already been attached to the Royal College for the teaching of Hindu Philosophy.

"As the Assistant Programme Manager of the local Broadcasting Station, I have had the opportunity to do a great deal for the Indian population. A relay of the news from Delhi every morning helps the Indians to follow closely the course of events in the Mother Country. Daily programmes consisting of talks in Hindustani, Indian Music and other interesting features are broadcast. Special programmes are also broadcast on the occasion of all Hindu

festivals, including the anniversaries of Sri Ramakrishna and Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore.

"It is with much regret that you will note that since the beginning of the war, we have been completely deprived of your Review. Personally, I used to subscribe for a copy which was sent to the Royal College Library. I shall be pleased to know whether it is now possible to send the Review overseas."

International Interest in Indian Women's Cause

We are glad to read in *The Catholic Citizen* of London of the 15th February, 1942, received last month, that on December 31st, 1941, "Mrs. Corbett Ashby was able to broadcast a message of greeting to the All-India Women's Conference, when she spoke for eighteen representative women's organisations, including St. Joan's Alliance, besides the Liaison Group and the Women's Advisory Council on Indian affairs."

"Mrs. Corbett Ashby said how delighted we were at the opportunity to greet the Conference and that it compensated a little for our disappointment in not being with you in person."

"The Conference took place at Cocanada, Bay of Bengal. The most important resolution dealt with peace, declaring that a permanent peace cannot be achieved except through the principles of freedom and justice being made equally applicable to all races and nations. The Conference sanctioned a women's volunteer corps to look after women and children in case of war necessity. Regarding civil liberties it adopted a resolution demanding the preservation of the essential human liberties, including the rights of association, freedom of speech and religious worship, security for the Press and the individual, and protested against the curtailment of such liberties. The Conference had been responsible for the setting up of a Hindu Law Committee and endorsed its main recommendation, which was that the whole of Hindu law should be codified on the basis of the principle of equal rights and liabilities for men and women. Another noteworthy proposal was for the training of women social workers at some suitable centre like Allahabad.

"Mrs. Pandit in her presidential address declared that the Indian people were in full sympathy with the progressive forces of the world but there could not be any real co-operation except on terms of equality, and among the constructive suggestions she threw out were a drive against illiteracy, the construction of model villages, and the starting of co-operative societies to stimulate rural industries. She appealed finally for sustained efforts to remove the hatred and suspicion which have embittered Hindu-Moslem relations."

An American Hero's Treatment of Japanese Prisoners

John Haynes Holmes, Editor of *Unity*, writes in the March number of his journal:

Unforgettable is the statement of General MacArthur, made some weeks ago in a dispatch to Washington, reporting certain details of his heroic defense of the Bataan peninsula against the onslaughts of the Japanese. Describing the destruction or capture of an attacking force of Japanese shock troops, he noted in his dispatch that his prisoners were being "*treated with the respect and consideration which their gallantry so well merits.*" I want to commend this statement, made by a man in the thick of the most desperate fight in the history of modern warfare, to the hardy stay-at-homes who are shouting their heads off about the dirty yellow-bellies, the fiendish yellow devils, who should be murdered to the last man for the greater glory of America. Safe in their clubs or newspaper offices, these fanatics who are thousands of miles away from any point of danger, will be satisfied with nothing but the indiscriminate massacre of the whole Japanese population. But General MacArthur, who may be killed at any moment, speaks of the "gallantry" of his foes, whom, when at his mercy, he treats with "respect and consideration." The New York *Times*, commenting upon this statement by an American officer who is also a gentleman, speaks of it as "in the grand old military style"—before war became a horror of mass murder and machine destruction! Then it goes on to point out what is the supreme significance of the whole affair—that "it is not inconsistent with a considerable disrespect for the Japanese responsible for this war."

"It is a soldier's way of discriminating between the black-hearted sneaks and liars who ordered the war and the men in the ranks who have to fight it. In this discrimination lies some hope for the future after our victory has been won." There's the truth of it—that we must discriminate absolutely between the Japanese government and the Japanese people! And, by the same token between the Nazi government and the German people, and the Fascist government and the Italian people! "We have no quarrel with the German people," said Woodrow Wilson in the last war. And the same applies all around to this war! The people are innocent of this war. They are not sinning, but have been sinned against. And it takes a soldier, face to face with his mortal enemy, to teach us all this truth.

Treatment of Coloured People and Chances of United Nations' Victory

Pearl Buck has declared "that race prejudice in America is the greatest single obstacle in the way of our (Americans') winning the war." This applies not only to the Americans but also to other Allied peoples who rule coloured races. This fact has been brought out clearly in *Unity*, in which the Editor observes that "in saying this Pearl Buck is referring not merely to the dreadful fact of race discrimination in the armed forces of the [American] nation, which is turning the Negro population of this country into one seething mass of unrest and revolt. What Mrs. Buck has particularly in mind is the effect of our contemptuous prejudice against coloured races upon the fateful situation in the Far East."

"Japan stands ready, she insists, to exploit to the limit every reported lynching, every slurring reference to "yellow-bellies" and "yellow-devils," every act of segregation and exclusion affecting Asiatic aliens, every

indication of our perverted sense of superiority over all races but our own; *i.e.*, the whites. What is involved in this situation is shown by the fact that there are 450,000,000 Chinese who are just as yellow in color as the Japanese, and thus themselves directly insulted by every reference to racial traits. In India are 380,000,000 dark-skinned men and women who were long ago humiliated by our Asiatic Exclusion Act, and who resent to their very souls the white man's arrogance at home and abroad. Then all through the Indies and Thailand are native populations, long degraded and oppressed, who show not the slightest indication of favoring the United States and Britain as over against their fellow-Asiatics from Japan. Only in the Philippines, apparently, have we Americans broken through the racial barrier, and by our unselfish administration of the islands, our superb educational and cultural activities, and our loyally-fulfilled pledge of independence, won the Filipinos to our side. No greater tribute to enlightened colonial government has ever been seen than the way the inhabitants of Luzon are sustaining and co-operating with the heroic forces of General MacArthur. But the fact of race prejudice still remains. Here at home, especially in our treatment of the Negroes, as Mrs. Buck points out, we are disrupting the nation's unity, breaking down its morale, and fatally endangering its cause in this great struggle. Abroad, we are alienating from all sympathy and co-operation the hosts of Asiatics whose destiny is identical with our own, and yet who are denied the recognition of equality which they feel to be not a favor but a right. How are we better than the Nazis if we flaunt this black flag of race superiority? And how can we hope to overcome them if we cleanse not ourselves of their offense?"

Why Names of Bombed Places in Assam Are Not Given Out

An Official Explanation

New Delhi, May 22.

The omission from official *communiques* of the names of localities in Eastern Assam, lately bombed by the Japanese, arises from a deliberate policy which denies very valuable information to the enemy, information which, if disclosed, would aid the Japanese air strategy, says a Press Note.

"Air bombing is by no means an easy task and very often carried out on a compass bearing and without the assistance of actual landmarks. A bomber is often by no means certain that he has dropped his bombs on his target. If, however, he can obtain subsequent information of the results of his efforts any mistake made can be corrected for further operations.

In refusing, therefore, to give detailed information about locations, the authorities are ensuring that the enemy has been denied that very vital bit of news which he requires, even if, may-be, only by way of confirming his own belief,

The enemy tries various means to discover where his bombs have dropped. Of all these the most common is a claim by his own radio that his bombs actually dropped on a particular target. He hopes by this to draw from us confirmation or denial which will assist him and at the same time to persuade our own public that information is being withheld. By not disclosing the names of locations, we keep him guessing and, in addition safeguard the interests of the populace directly affected."—*A. P.*

Tragic Death of Flying Officer Kalyān Ranjan Das

One of the pioneers of the Indian Air Force and an outstanding pilot of the world class, Flying Officer K. R. Das popularly known as *Benu*, met with a fatal accident while taking off at Allahabad aerodrome in the early hours of the 10th morning. The engine of his 'plane—a Blenheim bomber, exploded and caused instant death to the pilot Das and his two assistants Messrs. Langford-James and Bryant. Shortly afterwards the Blenheim caught fire.

Flying Officer Das joined the Indian Air Force before the commencement of this war and he was acknowledged to be the most successful, brave and clever pilot among the brilliant first batch group of Volunteer Reserves. Das saw active service in various theatres of the war namely, in Egypt, China, Singapore, Java, Burma and lately was entrusted with the coastal defence of Bengal.

Only five days ago, he flew over to North Burma to drop food to the marooned soldiers. With the Indian Air Force in Burma, Flying Officer Das made flying history for the Indians and particularly Bengal owes a debt of gratitude to this intrepid and caring young man who did more than his share by dogged tenacity, perseverance and courage to keep the enemies outside Bengal's border. He was a match for the ablest pilot of any air force in the world.

In one of his numerous encounters with the Japanese force, Das got the better of a very clever Japanese raider and when he thought he could breathe a sigh of relief, to his greatest surprise he found himself caught in a barrage of machine-gun fire by an unsuspected plane which came out of the clouds just above Das's bomber which was soon hit at the propeller and was fast tail-diving for the blue waters of the Bay of Bengal. Das kept cool in that awful predicament, and just managed to extricate himself out of the bomber when she went down soon after striking the water. The enemy 'plane flew overhead and Das dipped and feigned death until all was clear. He reached the coast of Burma in a rubber boat which was with him.

Whenever there was need of a pilot who could defy death for the purpose of trying an unknown 'plane or in the alternative to take to air a too old junk, the service of Flying Officer Das was sought. He was asked on more than one occasion if he were good in "forced landing" and there was always the same answer "I will do my best."

Flying Officer Das died a bachelor. Not to speak of the irreparable loss to his parents and family, the defence forces of the country have lost a very valuable officer whom it would be very difficult to replace.

When was the engine of his 'plane last examined? Was it found unsatisfactory in any respect? If so, why was the 'plane allowed to be used? If it was certified to be all right, who gave such a certificate? A sifting enquiry ought to be held to find answers to these and other relevant questions.

Flying Officer Kalyān Ranjan Das was a son of Sjt. Rajanī Kanta Das, an esteemed member and minister of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and Honorary Secretary to the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes in Assam and Bengal.

Suppression of Congress Resolutions

LONDON, May 7.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, was questioned in the Commons today (Thursday) regarding the censorship in India of the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee.

Mr. Amery replying said, "These questions have regard to the Government of India's action in respect of three resolutions adopted by the All-India Congress Working Committee on April 28. These resolutions which were reached on gross misrepresentation of fact or on unverified rumour criticised in unbridled terms the recent actions of the military and civil authorities in India and Burma.

They were calculated—and to judge by their language, were, I think, deliberately calculated—to undermine public confidence in the Government and the armed forces.

The Government of India would in the present circumstances have been justified on these grounds in suppressing publication of all the three resolutions. But they confined their prohibition to one resolution and part of the second. This in itself is sufficient to disprove the suggestion that the censorship is exercised in the rigid and indiscriminatory manner which the questions imply."

A QUESTION

Mr. Stephen Davies (Labour) asked "Is he aware that the resolution referred to was passed after a detailed examination had been made into the conditions prevailing on the India-Burma border and will he inform the House and myself in particular what grounds he has for stating that the information embodied in the resolution which had been obtained on the spot was information that he thought was remote from the truth and intended to discredit."

Mr. Amery replied: "I rely with confidence on the judgment of the Government of India and I have no intention of giving wider publicity to these unfounded allegations." (Cheers).

Mr. Sorensen (Labour) asked "Can the resolution be made available for members of the House if they ask for it so that we can judge for ourselves. Would he say what would be the reaction in this country if an Indian body were to prevent circulation of a resolution passed here."

Mr. Amery: "The published part of the resolution I am willing to lay on the table of the House. The non-published Part I do not propose to give wider publicity."—*Reuter.*

Following is the full text of the notification relating to the ban on the publication of the Congress Working Committee Resolution on events in Burma issued in a Gazette of India Extraordinary.

"In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (B) of Sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publication, by any printer, publisher or editor in British India, of the whole or any portion of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on the 28th April, 1942, beginning with the words 'The Committee has noted the recent extraordinary happenings in Burma and notably in the city of Rangoon' and ending with the words 'in particular all panic should be avoided even though those in authority give way to it.'"—*A. P.*

Another Press Note states:

"The Government of India have today issued a *Gazette Extraordinary* prohibiting, under the Defence of India Rule 41 (1) (B), the publication of that portion of the second resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted today at Allahabad which deals with the alleged molestation of women by soldiers."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President has issued the following statement:

The statement of Mr. L. S. Amery about the banned resolutions of the Congress Working Committee though surprisingly irresponsible, has worked no feeling of surprise in me. We are now sufficiently accustomed to hear such things.

Replying to a question Mr. Amery said: "These resolutions which were reached on gross misrepresentation of facts or on unverified rumour criticised in unbridled terms the recent actions of the military and civil authorities in India and Burma. They were calculated—and to judge by their language, were, I think, deliberately calculated—to undermine public confidence in the Government and the armed forces."

But I affirm with the fullest sense of responsibility, that not a single phrase of the resolutions is either based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts. Whatever it said is based on solid facts derived from the most responsible and reliable sources.

Regarding the last charge I would like to say, how could the Congress attempt to undermine a thing which does not exist. But the confidence can easily be created, at least in this matter, if the Government of India is prepared to adopt a simple course. Neither any member of the Congress Working Committee nor myself have any desire to insist on the occurrence of the deplorable facts mentioned in the resolutions about Malaya and Burma.

AZAD'S OFFER

I would be the first man to welcome the non-occurrence of the events, if any one of them is proved to be incorrect or based on rumours. I, therefore, ask the Government whether it is prepared to let me know what parts of the resolutions are based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts; and give me a chance to lay the information which I have in my possession before it? If it is prepared to adopt this course and convince me that our information is incorrect, I would unhesitatingly express regret on behalf of the Working Committee, and withdraw the resolutions.

Are the Government of India and the Secretary of State prepared to accept this offer?—*A. P.*

Official Praise of "Withdrawal" in Burma

LONDON, May 22.

The withdrawal in Burma will rank as one of the finest military feats of the war, declared a senior officer who recently returned from Burma, speaking at a Conference in London today. It was a withdrawal which gained much more than a great many other withdrawals. It inflicted the maximum harm on the Japanese and gained invaluable time from the point of view of defence of India—a time which the enemy would find very hard to make up in the near future.

This officer who has intimate knowledge of the Japanese ridiculed the idea that the Japanese soldier was a sort of a superman. He was not. The Japanese was a well-trained and in many cases a very experienced fighting man. He is extremely tough and often very well led. But it is absurd to suggest that the Japanese,

on equal terms was more than a match for British and Indian soldiers.

Wherever we met the Japanese on anything approaching equal terms we beat them. But in Burma, the Japanese always had the advantage in numbers and a tremendous advantage in the air and these things enabled the Japanese to score successes.

At first the equipment in Burma was adequate for the forces employed but a great deal of it was lost, where transport had to be abandoned it was thoroughly destroyed so that it could be of no use to the enemy. Infantry were the mainstay throughout the Burma campaign.—*Reuter.*

Without denying the truth of even a tittle of what has been said by the "senior officer," we may imagine that the Burma battle could have been even a finer military feat if the man-power of Burma and India had been utilized to the full, if British shipping interests had not prevented a railway or other land route to Burma from India from being constructed, if Burma had not been separated from India, if Government had encouraged and promoted automobile and munition industries in India, and if the authorities had all along prepared themselves for taking the offensive against invaders instead of being on the defensive. Then British and Indian troops could have marched forward instead of retreating backward, whatever the necessity and advantages of the latter course. Pushing back the enemy is always a finer military feat than withdrawing because of his onslaughts.

The Price of Cloth

The price of cloth has recently risen to a height unprecendented since the war began. This has happened at a time when not a single mill-area has been attacked by the enemy and no railway service has been dislocated. The price of cotton has gone further down to Rs. 176/- per candy. The House of Representatives in America recently supported an increase of Excess Profits Tax to 94 per cent. No one will be allowed in that country to make an annual profit of more than Rs. 80,000. According to the English essayist Addison, the fashion of a city takes some time to go to a village and by the time it goes there the city is generally found to have adopted another fashion. We only hope that the economic reforms of the Allied Powers under the stress of modern war, reducing the gulf of difference between the rich and the poor, will not be too late in arriving in India, because though the Government here is slower than the snail, Japan, the enemy, has established a record in swiftness. The Government and our nationalist leaders continually urge the masses to offer resistance to invaders in all possible ways if the occasion arise. They are right in doing so. But is the infliction of preventible suffering in food and raiment upon forty crores of human beings, struggling with dire poverty even in normal times, the right way to gain the end? We have seen boys attending village schools now-a-days in tatters. People living not far from the sea-coast have now to go without salt on account of its high price and the law forbidding its manufacture except in rare cases. Can not quick decisions be made to suit these abnormal times?

We know, however, that any amount of argument on our part will be of no avail in persuading the Government to change its course of action. We have, therefore, to make our own plans and that will be the right thing for a self-respecting, ancient country which has seen many political upheavals. During the last Civil Disobedience Movement people plied 'taklis' in tramcars in Calcutta. Cannot the same thing be done now with cheap cotton? The yarn so spun can be woven into cloth by hand-looms. There are examples of self-help in other directions. Villagers in some parts of Bengal have begun manufacturing oil from 'karanja' seeds and thus dispensed with kerosene. A pleader has successfully cultivated wheat at Domjur, a village in the district of Howrah. With a little effort groups of neighbouring villages can be made self-sufficient in all parts of India—Siddheswar Chattopādhyāya.

Practical Work in Rural Uplift

At a time when rural reconstruction is a vital problem of the country it would be heartening to note the achievements of some workers who have done practical work as distinguished from wordy effusions of Government officials who very often do not know what they are talking about. For example, rice is selling at Patuakhali in the district of Barisal at the unremunerative price of Rs. 3/- per maund for want of boats which are controlled by the Government. If the cultivator do not get a fair return for his labour in respect of the present crop, how can he grow more food for the future?

Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee who easily stands first in India in village uplift work has been instrumental in establishing co-operative anti-malaria and public health societies in five thousand Bengal villages, many of which have become malaria-free. He himself is a large farmer. In his six kitchen-gardens a large quantity of vegetables is grown, while the daily output of his dairy is about six maunds of milk.

The pulse which he gets from the field is split by the ladies of his household by means of hand-mills.

Srijut Haridas Mazumdar has reared a model village at Narayanpur Colony about six miles from Calcutta on a site which was full of jungles about twenty years ago. It now possesses fifty brick-built and forty thatched houses, a free polytechnic High English school, a Girls' H. E. school, students' hostels, a Yoga Vidyālaya (*i.e.*, a school for instruction in ancient Hindu physical exercises) and a good many tube-wells and tanks. A medical graduate is maintained as the teacher of Hygiene in the school on a small salary with freedom of private practice. He has a dispensary of his own. The Yoga Vidyālaya maintains free of charge twenty poor students, who also attend the H. E. school. It lends the use of ice-bags and thermometers to poor patients free of charge. A market is held twice weekly. Young men and boys of all classes clear jungles and weeds on Sundays in the morning. Defence parties of young men go about the village at night so that theft is unknown. Cotton is cultivated with good results and rare Ayurvedic plants are grown under the supervision of a Kaviraj. There is a Government sericultural farm on land and in a house given free by Srijut Mazumdar, whose son has started a celluloid factory here.—Siddheswar Chattopādhyāya.

Remarkable Behaviour of Chittagong People After Air Raid

The following is the first paragraph of a statement issued by the Director of Public Information, Bengal, after the Japanese air raid on Chittagong:

Chittagong's reactions to the Enemy's Air Raids have been of a classic nature. After the attacks which caused no damage to the town, courage and coolness among the people in general and the finest spirit of discipline and service among the hospital staff and nurses and the ambulance personnel were in evidence. Far from there being any panic or stampede a new determination to resist the enemy has been quickened. The following extracts from a remarkable letter written by a gentleman resident in one of the densely populated rural areas of the district illustrate How Chittagong Took It and also indicate how the rest of Bengal will take it should the trial come to them as well.

Anti-Pakistan Movement By Bengali Mussalmans

The formation of an Anti-Pakistan movement party, comprising representatives of Hindus and Mussalmans of Bengal, was formed at a public meeting held on the 20th May last at the hall of the Calcutta University Institute under the auspices of the All-Bengal Bengalee-Mussalman Association.

The objective of the movement was to frustrate any attempt to establish Pakistan Raj in Bengal under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League.

The meeting also condemned the "most unpatriotic move" of Mr. Rajagopalachariar to yield to the absurd demand of the Muslim League for partition of India and expressed its opinion that that move could not bring peace to the country nor could it attain the objective of forming national government in the centre and the provinces.

Mr. A. K. M. Zakaria, ex-Mayor of Calcutta, in the course of his address said that the victors of Plassey had the political foresight to find out that their salvation lay in the estrangement between the two great communities inhabiting the land. Separate Madrasas and the Hindu School were established in pursuance of the policy. Then came the Islamia College, and the Lady Brabourne College. That mischievous policy had at last led to the cry of Pakistan and Hindusthan. God alone knew where such political fanaticism would lead. It was the bounden duty of every patriotic Indian to check these movements and endeavour for establishment of communal unity and harmony.

Mr. Zakaria regretted that the Bengalee-Mussalmans had been driven out of the Calcutta Corporation to make room for non-Bengalee Mahomedans. At the same time, the cry of Islam in danger had been raised. Mr. Zakaria requested the citizens to entrust responsibility with those who commanded the confidence of the sons of the soil.

Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker on the Government of India's Financial Position

In the course of an interview with press representatives in Calcutta on May 22 last, the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker stated some broad facts which in his opinion should make it clear that on the financial front India's position has so far been maintained on a very strong basis and the future prospects are also quite sound and reassuring.

There is, therefore, no cause for panic. There is however a great responsibility imposed upon each one of us to save as much as we can and also support Government loans with a view to assist war efforts and to check inflationary tendencies. This will help the nation to win the war. For the individual also, it will mean a safe investment of his surplus funds. In the post-war period, these savings will help him to meet his own needs as also to build up new enterprises and thus augment the wealth of the nation. In every way and by every criterion, India's war finance has been shaped and directed along lines that have spread beneficial effects among all sections of the people, and for this my esteemed colleague Sir Jeremy Raisman deserves his share of praise.—*A. P.*

A British Weekly on Rash Behari Bose and Mahommed Ali Jinnah

News Review of London, March 5, 1942, writes:

Tokyo's "Haw-Haw"

A certain Behari Bose, a stocky, bullet-headed Indian of 56, appeared last week in the role of Tokyo's Lord Haw-Haw.

Sponsored by the notorious Japanese Black Dragon Society, the Bengali "champion of Indian liberty" was put on the air as head of a movement supporting Japan's greater East Asia programme whereby India would be shifted from British to Japanese domination.

When terrorism was rife in Bengal 30 years ago, young Behari Bose led a sedition movement among British soldiers. In 1912, he threw a bomb at Viceroy Hardinge, seriously wounding him. With a price of 12,000 rupees on his head, Bose fled to Japan three years later.

Japan at that time was Britain's Ally, and the Government ordered Bose's deportation, but the Black Dragon intervened, obtained revocation of the order. In 1923, he became a Japanese citizen.

Only one instance was this of the activities of this organisation, long hatching sinister plots for Japanese supremacy in Asia aiding fugitives who might be useful to the boys of the Rising Sun.

Unlikely is it that this self-appointed Voice of India will have any but an enraging effect on the Indian masses. Most of them, not possessing radio sets in their humble dwellings, will in all probability never hear his smooth words.

Probably the British weekly from which we are quoting thinks that Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League wants freedom for India as much and as sincerely as the notorious Japanese Black Dragon Society which sponsored the Bengali "champion of Indian liberty" Rash Behari Bose ! And so immediately after the paragraph quoted above comes the following :

But many of them hear the voice of Muslim League leader Mahommed Ali Jinnah, *who last week gave to the Government an admirable excuse for postponing yet again a change of policy on India.* (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

Just as Japanese troops were advancing through Burma to India's frontiers, and when most ordinary Englishmen had been brought to the conclusion that Indian nationalism deserved a break, Mr. Jinnah spotted a plot against Muslim India.

The energetic *little* Muslim Leaguer felt there were too many people poking too many fingers in the Indian pie, and one of them was China's Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang, grumbled Jinnah, knew little about the political situation in India, and "the constitutional adjustments which are necessary."

Muslim India did not lag behind other elements in its demand for freedom, added Jinnah, but "any attempt at this juncture on the part of the British Government which will militate, directly or indirectly, against the Pakistan demand of Muslim India will lead to the gravest disaster for India at this critical moment."

Muslim Headache.—Far graver than Mr. Jinnah's headache, however, would be India's subjugation to Japan, and by last week it was obvious that the only safeguard against that disaster was unity.

Nehru on National Solidarity

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advocated national solidarity even in pre-war days. Writes *News Review*:

In correspondence with Jinnah and other Muslim leaders, Congress Leader Jawarharlal Nehru wrote some years ago.:

"Whatever the shortcomings and errors of the Congress might be, it is in conception and even in practice a national movement. It has no other *raison d'etre*. . . . We are a political organisation with our doors open to all and trying to function on the national plane. In the interests of Indian unity and freedom it is essential that there should be such an organisation. There is no other."

There was, argued Nehru, every reason why Indians should maintain religious or cultural solidarity—on the religious or cultural plane. But on the political plane the solidarity should be national, not communal.

That was in pre-war days.

Repudiation of Jinnah's Policy By Independent Muslims

The British weekly has noted that independent Muslims have repudiated the suicidal policy of the Muslim League.

Last week, with the menace to India's very life daily growing, Mr. Jinnah was no more convinced. Desperately fraught with danger was the situation, and many less stubborn Muslims realised this. Called by the Independent Muslims was a meeting to repudiate the suicidal policy of the Jinnah League.

Non-Party Conference Evokes No Response

That the British Government has made no response to the appeals and demands of the non-party conference has not escaped the attention of *News Review*, which writes :

Meanwhile, no reply was given to the appeal of Liberal Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for "some bold stroke of far-sighted statesmanship" which would ensure India's full co-operation in the war effort.

At a two-day non-Party Conference held in Delhi, Sir Tej's presidential speech was read (in his absence, owing to sickness) by Mukand Ramrao Jayakar. Demanded in the speech was a National Government.

"A people's war," clarioned spokesman Jayakar, "cannot be conducted with an immobile bureaucracy at the top."

Under heavy fire was India Secretary Leopold Amery. Even if the India Office were necessary at all, which Sir Tej took the liberty of doubting, Mr. Amery was not, he snorted, the person who should be sitting there. His principal achievement up to that moment, said Liberal leader Sapru, was that he "had practically destroyed Indian faith in the good intentions of Britain.

"The situation should be dealt with bravely, courageously, and in a spirit of confidence, and this could only be done by an act of self-abdication on the part of the Great Mogul at Whitehall."

Chiang Kai-shek's Message

News Review's note on matters Indian concludes with a brief notice of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's message.

Back home in China last week after his trip to Delhi, Chiang Kai-shek made an outspoken appeal to Britain.

"I sincerely hope," said he, "and I confidently believe that our Ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will, as speedily as possible, give them real political power,

so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength."

An appeal to Britain and at the time a warning to India was this stirring message. For either of these two great countries to bury its head in the sand would be the first step on the road to slavery.

Warned Chiang: "The issue before us does not concern a dispute with any one man or country; nor does it concern any specific questions between one people and another. Any people, therefore, which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front.

"The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilisation of the world would suffer a setback for at least 100 years, and there would be no end to human sufferings."

If anything, Gissimo Chiang's message came down more heavily on the "warning to India" side than on the "appeal to Britain" side. *Even if nothing were forthcoming in the way of concessions from Whitehall, Indians should co-operate.* (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

Emphasis on the unity of the anti-aggression front might be construed to mean that it was all the same in the interests of civilisation which Allied nation was the dominant one, though references to 2,000 years of peaceful Sino-Indian association hinted that, as far as the East was concerned, it ought really to be one of those two nations. At present China was in the lead.

It is to be noted that the great Chinese statesman and practical idealist who has exhorted Britain to give the people of India real political power has also told us, the people of India, to co-operate in the war effort "even if nothing were forthcoming in the way of concessions from Whitehall." Our conclusion has been substantially the same.

Gandhiji on Cause of Cripps Mission Failure

"Some pressmen asked me in Bombay what could Sir Stafford have done in the absence of an agreement between the Congress and the League. I gave the answer. I do not know whether it has appeared anywhere. Any way it is better for the public to know what answer I gave to the question," writes Mahatma Gandhi in *Harijan.*

He adds:

Sir Stafford could have asked either the Congress or the League to form the Cabinet. If he had done so, probably the party they entrusted with responsibility would have succeeded in having the co-operation of the other party. In any event, the Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of their party rather than having their own nominees. I do not know that they made any such offer either to the Congress or the League. So far as the public know the negotiations did not break over the want of agreement between the two organisations but over differences with Sir Stafford as to what powers the British Government wanted to part with during the war.—*A. P.*

Are the Congress and the Muslim League the only parties in the country which count? And is the Muslim League equal to the Congress in influence, achievement, the number of its members and organization? Is it the only or even the principal Muslim representative body? Gandhiji knows that the reply to all these questions is in the negative. So the probable reason why only the Muslim League has been mentioned is that it is, the only body which is an obstacle to a *national* settlement of the Indian political problem.

Rangoon Indian Editor Interviews Gandhiji

WARDHA, May 23.

Mr. Bhattacharjee, lately editor of the *Rangoon Mail,* had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi today and explained to him recent events in Burma leading to the occupation of that country by the Japanese.

Mr. Bhattacharjee told the *Associated Press* that he had also discussed the position of Assam—his own province.

Mahatma Gandhi is understood to have given the advice that Congressmen should stick to their posts of duty and should persuade people to stick to villages endeavouring to protect themselves and to be self-sufficient.

Mr. Bhattacharjee, it is learnt, suggested to Mahatma Gandhi that tried Congress workers from various provinces should be deputed to Assam and Bengal to study the conditions there which would be helpful to them when they return to their own provinces in meeting any emergency that may arise.—*A. P.*

Gandhiji Thanks Donors to Andrews Memorial Fund

"I am glad to be able to inform the readers of *Harijan* that the efforts of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sheth Ghanashyamdas Birla, who had asked me to go to Bombay for 8 days for the purpose of finishing the Deenabandhu Memorial collections, have been crowned with full success." Writes Mahatma Gandhi in *Harijan.*

He adds,

"Only over Rs. 60,000 were collected in response to the appeal through the papers. The whole of the balance of five lacks was collected during the eight days' strenuous labour. Bombay has never disappointed me whenever I have gone there for collections. I am most grateful to the donors for their generosity. They have taken a great load off my mind. I am quite clear that they have never given to a better cause. The memorial to Deenabandhu started by and at the wish of Gurudev became on his death memorial to Gurudev, in which the former merged. The object of both could only be identical. Subscriptions were required partly for the discharge monies due by Santiniketan and largely for the building, etc., mentioned in the original appeal.

I may mention that while the donations received included large sums from wealthy men they included also small sums from unknown persons from all over India. They were received from all communities, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Muslims and Hindus. I repeat the thanks on behalf of the fellow signatories and myself to the donors for their generous donations as also to the friends who organised the collection and laboured to make it a success."

Bombay is unquestionably entitled to praise for the donations given there to the Andrews Memorial Fund. Though the donors parted with their money mainly owing to Gandhiji's influence over them, it may be presumed that they have respect for the great-hearted Englishman also whose memory the Fund is menat to perpetuate. And probably they wish well to Rabindranath Tagore's Institution also.

Bombay has done its duty in the matter. But what of the other provinces and of the States? And what of Bengal in particular, the main field of Andrews' and Rabindranath Tagore's labours?

Gandhiji and Rajaji on Pakistan

"Though he has quoted me in his support I see the same difference between him and me that there is between chalk and cheese. He yields the right of secession now to buy unity in the hope of keeping away the Japanese. I consider the vivisection of India to be a sin," writes Mahatma Gandhi in reply to a question which states, "You have repeated in your interview to the press in Bombay what you have said often that nothing can prevent the Muslims from having what they want unless the objectors would fight over the issue. What is the difference between you and Shri Rajagopalachari's attitude?"

Mahatma Gandhi says,

"My statement amounts to the enunciation of the proposition that I cannot prevent my neighbour from committing a sin. Shri Rajagopalachari would be a party in the sin, if the neighbour chooses to commit it. I cannot be a party. What is more, I am firmly of opinion that there is no unity whilst the third party is there to prevent it. It created the artificial division and it keeps it up. In its presence both Hindus and Muslims and for that matter all seemingly conflicting or disgruntled interests and elements will look to it for support and will get it. Their interest is greater than the independence of their country.

"No one need throw my other statement in my face, *viz.*, that there is no independence without unity. I do not withdraw a word of it. It is an obvious truth. From its contemplation I have discovered the formula of inviting the British power to withdraw. Their withdrawal does not by itself bring independence. It may induce unity or it may lead to chaos. There is also the risk of another power filling in the vacancy if it is there. If, however, the withdrawal is orderly and voluntary the British not only gain a moral height but secure the ungrudging friendship of a great nation.

"I wish all conflicting elements and interests will make a combined effort to rid India of foreign domination. If they do not, any understanding with them will be like a house built on sand. Fear of the Japanese occupation of India has blinded C. R. to the obvious truth. Independence sheds all fear—fear of the Japanese, of anarchy, and of the wrath of the British Lion."—*A. P.*

Maulana Azad's Suggested Congress-League Pourparlers

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, has suggested that five representatives of the Congress and five of the Muslim League should sit together and evolve a formula or formulas for the settlement of the Indian communal problem. We appreciate his anxiety for such a settlement. But the plan will not produce the result desired. For one thing, the League does not represent all Indian Mussalmans but only a small group of Muslim aristocrats and plutocrats. Nay, other bodies, representing larger numbers of Mussalmans, repudiate the Jinnah policy. Unless the vast body of Muslim workers consisting of peasants, artisans, boatmen, cart drivers, small traders, factory labourers etc., can be heard through their representatives, no settlement will be binding on them. There are also the Muslim intelligentsia and divines standing aloof from the League.

Then, it is not the Muslim community alone which is entitled to be consulted. The Hindu Mahasabha, the Indian Christian Community, the Sikhs, and other, though smaller, communities should have their say.

Perhaps Maulana Azad has made the suggestion that he has, because he feels that the main obstacle to a *national and democratic* solution of the Indian political problem is Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League; and therefore he desires to conciliate it. But Mr. Jinnah is irreconcilable.

Mr. Amery on Sincerity of British Intentions Again

Before the Cripps Mission started for and visited India Mr. Amery used repeatedly to sing the praises of the august "August 1940 offer." Now he has found another theme to exercise his powers of panegyric upon, namely, the sincerity of British intentions with regard to India's future freedom, as proved, according to him, by the Cripps Mission.

LONDON, May 24.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery in an Empire Day broadcast to the Empire today (Sunday) said: "The British Empire like all human institutions may be an imperfect thing but I believe that it has been the greatest agency for freedom and justice, the world has ever seen.

It is faith in the Empire that we need to sustain us in these stern days and through difficulties and perplexities of reconstruction. If we are in mortal peril today it is because we lacked that faith just when we most needed it in the critical years that followed the last war."

Speaking of "the tragic significance" of the names of Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaya, Mr. Amery said,

"If we have for the time being lost these fair territories, if they have been ravaged and enslaved it has not been for lack of loyalty on the part of their people nor because of incompetence or want of sympathy on the part of our administrators. It is because we had made all our plans on one assumption which events have falsified, the assumption that the British Navy guaranteed their peace.

We neither trained nor taxed them for war. The same is true of Burma. Burman officials have done their duty and the great majority of the population have remained loyal but helpless in the face of invasion.

IN INDIA

Sir Stafford Cripps went to India to prove beyond all doubt the sincerity of our intentions with regard to India's future freedom. The rejection of our offer has not weakened our resolve that India shall yet find her honoured place as a free and equal member in free association of the peoples who constitute the British Commonwealth."—*Reuter.*

The time to hold an inquest on the British Empire has not yet come. And the time and space and information at our disposal are inadequate for dwelling at length on the good and evil for which the British Empire is responsible.

Is it true that the administrators did not show any incompetence in Burma? What do the evacuees, the toads under the harrow, say?

It is true that the British rulers neither trained nor taxed the Malayans for war. It is also true—Mr. Amery says so—that the British Government of Burma did not train the Burmese for war. But is it true that no part of the taxes paid by the people of Burma was spent for maintaining soldiers for the defence of that country?

As regards the sincerity of British intentions with regard to India's future freedom, to whose satisfaction has it been proved beyond all doubt? Evidently the acid test is whether Indians have been convinced that British professions in this matter are sincere. But you will search in vain with a Diogenes lantern for the Indian who holds that British intentions with regard to India's future freedom are sincere. Mr. Amery's assertion may be true in a sense in which he did not mean it to be understood, namely, that British imperialists sincerely intend not to part with power in India in order to make it free in the future.

Perhaps Mr. Amery means that he and his countrymen believe that he Cripps mission has proved to *their* satisfaction that British intentions are sincere. But was any such proof necessary to convince *them?* Perhaps he means America has been convinced. But are the Americans so gullible? That China has not been convinced is proved by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's exhortation to the British Government to give real political power to India *now.*

The Hur Menace in Sind

The derailment of trains, particularly of the Panjab Mail, and the accompanying murders and plunder, and other murderous acts and looting by the Hurs have given to people outside Sind some idea of the Hur menace there. But Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, the Sind Congress leader, says that that is an utterly inadequate idea. Moreover, it has been stated in *The Tribune* that the Hurs have been trying to set up a government of their own in that province.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram says in the course of a press statement:

LAHORE, May 24.

The situation in Sind is far more serious than is generally realised outside the province and the seriousness is enhanced by the disinclination of the provincial authorities to let the rest of the country know the exact state of things as also by their reluctance to allow any criticism of their line of action in dealing with it.

The situation, he continued, has its all-India aspect owing to the fact that the decision to intern the Pir of Pagaro, head of the Hur community, is understood to have been due to the view taken by the Government of India about his activities, it has also an all-India aspect because of the fact that the local police arrangements have been found inadequate to deal with the situation in the province and aid has been taken from the Punjab and the N.-W. F. P. Governments. The situation has been developing during the last six months and more than three months ago it was wellnigh out of hand so far as the local police was concerned.

"It is understood," added Mr. Jairamdas, "that the Governor and higher police officials were dealing with the situation. He revealed that the Ministers had not so far been able to visit the troubled areas."

Mr. Jairamdas mentioned that the Pir of Pagaro was arrested and no official statement as to the reasons for the action taken had been given. His followers, further infuriated by the method of search of the Pir's family house and the burning of their huts during the last six months had taken the law into their hands and had carried on a campaign of crime primarily against the constitutional authority which had recently taken the form of a guerilla war. The subordinate Government officials of the Revenue and Irrigation Departments were finding it difficult to function in that area. The Police thanas and outposts had been withdrawn from the villages in the disturbed areas and the protective police had concentrated in the *tahsil* headquarters. Road communications had been made unsafe. Attacks on lorries and trains had had the tragic consequences, so brutally evidenced only a week ago. Such local population as still remained in the area had been demoralised into submission to the extent of some of the zamindars paying illegal taxes to the leaders of the Hurs.

Whatever the reasons, and Mr. Jairamdas wished to blame no one at this stage, the inability of the provincial authorities to anticipate the trouble and the arrest of the Pir of Pagaro had worsened the situation even outside the Hur area which consisted primarily of only four *tahsils* in the two districts of Nawab Shah and Tharparkar. The slowness and inadequacy of action, Mr. Jairamdas pointed out, had encouraged criminal elements generally in the rest of the districts and a grave situation faced both the Government and the people of the Province.

The Hur community, he recalled, had had a pre-

vious tradition of a protracted struggle against the British authorities, it took the Government four and a half years to suppress the Hurs, when some of them waged a guerilla fight about forty years ago and ultimately about a thousand troops had to be employed who controlled the situation in the course of six months. It was estimated that the present band of turbulent Hurs, consisted of about three to four hundred men.—*A. P.*

The British Government put down Thuggee and exterminated the Thugs, where necessary. The Thugs certainly numbered more than three or four hundred and their diabolical activities were not confined to two or more districts but ranged over Provinces and States. In more recent times the Government could intern thousands of men (and women, too) on suspicion in Bengal, Panjab, etc. It is surprising, therefore, that a band of mere three or four hundred (or of even a thousand men) can defy the guardians of law and order in the year 1942 with impunity. One of the principal reasons put forward by and on behalf of the British Government for staying on in India is the maintenance of peace and security. Why can it not or does it not do so in Sind ?

Gandhiji On How To Deal With The Hurs

Writing in *Harijan* of May 24, on the activities of the 'Hurs' in Sind under the caption 'Lawlessness In Sind,' Mahatma Gandhi says :

"The real remedy is for Congress members to withdraw from the Assembly and Khan Bahadur Allabux and his fellow Ministers to resign. These should form a peace-brigade and fearlessly settle down among the 'Hurs' and risk their lives in persuading these erring countrymen to desist from the crimes."

A deputation known to Pir Pagaro should visit him and induce him to issue unequivocal instructions to his followers to stop their murderous activities. This should not be on condition of release. If he is aggrieved, he is entitled to an enquiry. The Government should take the public into their confidence.

"All this can be done without the resignation of Congressmen and the Ministers, it may be urged. My answer would be that the resignations are necessary as proof of the earnestness of the members and the Khan Bahadur and his co-Ministers. If they remain in the Assembly they cannot give undivided attention to their task. The decisive reason, however, for my recommendation is that there should be an admission of their helplessness to do anything effective through the Assembly to put a stop to these rebellious activities. That should be an earnest of their desire to make room for those who think they can deal with the grave situation with better effect. The resignations must produce a healthy effect among the people. The selflessness and courage of resigners is likely to prove infectious and induce others to join them.

"Let the murder of Seth Sitaldas serve as a spur to the other members to go among the 'Hurs' and court murder in the act of weaning them from their unlawful and inhuman activities."

Mahatma Gandhi adds :

"Since writing the above, I have heard about the terrible Railway accident resulting in several deaths including that of Sir Gulam Hossain Hidayatullah's son. The shooting by the 'Hurs' thereafter shows the state of desperation they have reached. This emphasises the recommendation I have made. Nothing short of such heroic action will bring the 'Hurs' to their senses. Frightfulness will only make matters worse."

Concluding Mahatma Gandhi expresses the hope that all parties will join in the attempt to rid Sind of the trouble.

We can think of no better non-violent remedy than that suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. Its efficacy can be tested only by giving it a sufficiently long trial.

But there is no country in the world in which at present violence, in the sense of use of physical force, can be entirely dispensed with. If Gandhiji had to rule even a small State at present he would require a police force. So the Sindh Ministry and the Sindh Congress Assembly Party need not and should not resign. They should go on doing their duty, using force whenever necessary. As for Gandhiji's non-violent remedy, the Sindh Congress men who are neither in the Ministry, nor in the Assembly may and should try it.

Indian Leaders Blamed at British Labour Party Conference

On May 25th last the British Labour Party held its annual conference, attended by 800 delegates. Among the speakers were the Deputy Prime Minister Mr. C. R. Attlee, Dr. H. V. Evatt, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, the Home Secretary Mr. Herbert Morrison, and Mr. W. H. Green, M.P.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison said that the country must be determined not only to win the war but to win the peace on a basis of co-operation among all nations and justice for all the peoples of the world. "We must not only promote world justice, peace and co-operation, but we must be ready in the years after the war to carry the discipline, organisation and sacrifices of the war into peace and be ready in co-operation with other nations to maintain such armed forces and such military power as will prevent Germany or any other nation starting up this business again."

Indian leaders demand that "justice for all the peoples of the world" should begin to be done *now* instead of being deferred till after the close of the war, when the victors can be indifferent to the claims of justice with greater freedom from anxiety than now. And it was only just demands which Indian leaders placed before Sir Stafford Cripps. But at this Labour Conference

Regarding India, Mr. Green said, that a great opportunity had been lost. India's leaders had sacrificed the substance for the shadow but the common danger

must impel both countries to further efforts to reach an agreement.

What was the substance and what the shadow?

British Communist Party Wants National Government for India

What the Indian National Congress wanted in its negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps was substantially national government for India. For that the official British Labour Party has blamed the Indian leaders and has said that they have sacrificed the substance for the shadow. But another British Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, wants the same thing for India, *viz.*, national government!

LONDON, May 25.

A resolution proposing that negotiations should be immediately re-opened with the Indian National Congress for the formation of a representative National Government "with full powers which could enjoy the confidence of the Indian people and mobilise them for active defence in co-operation with the United Nations," was carried at the annual conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in London today.

The resolution also urged that all anti-Fascist prisoners should be given to the Indian people in the organisation of all forms of defence and that all restrictions on India's industry should be removed."

SECOND FRONT

The conference also adopted another resolution appealing for increased production and national unity and declaring that "the immediate opening of a second front in Europe was now imperative to secure complete victory in 1942."

Mr. William Rust, a former editor of the *Daily Worker*, in speaking on the resolution demanding the lifting of the ban on the paper, said that raising of the ban was now within sight.—*Reuter*.

Along with the resolution of the British Communist Party quoted above, one should note the resolution of the Independent Labour Party unanimously approved at its conference at Morecambe on the 6th April last, "recognizing India's right to immediate independence and demanding immediate Indian responsibility for the Government of India, including Defence, acceptance of recognized minority rights instead of splitting India into political fragments and insistence that representation of Indian States in the Constituent Assembly should be on the basis of adult suffrage."

It may be doubted whether the Independent Labour Party and Communist Party would give effect to their resolutions if they came into office, but so far as expression of opinion goes, these parties have differences with the conservatives, the Liberals and the official Labour Party, and "appealing for national unity" is practically equivalent to admission of disunity. India has been kept deprived of freedom on the excuse that there are party differences. Perhaps consistency would require that Great Britain should be deprived of freedom because of absence of national unity there!

Recruitment to the Indian Army

It has been officially stated that the strength of the Indian army is at present one million in round numbers, though some of the troops are not yet fully trained and fully armed, that during the last few months 50,000 men have been recruited every month on an average and in December last the number recruited was 60,000. Considering the vast population of India—much greater than those of Russia and Germany combined and about equal to that of China—India can easily supply 10 million recruits. That was the opinion of a member of the British Parliament also, expressed during a debate there. India requires a very large army. One of the principal obstacles to our having an army 10 millions strong, is the arbitrary division of the people of India between martial and non-martial. Neither China, nor Russia, nor the United States of America could have had their present large armies if any such division had existed there. Recruitment in India is practically confined to the "martial" people. The result has been, as a New Delhi communique says, that "some classes among whom there was heavy recruitment in the early stage of expansion are possibly feeling the strain on their man-power." Why, if that is so, should not these classes be spared further strain and recruitment should not be made from other classes, hitherto practically ignored? Among those who are alleged to be least fit for a soldier's work, the Bengalis have been perhaps the worst maligned. Yet recent experience has shown that they make very good soldiers.

It is not that the authorities do not want more than one million soldiers, and, therefore, they are not recruiting men from the so-called non-martial classes. Evidently they want a higher rate of recruitment. For they have thrown open recruitment to the army to frontier tribesmen who are not subjects of the British Government of India, and some of whom may have actually raided British areas in the N.-W. F. Province. In February last when Mr. Williams, Defence Co-ordination Secretary, was asked in the Council of State to explain why the authorities recruited a large number of men from across the border, said, "We want as many men as we can get." If so, why not take them from India, which can supply very many

times more recruits than the non-Indian transfrontier areas ?

A bigger army would require a much larger number of officers, no doubt. But India can supply officers, too. It is not many years ago that the army authorities used to say that India could produce only a maximum of 60 recruits to officer's ranks per annum. But the present intake of officers is more than 300 per mensem, that is, 60 times the maximum previously fixed ! India can supply still more officers. What has been practicable in China and Russia is not impossible in India.

Absence of Indo-Burma Land Route Now Regretted ?

During the war debate in the Commons on the 19th May last, Mr. Clement Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister, said :

"The difficulties of communication between India and Burma, once the sea-route is lost, are very great. It is not clear whether the Japanese will continue their attack on China or attack India."

So the absence of a good land route has not only caused untold sufferings to the evacuees, it has also made the defence of Burma a very difficult job. More than once surveys were made of the best possible route or routes between Burma and India with a view to establishing railway communications between the two countries. But British shipping interests successfully stood in the way of establishing railway communication between India and Burma.

American Technical Mission Recommends Development of India's War Production

BOMBAY, May 21.

The American Technical Mission headed by Dr. Henry Grady which spent about five weeks investigating India's war production, has already cabled to Washington some 35 specific recommendations. The Mission on its return to the United States will confer with President Roosevelt, the Department of State, and the Board of Economic Warfare and give a report of its survey and the recommendations it had already made to the Government of India. Apart from the number of specific recommendations it had made, the Mission will have a number of other recommendations to make to the United States Government.

The preliminary report which the Mission has submitted to his Excellency the Viceroy, covers 25 pages of typed material and contains a number of recommendations.

Dr. Henry Grady explained in an interview today that the recommendations made to the Government of India are based on a sympathetic and constructive approach to India's war production problems. War production, he said, has a fairly good start in India but must be developed very much further if India is to become the arsenal of the Middle and Near East.

The Mission has received the fullest co-operation from the Government and industrialists of India; it has received many courtesies from the people of India and is deeply grateful for these manifestations of genuine friendliness. The Mission's purpose has been to attempt to inaugurate a period of closer collaboration between India and the United States in their common aim to destroy the aggressors. The Mission feels that in general it has been able to accomplish the things for which it came. With the continued co-operation of the Government and industrialists of India, the Mission believes that its effort will bear genuine fruit.—*A. P. I.*

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy

The late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., of Ranchi, was a lawyer by profession—and he was to some extent a successful lawyer, too, but it is as an eminent anthropologist that he is known to the cultured public in India and abroad. He acquired detailed knowledge of the Oraons, Mundas, Hos and other aboriginal tribes of Chotanagpur, not from books, but by actual contact and intercourse with them. He knew some of their languages. His excellent books on these tribes contain original material, obtained in some cases at great personal risk, and are indispensable for all students of anthropology and others who want to know Chotanagpur. The drawing-room in his residence at Ranchi was a veritable anthropological museum. He took great delight in explaining what the objects collected there were. He was a great friend of the Adibasis, and tried to promote their welfare both as a member of the Bihar Legislature and in other ways. He was one of Nature's gentleman and was noted for his urbanity. Besides writing his monographs on the principal tribes of Chotanagpur, he founded and edited the anthropological journal *Man in India,* which published many authoritative articles by himself and other noted anthropologists. He was 71 at the time of his death.

Rai Bahadur Gyanendra Chandra Ghosh

Rai Bahadur Gyanendra Chandra Ghosh, C.I.E., passed away at his Simla Street residence, Calcutta, on the 17th May last.

His death removes from Bengal a philanthropist, a noted patron of learning and a man of broad cultural outlook. The Rai Bahadur was aged about eighty-eight.

Rai Bahadur Gyanendra Chandra Ghosh had to his credit the authorship of various articles published from time to time in the *Calcutta Review,* the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and in the proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress. A Non-Conformist Christian, the Rai Bahadur was a staunch champion of Buddhist ideals and he published a volume of English verses enunciating the principles of "Nirvana." Service to humanity and the brotherhood of man formed the keynote of his writings.

His charities and love of learning found expression in the gift of a lakh of rupees to the Oxford Mission, Calcutta, for the benefit and education of rescued women, the gift of a lakh of rupees for the foundation of the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship on Compara-

tive Religion (named after his pre-deceased son) at the Calcutta University, the Nirmalendu Hall of Learning attached to the St. Paul's College, Calcutta, and the establishment of beds at the Nirmalendu Tuberculosis Sanatorium attached to the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta, besides endowments for scholarships and medals at the Scottish Church College and the Collegiate School.

The Rai Bahadur, it is understood, has provided in his will for the making over of his Simla Street residence to the authorities of the Carmichael Medical College for the establishment therein of a maternity home. His residence at Jasidih is to be handed to the Calcutta University to be used as a sanatorium for the lecturers of the University.

He was connected with various important public organisations. He was the Chairman of the National Council, Y. M. C. A., India, Burma and Ceylon. For some time, he was a Honorary Presidency Magistrate and till his death an Honorary Fellow of the Calcutta University.

Mr. Ghosh was a *bhakta* and the author of a book of Bengali poems. He was a man of liberal religious outlook. He had become blind some years before his death.

Socialist Cripps and Lord Privy Seal Cripps

On the 6th February last Sir Stafford Cripps told a *Daily Mail* interviewer in London :

> The Indian question badly wants settling. *It is not a question primarily for the Indians but for the Government.* When Britain has settled her political policy, then I think Indians can be persuaded to agree. The tendency is to shove responsibility on to the Indian leaders. The first stage is that the British Government has to make up its mind on its policy—a different policy from any so far anounced. (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

This was said before Sir Stafford Cripps had become a member of the British Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal. When after becoming Lord Privy Seal he came to India on the "mission" named after him, the policy underlying his mission was different from any British policy previously announced only in that it *openly and directly* advocated Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan plan to all intents and purposes. Previously Mr. Jinnah had received only secret encouragement and patronage.

No wonder the Cripps Mission failed. After its failure, he told some press interviewers at Karachi on his return journey :

> "There are always chances. We have to come to some arrangement some day. I have no idea when it will be. *It depends on Indians themselves, on Indian parties and Indian leaders.*" (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

But previously he had told the *Daily Mail* interviewer that it was primarily a question for the Government.

Bengal Chief Minister on Popular War Front

Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal's Chief Minister, has exhorted the people of Bengal to form the People's War Front. In the course of his address on the subject he said last month :

> "It is not the Government's Front, but the People's Front—the Front of those who are determined that we here shall emulate the great example of the people of China, of Russia, and of Britain."

An ambition which the Chief Minister is not precluded from cherishing. But it is only people who are free and self-ruling like those of the three countries named by him that can emulate their example. So the preliminary step which has to be taken is to be free like them. To endeavour to win freedom like theirs would indeed be an enterprise worthy of the highest manhood.

His Holiness the Pope's Appeal for Peace

His Holiness the Pope said in the course of a world broadcast on the occasion of the celebration of the Episcopal Jubilee.

> "To leaders of the nations we give a paternal warning. Do not seduce the people from their higher call to duty. Do not take the children away from the beneficial guardianship of their parents. Wise leaders of nations will not fail to harken to this appeal—not out of weakness but out of wisdom."

The Pontiff in his appeal for peace said :

> "Now that people are living in painful anxiety awaiting imminent military operations we take the opportunity offered us by today's anniversary to pronounce once again the word of peace. We say it with impartiality towards all Belligerents and with equal affection to all sections of all peoples. We well know how in the state of things today there would be little probability of success in formulating detailed proposals for a just and honourable peace. Rather every time we utter the word of peace we run the risk of offending one or the other side. Whilst one side places his hopes on results achieved the other side places hopes on the outcome of future events. While there is no immediate hope of peace the destruction caused by war is for ever accumulating.—*Reuter*.

American Friends' Appeal to Indians

MADRAS, May 12.

"American friends of India join in the prayer that India finds the means of co-operating with Britain. They believe that India's freedom is possible only with the United Nations victorious."

This is the text of a message said to have been addressed to publicmen and party leaders in India in the name of American friends and signed on their behalf by Prof. Arthur Compton, a leading physicist.

Dr. Compton, it is stated, has instructed Dr. C. Herbert Rice of the Allahabad Christian College to forward to him the replies of those directly addressed.—*A. P.*

Sincere and real co-operation would be possible if Indians were free. Men who are in subjection can only obey and carry out

commands. To say that they co-operated would be farcical.

Our American friends have appealed to us. In our turn we thank them and appeal to them to try to produce in India the political and economic conditions which can make real co-operation possible.

Leprosy in India

NEW DELHI, May 13.

A comprehensive report on the leprosy problem in this country has been made by the Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Health to report on leprosy and its control in India.

The census figures, according to the report, give no true picture of the prevalence of leprosy. The 1931 census reported 150,000 cases, but leprosy surveys show the true incidence to be, on an average, about eight times this figure. In some highly infected areas the incidence may be from 5 to 10 per cent. of the population surveyed.

While the problem of leprosy is primarily that of the disease in the general population, its presence amongst beggars causes much concern to the public. From the public health standpoint, the problem of beggars with leprosy should not be ignored and the opinion that almost all such beggars are not infective is incorrect. The problem is most acute in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

PUBLIC OPINION

The problem, it is suggested, needs to be tackled from several angles. *Migration might be minimised by each province providing for its own leprosy cases. A profound change in public opinion is required to prevent the assembly of beggars with leprosy at festivals. There is a great need for a popular movement commanding the support of the public and of Indian religious and charitable organisations to work towards this end and for spending this money in constructive work, such as the provision of leprosy colonies, hospitals and clinics. A large increase in institutions for the isolation of infective patients is required.*

An urgent need is the improvement of the teaching in leprosy given in medical schools and colleges, every doctor should know how to diagnose and treat leprosy and what precautionary measures should be taken against its spread. The report also gives a description of a model Provincial Leprosy Institution and recommends that, in every province where leprosy is common, such an institution should form the hub of anti-leprosy activities.

CO-ORDINATED POLICY

The Central Advisory Board of Health has commended the report to all Provincial and State Governments in the hope that the various recommendations will materially assist them in the formulation of a co-ordinated policy for anti-leprosy work, with special emphasis on the preventive aspect of the problem.

While emphasising the need for public co-operation, the Board considers that Provincial and Local Authorities should aim at providing for the isolation of those persons who are in an infective stage of the disease. In anti-leprosy propaganda more use should be made of schools and teachers' training institutions. The Board also recommends the establishment of a "Leprosy Institute of India," the appointment of Provincial Leprosy Officers and amendment of existing legislation for the control of leprosy in the light of the principles recommended in the report.

The recommendations of the Board should be given effect to without any avoidable delay.

Withdrawal of All Dacca Riots Communal Cases

DACCA, May 13.

It is understood that local officials have received instructions from the Government to withdraw all communal cases irrespective of whether compromise petitions are submitted or not, except in cases concerning offences against law itself and officers of the Government.—*A. P.*

Mutual forgiveness and mercy are commendable. We hope the withdrawal of these communal cases will contribute to the restoration of good feeling between the communities.

The true object and significance of the withdrawals should be explained to the persons considered, so that they may not be misled and may not entertain any wrong notions as to why the cases have been withdrawn. If the object of the withdrawals be misinterpreted and misunderstood they may become contributory causes for future general unrest and communal conflicts.

In an extract in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (May 21, Mofussil Edition) from the Dacca Riots Enquiry Committee's Report we read :

Referring to the allegations of interference by the Local Government to protect members of their community from the lawful result of illegal actions by interference in the trials of Moslem offenders, the Committee says that the Murapara case has been cited as an instance of wrongful interference by the Government with the course of justice. No explanation, says the report, has been given and we cannot resist the inference that the interference was not justified.

KULTI DISTURBANCES

The Committee also referred to the Kulti disturbances case, the trial of which was sought to be adjourned *sine die* at the instance of the Government. But the High Court set aside the order and sent the case back to be heard. In a reported judgment, the Chief Justice observed that the manner in which the order had been procured was open to gravest possible objection. These proceedings were in the district of Burdwan, but there can be little doubt, the report says, that information of the manner in which they were stayed had been noted throughout Bengal and the probable result would be to create an impression that the Government would refrain from active prosecution of criminal proceedings arising out of communal disturbances particularly where Muslims were concerned.

There is no evidence of this feeling among the town population of Dacca but there is a considerable body of evidence that the less sophisticated crowds in the districts were convinced that their co-religionists in the Government would protect them from the legal results of criminal actions committed in communal disorders.

All these factors may have combined to start the conflagration.

Dacca Riots Enquiry Committee's Report

The Dacca Riots Enquiry Committee's Report is an important document. It should be studied calmly and criticized, where necessary, dispassionately. But when the only material available is some extracts made from it in newspapers, such study and criticism are impossible.

Compensation for Loss of Property in Dacca Riots

During the Dacca riots some lives were lost and many persons received more or less serious injuries. Cases arising out of such loss of lives and physical injury have been withdrawn. But large numbers of persons lost much property, too. Some lost their all. Government should pay adequate compensation to all such persons. No effort can be made to recover such property from the plunderers without stirring up communal feeling. So no such attempt should be made. But the sufferers should be undoubtedly compensated and that from public funds. Such compensation is necessary for making the sufferers forget the past as much as possible.

Two A.-I. C. C. Resolutions Regarding Vivisection of India

Arising out of Rajaji's proposal to concede the Muslim League demand for the partition of India, two resolutions were passed at the last session of the All-India Congress Committee, one unequivocally condemning the Pakistan plan and the other holding up and supporting the ideal of the integrity of India.

Anti-Pakistan Day

On the 10th of May anti-Pakistan day was observed in all parts of India.

We have written much against the Pakistan plan. Many of our contributors also have written against it. Some of ablest among them are Muslims.

The most thoroughgoing exposure of the Pakistan idea is a book in English by Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, M.A., B.L., of Bengal, with a Foreword by Syed Nausher Ali, an ex-Minister of the Province. The book is priced Re. 1-8. Copies can be had from the publishers, the Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta.

Mr. N. R. Sarker's "Grow More Food" Radio Broadcast

As part of the Grow More Food campaign Mr. N. R. Sarker spoke to the people of Bengal last month through the radio.

Mr. Sarker closed with a fervent appeal for keeping the image of their motherland before their eyes in all they did, for that he felt, would provide them with an inspiration such as nothing else could. "Let not the name of this land be just a mere word or sound to us," he said, "Let us instead picture this land of ours as verily a loving mother whose land and water, whose air, fields, sky and forest surround us in a close embrace. Let us think of it as the sacred soil which, in the past, had brought up and reared our forefathers and which would bestow the same loving care on the unborn generations throughout the ages to come. Let us place this image of the mother in our hearts and there give her our worship in love and adoration, and let us all take a vow to give concrete shape to our love for the motherland by applying ourselves to make her soil richer and more fruitful, to make her water purer, her air more racing, her rich forest richer still by our care and, above all, to make the country's manhood and womanhood conscious of their strength and powers, moral and spiritual, and determined to put forth the best efforts for attaining a better and fuller life.—*A. P.*

Mr. Sarker's appeal irresistibly reminds one of Rabindranath Tagore's entrancing song, beginning—

आमार सोनार बांगला, आमि तोमाय भालबासि ।
चिरदिन तोमार आकाश तोमार बातास, आमार प्राणे बाजाय बाँशि ।
ओमा, फागुने तोर आमेर बने
घ्राणे पागल करे, (मरि हाय, हाय रे)—
ओमा, अघ्राणे तोर भरा क्षेने की देखेछि मधुर हासि ॥

Rev. Dr. J. A. Graham of Kalimpong

The Rev. Dr. J. A. Graham of Kalimpong passed away on the 15th May last. In the course of an appreciative speech on the great philanthropist Dr. Foss Westcott, the Metropolitan of India, said :

"When early on Friday morning, the news of the passing of Dr. John Anderson Graham of Kalimpong reached me I found it hard to say whether it was the feeling of thankfulness for his glorious life of service which predominated or the deep sense of sorrow at the thought of separation from a friend I dearly loved. No one who met him could fail to feel the attraction of his beautiful character or desire to share in some measure in the wonderful work which he had organised and developed.

Born in September, 1861, he came out to India early in 1889 to become the leader of the work which the Young Men's Guild of the Church of Scotland had undertaken, for such a task he was peculiarly well suited, having a heart which went out to those in distress of whatever race they might be, and with powers of organisation which had been developed by his work among young men in his native country. The Mission at Kalimpong soon became under his inspiring leadership an outstanding centre of those beneficent activities through which the spirit of Christ finds expression. It was the sad condition of the waifs and strays of the domiciled community which led him to found the homes which filled in India the place which Dr. Barnado's Homes in England were the first to occupy. They have become real homes to over 1,400 boys and girls who have passed through them. The nature of the work

they have undertaken and the enthusiasm and character of their founder have attracted wide support, and today the slopes of the hills of Kalimpong are covered with the houses and other buildings necessary for the efficient training of those who have been educated there. His Church, University and Government have bestowed their honours upon Dr. Graham, but the reward which he most deeply cherished was the place he held in affections of the men and women trained in the homes which he had founded.

The Drug Industry in India

It is a pleasure to note that the drug industry has been developing rapidly in the country. Further expansion is possible and expected.

Researches ought to be carried on for discovering substitutes for medicines which cannot be prepared or prepared in adequate quantities in India. Such researches are being successfully carried on in China.

Why Gandhiji Collected Andrews' Memorial Fund

The paragraph extracted from *Harijan* in which Gandhiji thanked Bombay donors to the Andrews' Memorial Fund was taken from the dailies some 4 or 5 days before we received *Harijan* of the 24th May last which contains it. Along with the paragraph we have printed on a previous page our guess that many, if not all, of the Bombay donors parted with their money under the influence of Gandhiji. From Shri Mahadev Desai's article on the subject in *Harijan* we find that our guess was correct. The entire article is reproduced below.

Bombay has enabled Gandhiji to fulfil a debt that had weighed on him for over a year. Deenabandhu Andrews died on the 5th of April, 1940, and an appeal for a memorial to him was issued by among others the Gurudeva and Gandhiji. Before even a lakh of rupees could be collected, the Poet was removed from our midst, and ever since his death Gandhiji had been worrying over the poor response to the appeal. The circumstances in which he decided to visit Bombay are now well-known.

The response was naturally expected, when Gandhiji himself decided to devote a week to the purpose, but there is no gainsaying the fact that with most of the donors regard for Gandhiji was a greater consideration than the purpose. A friend who was talking with Gandhiji the other day frankly said to him : "Gandhiji, you are backing the wrong horse." It was in order to correct this wrong impression that Gandhiji explained to more than one donor that the cause was worthy of their generous support.

"I am not exaggerating," he said, "when I say that Santiniketan is worthy of a greater support than the Bangalore Research Institute for which Tata gave Rs. 30 lakhs. I wonder if the Research Institute is known anywhere outside India. But the Santiniketan is known wherever the Poet's name is known, and known as an institution that inspired the Poet's great poetry. The Poet used to call it his toy or plaything, but his poesy would have been barren without the plaything. The Santiniketan whose school of art and culture attracts students from far and near has produced painters and poets and scholars. There are among those who humbly serve it—a scholar like Kshitibabu and an artist like Nandababu, who are both unrivalled in their respective domains. And no institution of this type in India is managed with so little finance."

"Our devotion to the Poet will remain as long as we live. But how can we have the same devotion for Santiniketan? How long will it last?"

"The institution which inspired the Poet received in its turn inspiration from the Poet, and you may be sure that there are people there who will devote their lifetime to its service. Santiniketan is a romance. It grew out of the Poet's father's idea to found a home of peace and culture. It is a tragedy that monied men, who have gained so much from Santiniketan, do not appreciate its full worth. The Poet is an asset for India and for the world for all time, and it is the duty of monied men to put his institution on a sound basis."

If Gandhiji appreciates Santiniketan so much as a home of art, why does he himself have *ashrams* of a different character? For the simple reason that art is the need of quite a fair number of our people and it must be fulfilled in a clean, wholesome and inexpensive way. Santiniketan, with its branch at Sriniketan, does it. That was what attracted Deenabandhu Andrews to it, and he identified himself with it, and he became its champion collector.

"You can never give too much to Santiniketan," said Gandhiji summing up his impassioned appeal.

"But," some one said, "we are in the midst of turmoil. These are not times for money collection. Can't we wait until we have won our freedom?"

"Rabindranath could not wait to come to the world until freedom was won," said Gandhiji in a neat retort.

Bombay, 18-5-42 M. D.

All workers of Visva-Bharati and other well-wishers of it have reasons to be sincerely grateful to Mahatma Gandhi for the great trouble he has taken to collect the whole amount needed for the Andrews' Memorial. Mahatmaji has bestowed much praise on Visva-Bharati which it deserves. But in speaking of it as only a "home of art" he has been less than just to it. Not that art is in itself a small thing. But Visva-Bharati is unquestionably much more than a home of art. And it is a very small part of the truth to say that Mr. Andrews was attracted to it because of its being a home of art. Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, who with his noble consort has for years been giving some 50,000 rupees a year to Sriniketan, was not attracted to the institution for its being a home of art. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek donated Rs. 80,000 to Cheena-Bhawana and Visva-Bharati, not because the Poet had founded a school of art.

That the Poet's ideal has not been realized to the full is true; but for that the ideal is not to blame. It is not our intention to apportion blame. But it must be said that among those who must share the blame are the public and leaders of India, particularly of Bengal, and

most or many of the past and present workers of Visva-Bharati. More will have to be said on the subject hereafter.

Immersion of Images of Hindu Deities

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee as a highly respected leader of the Hindus has appealed to the Chief Minister of Bengal for his intervention for the redress of the grievances of the Hindus of the province in respect of the immersion of the images of Hindu deities after their annual *Puja* celebrations. Without the redress of such grievances, the restoration of communal amity cannot be complete. We hope the Chief Minister will make a prompt response to the appeal.

Hindus Ask For Compensation in Dacca Riot Affected Areas

DACCA, May 26.

A deputation on behalf of the riot affected Hindus of rural areas of the district met the Hon. Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Minister in charge of Revenue, yesterday. The deputationists submitted that in response to the desire of the present Ministry, the Hindus had filed joint compromise petitions in pending cases, arising out of the communal disturbances, on the understanding that adequate relief and compensation would be given to the affected Hindus.

They assessed the damage in the rural areas to over a crore of rupees and prayed that a sum of at least Rs. 50,50,000 be granted by the Government immediately in order to relieve the distress of the affected people. They further prayed that the distribution of relief be made through a committee of 25 local Hindus and not through Circle Officers.

Another deputation, on behalf of the Muslims of the riot-affected rural areas, met the Hon. Minister and stressed the need of providing relief to the peasants, as the harvest had failed in the area, owing to the disturbances and its consequences.

The members of the Dacca Chamber of Commerce also met Mr. Banerjee at a tea party and submitted to him a memorial praying for payment of compensation to the riot-affected people in the city. They assessed the loss suffered by the merchants in the city in the communal disturbances to about Rs. 15,80,000.

The Hon. Minister attended a conference of the Congress workers at the residence of Prof. Atul Sen, M.L.A., and discussed the line of action, the Congress workers should follow at the present juncture.—*A. P.*

How Government Promotes Shipbuilding in India

In the course of a talk with pressmen at Lahore Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave an illustrative example of how Government promotes industries in India. Here it is:

"When Mr. Walchand Hirachand was returning to India from U. S. A., he met some American experts in the ship who were proceeding to China to start shipbuilding industry. Then there in the ship he made arrangements with the experts that on their return they should come to India and help in starting shipbuilding industry in India.

On reaching Chungking, he (Mr. Walchand Hirachand) sent a telegram to the Government of India for permission and then from Manila he sent telegrams to this effect but no reply was received. On reaching Calcutta, he sent a telegram and a letter to the Government, which was acknowledged by a postcard, informing Mr. Walchand that his telegrams and letter had been forwarded to the department concerned for necessary action.

He met the Commerce Member of the Government of India, who told Mr. Walchand Hirachand that he should not bother himself about shipbuilding industry in India when they can get ships from the U. S. A.

Then he was asked to see the Commerce Member in Calcutta, and when he went to see him *the Commerce Member was sorry to inform Mr. Hirachand that he had forgot to bring his file.*" (Italics ours).

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda

By the death of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, late of the Archaeological Survey, India, has lost an eminent son and the world a great Indologist. As an authority on Indian art, history and archaeology, Mr. Chanda's record and reputation is too well known throughout the cultured world for mention in a short obituary notice. He was a valued contributor to this journal, and we have a deep and personal feeling of irreparable loss at his departure from this world. Austere and rigid in his scholarship and research, Mr. Chanda had a personality at once striking and impressive. Those who had the privilege of his friendship knew that with his profound learning was combined a rare amount of candour and simplicity of spirit.

Pandit Nehru Not Going to America At Present

WARDHAGANJ, May 27.

"I do not intend leaving India for the present," replied Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when the *United Press* representative drew his attention to the report that the National Broadcasting Corporation from New York has broadcast that Pandit Nehru is proceeding to Washington as President Roosevelt is anxious to discuss with him India's defences and war production.

Pandit Nehru met Gandhiji in the morning and is again meeting him in the afternoon when discussion on the present political situation is likely to take place.—*U. P.*

Civil Defence Drive

We wish all success to the Civil Defence Drive inaugurated in Calcutta. It is to be hoped the movement will be extended to the mofussil and Government officers there will try to secure and succeed in securing the co-operation of the people's leaders in the different localities.

[Notes finished at 7-15 p.m. on May 28, 1942.]

THE VALIDITY OF CRITICAL APPROACH

By Principal S. N. DASGUPTA, M.A., Ph.D (Cantab.)

The extent to which the thesis of the Unity of Rabindranath's Genius can be maintained must be left open till the complete survey of the principal works of Rabindranath is made, and the success of our contention must be left open to the judgement of those readers who will accompany us through our fairly long survey. But the object of our present treatment is not merely or even mainly to demonstrate such a thesis. It is our purpose to approach in a critical fashion the works of Rabindranath for understanding and appreciating them, but this will, however, be associated with such comments on various points wherein the present author has something to add of his own or where his own ideas are not in agreement with those of the great author.

But to approach an author like Rabindranath is indeed a difficult task. He has written volumes of excellent poetry and prose. Even among the Bengalees there are but few who have thoroughly studied his works. So far his prose works have received but little attention in the hands of appreciative critics. His prose works contain novels and dramas, his views about education, society, politics, customs and manners, criticisms of works, and many reflective and religious essays, and also various topics of diverse interests. His poetical works and songs are vaster than those of most other poets. He took to poetry at a very early age and continued writing it till within a few days of his death. With the growth of his mind, experience and knowledge and development of new interests, his poetic talents moved in diverse directions which it is not easy to classify and rationalize within one perspective. In addition to these his epistolary activity manifested itself in a huge number of letters and quite a good portion of it has already been published. They are inimitable in their terms of force, imagery, thought-provoking imagination and the poetic atmosphere together with wit and humour. It will be expecting the impossible to want from any student of Rabindranath to do justice to each and every work of the author. Moreover, such a treatment would bristle with so many references that the main thread of our investigation would be more or less lost. Again, the approach to the different kinds of literature which owe their existence to the poet must necessarily be different.

Theories of criticism in the present generation are in a state of chaos and there is an appaling confusion in critical practice. Critical literature of the day forms a heterogeneous body diametrically opposed to one another not only in the current Bengali criticisms but also in the criticisms that we read of English and French books. There is generally seldom any evaluation of the language patterns or of the dominant idea. The critic often gives no reason why the book should or should not be read and would simply sometime talk vaguely about the author or his story or his poetry in a light and airy dinner party manner. Thus to quote Charles William's criticism of T. S. Eliot we find :

> "Mr. Eliot was probably a gad-fly......but it is not the gad-fly which drove Io across seas and lands but rather one that stings us into a maze; a maze of which the divisions are only sometimes green hedges and are at others tombstones and the walls of London drawing-rooms and of mildewed cellars and at others even whole landscapes. There is a clue to this maze, but we shall never know it, for the humming of the gad-fly is unmeaning."

Or we may quote a few lines from a review of Christopher Morley's *Swiss Family Manhatton* :

> "It is a difficult stunt to tell a story in the first person of an eccentric specialist in card catalogues, for the story is to be told anyhow, whatever happens to the eccentric. But it is good to hear the voice of Mr. Morley in the mask of his protagonist. The book is not a novel; properly classified it is the excellent old stunt practised by Swift and Voltaire usually for the purposes of satire. But Mr. Morley is too kindly and amused to be a satirist with poison in his sting."

Now, criticisms like these express only personal predilections and they tell us practically nothing about the work to which their criticism is directed, and can hardly be regarded as evaluations of those works. Reviews like these are mere jumbles of disconnected characterisations and they do not consistently follow a single line of criticism based upon concrete principles and methods, and the critics think that the work of criticism consists merely in giving patches of personal impressions of the different characters. They do not seem to be aware of the fact that criticism as an organization of experience must face similar organization of experience of the

poet and that such organization must be based upon certain definite and well-laid principles of criticism as entering into the organization of our experience. The poet has something to communicate to us and we must judge whether such communications are of a synthetic nature and whether they synthetically produce in us an aesthetic joy or reveal a truth inexpressible in any other manner than that employed by the poet—it is this manner which constitutes the art of the poet.

Rabindranath himself seems to have much faith in an impressionistic criticism and so probably had Goethe, Carlyle and Pater. The impressionistic critic, however, seems to think that the function of criticism is simply to have sensations in reading a work of art and to express it. Thus, an impressionistic critic in reading "Episychidion" of Shelley, would probably review it thus:

"To read 'Epipsychidion' is to feel a thrill of pleasure, to taste a sense of sublimity, that would pulsate through one's veins in a rhythm and cadence of a transcendent nature. Our joyous experience of it is a better judgment of it than what can be expressed in words."

After all, we can only express our feelings as to how it affects us and so may other people also do, when they are confronted with an work of art like this; and each of our experiences may produce a work of art which will stand parallel to the work which we enjoyed. A critic like Croce would probably say that in making a criticism a critic must by his sympathy place himself into the heart of the experience of the poet or the artist through the expressions of the latter as manifested in the work of art. The criticism is true or false to the degree in which the critic's placing himself in the position of the artist's experience is quantitatively complete and qualitatively accurate or false. Impressionism denies even the possibility of communication because the personal impressions vary and the same person may have different impressions in his different moods. If the impressions or sensations are felt to be joyous the art is regarded as good. Even the joyousness of the experience is not always regarded as an indispensable condition, and a critic is appreciated in his profession if he is a successful linguistic technician, or in other words, if his own expressions are linguistic. The impressionist seldom takes into account the extent to which he has been able to evaluate the work of art correctly; it is enough if he can evaluate his own feelings, but in evaluating his own experiences instead of the work of art he is denying the function of criticism as an objective work in order to justify his own criticism. Naturally he concludes that anything that is not delightful to him is bad; his personal delight becomes the basis of evaluation for all experience and an objective justification of his criticism. The impressionist further fails to explore the central problem of literary criticism, *viz.*, the literary experience. Literature is not a mere momentary, sensuous pleasure but it is a contribution towards a greater and greater understanding of ourselves as readers and of our own world of experience.

It is true no doubt that it is not possible for an artist to carry home to us properly and accurately his own experience so far as it is merely objective and so far as it is coloured by his own emotive impulses. Even when two persons look at the same scarlet colours of a flower they cannot be sure that the sensuous experience of each of them is identically and numerically the same. When both use the word 'scarlet' or 'red' to denote the colour they are perceiving, they may have in their minds two different shades of colour which must remain incommunicable to each other. The expression 'red' or 'scarlet' is only a universal that cannot express the individual varieties that may have been stressed in experience by the one or the other. There is no proof that two minds act as one and identically the same photographic camera recording exactly the same impression. If this is so how much more impossible must it be to communicate to the reader the artist's own internal experience which is saturated not only with the emotive impulses but vague yet concrete references to his own history of experience, his sense of value and numerous other psychic contents, which must have bloomed forth in his concrete intuition. No one can really communicate his own intuitive experience in its own concrete reality. It is the function of the artist to create a situation through the magic of language, its order, its trailing history of allusions, dimly luminous, the rhythm and the metre, the arrangement, the sonorous effect and the imaginative shadows and the like such that the reader may, if his mind is in a suitable literary plane, interpret the linguistic or pictorial situation in such a a manner as to give rise to his mind experiences more or less similar to that of the poet. The objective content that is sought to be expressed in the literary or pictorial situation created by the artist, is not the extra-subjective element but the extra-subjective element bathed in the colours of the poet's experience and transformed thereby into a new reality. The reader's or observer's function does not consist in attempt-

ing the impossible, that is, to reproduce the same experience in him; it consists, however, in receiving such responses that he may in his mind enjoy a concrete experience more or less similar to the experience of the poet or the artist. It is obvious, therefore, that what the artist makes or communicates is not exactly the same thing as what he intended to do. Croce's view, therefore, that expression and intuition are entirely the same, is wholly wrong. When we look at Michael Angelo's 'Dawn' our expressive experience of the sculpture can only suggest such equivalents of the emotive experience of the artist as we are capable of having. The poet or the artist creates situations through the blending of words or colours as are objective counterparts of his subjective experience, but he can do so only with partial success. His expressions may be qualitatively and quantitavely more heightened than his actual experience, or it may fall below the level. On the other hand, the reader or the observer is also creating in his own mind a situation of experience from the objective data of colours or words, which is more or less different from the actual experience of the poet or the artist. His own impression of the work of art is his own induced or created experience.

A poet may be confronted with an external material transfiguration, such as a landscape, or with a human situation either drawn from memory, other's writings, or from personal experience. From the whole concrete field the poet or the artist only chooses from amidst the jumble of the situation those elements which have an appeal to him. The reason of this appeal has to be sought partly in his nervous system and partly in the special kind of awakening of his mental structure. It is not so much always a matter of personal whim or the following up of a course of reasoning that the poet or the artist approaches his problem. It is well to remember at this stage the contribution of the Gestalt psychology that stresses the importance of the awakening of a particular organization. As one writer has pointed out,— seeing the solution to a problem is like suddenly seeing the hidden face in a puzzled picture. As one first looks at the picture one merely sees leaves and trees because the elements of the picture are arranged to that end; then suddenly a new organization is seen and the hidden face appears. Just what causes the new organization and how it is to be explained Gestalt psychology does not say; but it does insist that the explanation cannot be reduced to the traditional laws of association. The spontaneity involved must go deeper than what temporal or spatial association can explain. Its roots lie deep in the sub-conscious and the temperamental psychology of the individual. The poet or the artist finds a special sympathy, inclination or liking, in integrating one part of the experience with the other leaving aside other parts as being useless or irrelevant. It is this part of the spontaneous choice of the mental organization of the poet or the artist in integrating his experiences that has often been called the intuition of the poet. This intuition or the awakening of a particular type of organization in the poet's mind involves within it not only the chosen objective data but particular emotions, imaginations and impulses which spontaneously tend towards expressing in suitable liason of words, rhythm or metre and the blending of colours. According to the Gestalt psychology the act of mental ratiocination depends upon a certain organization of data. The reason as to what words and expressions are to be chosen is a direct function of this organization. The expressions, in words or colours are the direct functions of the meaning that the poet or the artist had apprehended and both the meaning and the expressions are the function of the awakened organization of the mental structure. The meaning apprehended by the poet or the artist is infused with emotive impulses and the characteristic feature of the expression organization is for conveying the meaning of the poet to his audience. It must not, however, be forgotten that in the mental organization of the poet the mind of the audience is also present in a dim twilight-like shadow, for the mental structure of the poet or the artist always carries with it the mind of the audience along with the whole objective world.

The reader or the observer, provided his mental structure has proper affinities with that of the poet or the artist, gets induced in him through the expressions used by the poet or the artist an awakening of mental organization more or less similar to that of the poet or the artist. Depending on this similarity of organization some Indian critics have asserted the coalescence of the mind of the reader and the poet. Abercrombie, however, agrees more or less with our view that art like any other communication of experience can only be a symbolic communication; but it must communicate the *whole* experience so far at least as this is possible in a symbolism which can never really give the whole; the whole can only be given in the experience itself. But art must be a symbolism

which, at any rate, gives all the important factors or representative aspects of an experience; my contribution and the world's contribution must equally be there. And this inclusive symbolism of art will consist not only of arbitrary symbols, such as, words, but of empirical symbols also, such as, rhythm and harmony, colour and line, which have been found to carry with them certain psychological effects.

The fact thus remains that the mental organization of the reader or the observer is never identical with that of the poet or the painter.

So far the impressionist is right that one can only judge about his own impression or the mental transfiguration, but the experience of the poet or the painter cannot be directly communicated to the reader or the observer. It is the art or the practical skill of the poet or the painter to create such a situation through chosen words and rhymes or the blending of colours and lines that the reader or the observer may get induced in him the meaning which is more or less akin to that of the poet or the painter. Any wrong or displaced word, wrong shade of colour or line wrongly placed might largely baffle the purpose. The secret of the art of the poet or the painter consists in his helping the reader or the observer to create spontaneously a similar mental organization in the reader or the observer, but yet the two cannot be identical. The response to creation generated in the mind of the reader or the observer would depend very largely upon the frame of his mind, his history of experiences, his temperament and tone of affectability in particular directions.

But it would be a wrong procedure of criticism of a work of art if one should only take an estimate of merely the emotional elements with which he has been surcharged. He has to take account of the objective element, the external data on which the mind of the poet was focussed, his skill in choosing the elements out of a large complex for blending these elements into a situation fit to become the vehicle of his passion or emotion. He has to take account of the internal logic that cemented the chosen elements and made it a whole—the inner necessity that demanded the internal dynamic that was responsible for the organic growth of the cellular element into a living whole; it is only a living whole having the properties of a united organism that can be charged with passion. Wheresoever the mental organization of the poet fell short of it there was a deformity and ugliness and theresoever it became lifeless; even if the mental organization was all right; when the artist by an exercise of his conscious reasoning and critical faculties so pruned or maladjusted or exaggerated any part of the organization through a misemployment of his expressive apparatus he fell short of his destined purpose. The critic has also to take an account of the nature of the practical skill in the employment of his choice expressions for producing the desired effect.

The geographical or the biographical details regarding an artist may indeed satisfy our prying curiosity, our gossip-loving tendency regarding great men, but it is not so important for a critical evaluation of the work of art. A cow may be fed with straw, hay, green leaves, mustard shells and the like, but a chemical analysis of these materials will but help little to understand the value and the taste of the milk that it produces. The external materials that enter into the poet's mental structure undergo a transfiguration and it becomes an emergent reality standing by itself. An analysis and accurate measurement of his nervous processes is quite beside the point but yet this emergent reality is not wholly new as it has its basis and support in the conscious and sub-conscious, rational and emotional, impulsive and idealistic tendencies of his mental structure. It is by virtue of that peculiar mental structure that from out of a complex situation certain elements were chosen by him and charged by his emotional impulse and life, so that these elements would divide and sub-divide amongst themselves into a cellular whole having differentiated functions of a structural organism—the artistic whole, which had an appeal of beauty to the artist and the reader. For the very same reason that the artistic creation would impregnate the mind of the reader with a seed that developed in his mental structure a similar artistic whole. That artistic whole must have in the mind of the reader some such correlates in the conscious or the sub-conscious with which and through which the gene of the artist's mind would reproduce the new artistic organism in the mind of the reader. These correlates, therefore, as they are indispensable for the creation both in the mind of the artist and the reader, are as much objective facts, though of a mental nature, as the facts of the physical nature on which the artist's mind was originally diverted. It seems, therefore, to be the obvious duty of a critic to live through and express the rational history of the mind of the poet as far as they had their correlates on the mind of the critic himself.

From what we have said it will appear that no criticism can be regarded as perfectly valid evaluation of the actual creation in the mind of the poet or its actual presupposition in that mind; for, as we have said that a critic has at his disposal only his own mental organization. But it has been argued that through the art of communication a seed of the poet's mind has been thrown into that of the reader where in its own climatic environment it has produced a plant more or less similar to that which had grown in the mind of the poet. It has been charged with more or less the same life, emotion and impulse. It is the business, then, of the critic to lay bare the inner necessity, the rationale, the conjunctive correlates that led the literary gene to develop its somatic parts which would at once explain the rational history of its life, impulse and emotion. Such a criticism is not impressionism but an objective treatment of a fact which is at once subjective and objective. The mere delineation of a thrill one feels in reading a work of art and expressing it in flowery bombasts and attributing to it any kind of arbitrary design or ideal or to charm the audience by long quotations from the author and thereby steal the merit of the author and make it appear as his own, is no business of a critic. There are, however, cases in which the charm of the author hangs loosely like a mist which has no definite shape and which by its shapeless and variegated forms intoxicates us, where it is not reason, not necessity, but a piling of images through most expressive words and rhymes that captivate us, that the critic may be obliged to give specimens of them to show how these orchids which send no roots into the solid grounds, are yet fascinating by the colours of their bloom. In our appraisal and evaluation we shall try to follow this method as far as practicable.

THE IMPERIAL THEME

Some Possible Economic Dangers

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

Two truths are told,
As happy prologues to the swelling act
Of the imperial theme.
—*Macbeth*, I. iii.

THE failure of the Cripps mission has demonstrated once again that Britain is not willing to part with power even at this critical moment. This is, in a sense, only natural, for Imperialism must try to retain power up to the very last even when that is an impossible proposition. This suicidal policy has repercussions not only on the country which follows it, but also on the country which is the victim of such policy. As the crisis deepens, the inherent contradictions and the inevitable defects become more prominent and open and the mask of high-sounding phrases which generally covers the exploiter-exploited relation becomes thinner and thinner until it bursts open. Wartime India is no exception to this general rule and this disintegrating process is already in evidence in her intra-imperial relations. There are very sound material reasons why the effects of such a policy should be felt more in India than anywhere else, for while the dominions belong to the white-aristocracy and have therefore good reasons to help Britain in shouldering the white man's burden, India is in a totally different position and must remain satisfied with the humbler duties assigned to her by her masters. Such exploitation, therefore, has assumed bigger proportions now and is being carried on in more subtle and insidious ways. An inkling of such exploitation was found in the Finance Member's budget speech on the 29th February, 1940, when the little details he disclosed about the respective share of the British and the Indian Governments in the cost of India's defence were enough to rouse legitimate suspicion. It is however impossible for any one without access to Government archives to find out such sources of exploitation. But there are certain matters of high policy which do not fall in that category of administrative discrimination. These matters of policy, it may be noted, relate mainly to two things. They relate in the first place to what India has to give for her place under the imperial sun; secondly, they relate also to what the 'lion,' as Mr. Churchill had it, has to offer to the cub.[1]

Let us begin with the first aspect of the

1. "And now the old lion with her lion cubs at her side stands alone against hunters who are armed with deadly weapons and impelled by desperate and destructive rage."—Mr. Churchill, June 17, 1941.

question and try to find out the nature of help that the lion may receive from the cubs. What are the sources of British war finance? It is perhaps a little difficult to define every possible source, for to repeat what the *Economist* has said, it has become fashionable to say that finance has ceased to count in the problem of paying for the war. Still, there are broadly speaking, three major sources of British War Finance. In the words of the *Economist*[2] they are (*a*) increased national income through extra output, etc., (*b*) drafts on capital, (*c*) restriction of popular consumption. It would be optimistic, according to the *Economist,* to suppose that the whole of the Government's need could be met from this source. Dollar resources, again, have been completely exhausted by now; so

"the conclusion is inescapable that if the scale of Government utilisation of resources is to increase, the scale of popular consumption must be cut down still further."

The suggestion was made that resort should be had to taxation, savings, or direct physical limitations or inflation or all of them for cutting down consumption. But it should be observed that these relate more to the internal problems rather than to external policy except in one case. Increased national income includes all income on foreign loan account or export account and it is here that the dominions and India come into the picture.

It has become apparent by now that one of the sources of British War Finance in this respect has been loans from the dominions and India in various shapes. One peculiar form of loan or advance is that it takes the form, practically of supplying goods on credit without openly professing to be such. This leads us to the problem of accumulating sterling resources in the hands of India, Canada, South Africa and other countries in similar position. England has, by now, begun disinvesting what she had invested before mostly because this is one of the readily available ways of repaying the dominions even if it is to a small extent.

TABLE I†

NATIONAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN REAL TERMS
(100=Net national income at factor cost in 1938)

	1938	4th Quarter. 1940	4th Quarter. 1941-42
Net national income at factor cost ..	100	109½	112½
Consumption ..	77	69	63
Govt. Expenditure ..	19	73½*	74*
Investment (or Disinvestment) ..	4	—33*	—24½*

But such repayment would have been quite impossible if the countries exporting goods to England would not have been content to take payment in sterling and again leave that sterling on deposit in London. That is the simple story behind the big talk about sterling loan repatriation programme. This is where the steel-frame of imperialism makes itself felt; for being inevitably linked to the sterling area financially, these countries cannot repudiate the overbearing influence of the pound sterling and demand payment in home currency. Hence payment in sterling becomes quite a paper transaction when previous sterling loans advanced by the British Government are repaid at the same moment. For the exporting countries, therefore, this means that their governments are paying their producers and exporters now by inflating currency on the strength of accumulated sterling resources and also are taking over loans merely because the British Government would not pay cash. This is in a sense issuing credit to Great Britain but issuing it under *camouflage*—a policy which not only seems suspicious in the context of existing relations but has acutally been found to be pursued even when it has ceased to have any advantage for the country concerned. Canada has been willing to help England openly by depositing out of her accumulated sterling resources $ 400 worth pound sterling as an interest-free loan for the duration of the war and also by agreeing to supply munitions of war, war-materials and food-stuffs entirely free of charge up to an amount of $ 1000 millions. India has not been and can not be so willing for obvious reasons; but India has still been subjected to the tyranny of this policy which has been followed with significant obstinacy even though that was not justified by internal conditions here.[3] But England even through all this camouflage, has not been able to clear off her dues. We reproduce below an estimate made by the *Economist*[4] which will show the effects of this back-door policy on the dominions and dependencies.

2. *Economist*, Jan. 31, 1942, p. 136.

† *Economist*, Jan. 31, 1942.

* 1940 figures of Government expenditure include payments, out of capital assets, for many things which in 1941-42 are obtained on Lend-Lease Terms.

3. *Vide Economist*, April 5, 1941. "Faced with this non-commercial demand for sterling, the Reserve Bank both lowered its rate and widened the spread against potential buyers. There was an element of harsh dealing in this manœuvre . . . . this seems surprising, in view of the substantial creditor balance at which India's account of international payments—and in particular sterling payments—is running. . . The recent movement in the rupee-rate is, therefore, contrary to the underlying trend of the market."

4. *Economist*, Jan. 3, 1942, p. 15.

TABLE II

STERLING FUNDS OF THE EMPIRE COUNTRIES

In £ millions

Country	Latest data	Total	Increase on year	Sterling Debt Redeemed	Credit Balance of payment with U.K.
Canada	(Oct. 31, 1941)	147	140	50	190
India	(Dec. 19, 1941)	210	69	90	159
Malaya	(July, 1941)	60	37	..	37
Eire	(Sept., 1941)	81	15	..	15
S. Africa	(Oct., 1941)	11	10	30*	40*
N. Zealand	(July, 1941)	27	2	..	2
Australia	(Sept., 1941)	42	—20	..	—20
	Total	578	253	170	423

* Plus amount represented by South African purchase of securities in the London market.

Objection must be taken to such a policy at least on two grounds. Even if we can justify on economic or ideological grounds the grant of any loan in an open and frank manner, it is through such hidden and back-door policies, uncontrolled and unregulated as they are by public opinion, that the imperial theme manifests itself. But it is not possible to justify this policy on economic grounds also; for, the existing imperial relations and the present methods of trading would combine to lead India to a financial crisis at the end of the war, if not before it. If this method is to continue throughout the war, India would have to face a huge debt and inflation internally with diminished prospects of recovering her dues from her debtors. It would perhaps be argued then that we should be less sordid in such matters when everything we hold dear is at stake; but there we stray away from the region of economics to the sphere of politics where again England has not been able to justify her demands on our people because of the wrong policy she has followed with regard to India.

II

We have discussed above one side of the picture and have tried to show what India has to give to England because of her place in the imperial frame-work. But as already pointed out there is also another side of the picture, for it is not a question of merely giving but also of taking something. The only little flaw in this give-and-take is that the things that India has to take are not always of her own choice. Present circumstances have made the danger very real that India may be exploited on the plea of war effort in pursuance of a policy that cannot be ultimately profitable. It is essential for Britain to keep up her export trade in spite of the war commitments of British industry and British shipping, for any large shrinkage in export would react on her national income and through it on national finance. In a recent deputation to Mr. Churchill, representatives of the British Institute of Exporters pressed for Government help for more export—a representation that naturally had favourable assurances from the British Premier. Now India, still an agricultural country, provides the best market for British manufactures, which must be sold for keeping up the British export trade. It is of course true that commodities entering into international trade are, in ideal conditions, also to benefit the country of destination; but this theoretical argument does not carry us far specially in the present context. That analysis can explain the relative advantage of the country under discussion so far as present conditions are concerned, but it does not go beyond this and cannot show whether the country would have gained more had her natural resources been fully developed. Recent conditions, again, have accentuated this tendency to look upon India as a consumer of British goods irrespective of her own needs and own possibilities.[5] For, while the continental market has been closed to the British exporter, continental competitors have, on the other hand, been eliminated from the Indian market—a fact which has compelled India to depend on England and the U. S. A. in a greater degree than before. British imports into India fell from Rs. 46·49 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 41·61 crores in 1939-40 and to Rs. 35·97 crores in 1940-41—a drop which must not be regarded as too high in view of the wartime demands on British industry and shipping and of unsafe sea routes.[6] The gradual spreading of the war has, since then, knit the Empire into a closer unit and as Indian imports have in recent years shown remarkable rise in value (in the eleven months from 1st April to

5. In a revealing passage, Mr. Arthur Moore states in his book *This Our War* (p. 74)—

"In England today things that the public would pay *les yeux de la tete* for but cannot get are exported to India and the Dominions for the sake of "after the war," and to keep up our export trade. From the Dominions and India, in so far as it is possible, anxious relatives post them back to the United Kingdom. For the sake of this export trade, tonnage that might be carrying munitions has to be set aside and to be guarded by warships travelling with it in convoy . . . . matches became difficult, and the way the war is changing avenues of trade is revealed by the fact that when you get a box of matches in a shop in London today it is quite often a "Horse's Head" and has come from India."

6. *Review of the Trade of India*, 1939-40, p. 170; Report on Currency and Finance, 1940-41, p. 7.

the end of February 1941-42, the total value of imports was Rs. 163 crores, the corresponding figures for the same period in 1940-41 being Rs. 142 crores and in 1939-40 being Rs. 150/- crores.)[7] Britain too has got as much share of the same as is possible under present conditions. Analysing further the nature of the British goods imported into India we find that the more important of these goods may be placed in three broad groups :

TABLE III †

(IN THOUSANDS OF RUPEES)

Group A

Machine Tools and Machinery

	1938-39	1939-40
Machinery and Mill work	11,20,96	8,92,55
Cycles and Parts	76,42	57,02
Motor Vehicles	1,59,37	1,54,89
Packing Engine and Boiler	3,82	4,29

† Compiled from the *Review of the Trade of India*, 1939-40, pp. 209-10.

Group B

Articles Needed for our Manufacturing Industries

	1938-39	1939-40
Belting for machinery	32,08	34,68
Bobins	18,72	23,54
Metals	4,64,82	3,76,22
Polishes	21,18	22,66
Printing materials	17,54	22,40
Instruments and Apparatus	2,93,59	2,64,25
Dyeing and Tanning substances	33,95	50,45

Group C

Other (Non-essential) Goods

	1938-39	1939-40
Apparel	13,97	10,60
Artificial Silk	11,61	12,84
Cotton (all categories)	56,595	4,50,98
Hardware	97,65	85,83
Leather	28,98	34,90
Liquors	12,866	14,918
Provisions	1,36,99	1,36,35
Stationery	30,53	32,97
Toilet Requisites	26,53	27,08
Glass and Glassware	10,06	10,20
Precious Stones	548	554
Furniture	568	530
Toys	975	932

The first group includes machine tools and machinery generally not produced in India, while the second group consists of some basic materials necessary for our manufacturing industries. It does not require an overzealous nationalist to argue that with previous initiative and planning, these too could have been produced to a large extent in India, not without relative advantage. But even without going so far we may reasonably contend that articles falling in the third category are clearly non-essential in the sense that either those can be produced easily and with great advantage in India with a little more encouragement and help, or India can go without them or go with a lesser amount in her effort to rationalise popular consumption. It is significant that articles which have been strictly rationed or controlled in England are being increasingly supplied to India in spite of smaller shipping space—items such as leather, liquors, stationery, toilet requisites and so on. And it is still more significant that the United Kingdom raised her re-export purchases from India from 222 tons (Rs. 2,17 lakhs) in 1938-39 to 274 tons (Rs. 2,39 lakhs) in 1939-40. It is futile to try to explain this away through changes in the price-level.[8] Real national war effort would have meant drastic reduction in the import of non-essential foreign goods, thus making it impossible for the Indies to stand at the old height even after correction for price changes. It is preposterous to think that even at this moment India cannot go without British stationery or toilet requisites or toys, or for that matter, even liquors, provisions, precious stone, etc., and must go on importing them thus permitting a large percentage of her national income to be diverted from more essential purposes. It may not perhaps be too much to suggest that the reason why our war-budgets have differed from their British models in not emphasising on the importance of rationing popular consumption specially of imported goods as a method of war-finance is to be found rather in some such direction than in the realisation of the fact that British methods cannot always be copied wholesale in India irrespective of her own tradition, environment and peculiar social, political and economic conditions.

III

We have tried to describe above the real nature of the give-and-take that exists between England and India. But that is not the end of the story. For even if other dominions feel

7. Figures taken from the table reproduced in *Capital*, April 16, 1942, p. 520.

8. The wholesale price index (1929-100) showed at the end of the year 1939-40, a rise of 21 per cent. above the pre-war level. Corresponding figures for the United Kingdom and the U. S. A. are 31 per cent. and 4 per cent. The index of import values recorded a rise of 22 per cent. between March, 1939 and March, 1940 as compared with a rise of 30 per cent. in export value—Vide *Review of the Trade of India*, 1939-40, pp. 80-81. The Reserve Bank Report on Currency and Finance, 1940-41 says in reviewing the changes in the price-level "A general review of the comparative price trends since the outbreak of war indicates no tendency of an abnormal or inflationery rise in prices in India" *Vide* p. 5.

that they have been benefited in the economic sphere through imperial relations, this is clearly not the case with India for several reasons. It is not necessary to mention here the present political status of India in the British empire and the difficulties that might arise from it. But from a purely economic standpoint, India has to suffer many difficulties peculiar to herself arising out of inter-imperial relations.

First, though India's foreign trade has increased during the first two years of the war and have not yet shown signs of any remarkable fall, still our term of trade has greatly gone against us. That is to say, our import prices have gone up higher relatively to our export prices. According to the method adopted by the League of Nations in their economic publications, the term of trade for India has shown the following fluctuations since the outbreak of the war:

1939-40			
July-Sept.	Oct.-Dec.		Jan.-Mar.
92·4	100		87·8
1940-41			
April-June	July-Sept.	Oct.-Dec.	Jan.-Mar.
85·5	78·02	84·7	73·3

This steady deterioration in the term of trade means that we are taking in imports at a relatively higher and higher cost to ourselves. According to the classical economists, changes in the term of trade may imply two things for the country concerned.[9] Such a change may, firstly, arise from a greater quantity of imports being received in exchange for a given quantity of resources devoted to the production of exports. The gain, again, may come about through a smaller proportion of the country's resources being utilised in the production of exports. Whether this factor would come into operation would depend on the mobility of labour and capital and the possibility of their transfer from export to domestic industries. India, according to this analysis, has nothing to gain in the present circumstances. For, as pointed out above, we are not only *not* receiving now any greater quantity of imports in exchange for a given quantity of resources, but the scales have actually tipped the other way with the deterioration in our term of trade. It is, in the second place, also doubtful whether India can have any benefit through the second source, for India being still a predominantly raw material exporting country, her labour and capital are largely tied up with agriculture carried on under conditions of decreasing return. This linking up of labour and capital with agriculture not only renders any quick transfer of labour and capital from one industry to another almost impossible but also leads to all the disadvantages that production under decreasing cost conditions with a non-reversible cost curve must give rise to. This is, incidentally, one of the most powerful economic arguments in favour of industrialising India specially at this particular moment. If we have to set off the disadvantages resulting from the loss per unit that is due to the worsening term of trade, we shall have to increase our volume as also change the character of export trade. It goes without saying that this is not ultimately possible except through industrialisation.

Secondly, the Pacific War again has completely changed the role of India as a supply base. War materials and munitions hitherto supplied to England and other empire countries are now to be reserved for her own defence. This means that commodities hitherto entering into her export trade and hence paid for by foreign countries either in goods or in money would from now cease to figure in her export trade. This would mean additional expenditure for India though with diminished income. To quote the *Economist*:[10]

"It seems evident that Australasia and India will have to incur substantial increases in expenditure, and will need some of their produce previously sent here (*i.e.*, England) for use in the Pacific rather than for supplementing the efforts of this country in Europe and Africa."

"Does this mean," the *Economist* continues "that India will, in future, play a larger part in paying for the war, with a consequent slowing down, or reversal of the flow of sterling into the hands of the India Government; and is the rate of Australia's over-spending of sterling to be accelerated?"

It is significant that Australia has already foreseen this difficulty and has announced "a cut in non-essential imports, while food and raw material purchases by this country will be paid for whether the goods are shipped or not." But though the problem is exactly the same for India, there has been no such announcement here by the India Government and India still continues to be the market for British wares as before. Nor should we fail to observe the differential treatment meted out to India as compared with Australia by the 'old lion' in the matter of paying for raw materials. Sir Stafford Cripps parried the thrust given by Karachi journalists by answering that it is wrong to suggest a general election in India on the analogy of Canada, for the war has not moved so near Canada as it has

9. Harrod: *International Trade.*

10. *Economist*, Dec. 27, 1941, p. 794.

in the case of India. But unfortunately for the British politicians the argument cuts both ways; for, if geographic vicinity to the battle-front can be an argument for making a special case of India in the political sphere, the same reasoning must be applied also to economic problems. But it is amusing, though significant, that while using the argument for delaying political demands, the British statesmen have conveniently forgotten to apply the same argument where it turns against them, for would that not run counter to the imperial theme of India always remaining an economic (agrarian raw-material) appendage to foreign capitalism? Must she not take on non-essential goods and thus perform the noble task of keeping up British export trade, though her resources should now be diverted for her own defence?

It is not necessary to mention here other cases of administrative discrimination in economic policy regarding British and non-British interests. Such cases have been brought to light and criticised repeatedly in and out of the legislatures.[11] But the points raised above relate not to the administrative difficulties but to high policy which cannot be influenced by personal factors in any ordinary manner. That makes the danger still greater. It may be natural for an adult imperialism to look at the world in its own peculiar way, but unfortunately the world is moving too fast and too inconveniently for any nation so obsessed. Recent reverses should have been enough to shake England out of her complacent mood. But the British politicians are still thinking in terms of what has been called 'Grand strategy'—Grand with a capital G, even though that strategy has uptil now consisted of nothing better than mere prologues to the swelling act that is yet to come. "This standpoint, which in this wide world is peculiar to England," to quote Pundit Nehru, "—a singularly complacent attitude that they alone are right and those who are against them are not only in the wrong but damnably wrong," is, to say the least, dangerous at such moments of crisis. Recent events in France have demonstrated once again that it is impossible to fight for freedom with one hand while suppressing it with the other. But it is difficult for any Imperialism to learn quickly the lessons of history. That is why we had to hear even from Sir Stafford Cripps that no further attempt will be made to solve the Indian problem during the war. If this be a specimen of the truth that constitutes the happy (?) prologue to the swelling act of the imperial theme, it is only natural to apprehend that the future is not very bright.

11. *Vide* (Central) Legislative Assembly Debates Proceedings, March 26, 1940, p. 1,738 *et seq.*

A SCHEME FOR THE PROMOTION OF COMMUNAL HARMONY IN BENGAL

By AMRITA LAL MONDAL, M.L.A.

On the assumption of power by the Progressive Coalition Ministry a sum of rupees one lakh has been earmarked by the Government for promoting communal harmony. The past few years in Bengal have been marked with bitter communal acrimony and its result has been reflected in the communal riots in the Dacca District which have been as extensive in their sweep as they have been devastating in their effect. From such a communal fever the province long desired a respite; and with the installation into power of the present Ministry high hopes of communal peace have been raised in the public mind. While, therefore, any move towards the restoration of communal peace is warmly welcomed, it is also felt necessary that any attempt towards that end must begin from the basic structure of our life so that the fragile plant of communal harmony may not wither in an uncongenial soil. Therefore the sum now allotted for the purpose must be so spent that the desired objective may be attained in the best manner possible embracing all aspects of our social life. If the huge machinery of the Government can be utilised with earnestness, imagination and will-to-render-service without indulging in unnecessary red-tapism, it can be expected that good results will follow to the relief of the people of this distracted province. The public should be made to realise the bed-rock fact that unless communal peace prevails in the province and every community feels its

inter-dependence upon the other, Bengal as a whole cannot prosper so as to enable her to hold her own in All-India affairs. This requires fierce earnestness if one may use that expression, and passionate zeal from every section of the public as also the public servants.

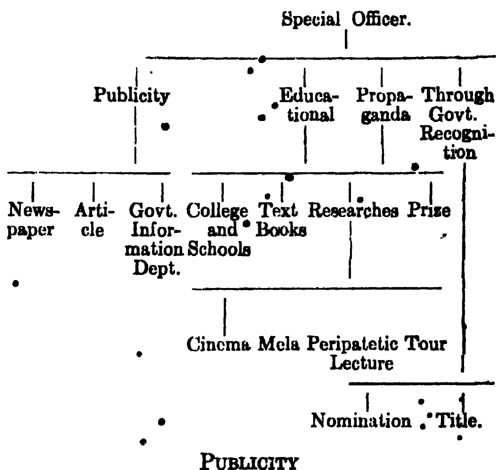
In this connection the first desideratum is a change of out-look on the part of the official class, which, it must be said, has not so far been able to keep itself aloof from the gust of communalism. In not a few cases it has unfortunately been found that local officials themselves have failed to rise above communalism and betrayed a lack of appreciation of their true function in the Government. Of course, in such cases it has so happened that these officials sometimes found themselves obliged to behave contrary to official rules due to importunities of important members of the legislature or high dignitaries in the Government itself. Also there have been instances when officers who tried to keep the balance even have been misunderstood and had to pay their penalty in a variety of ways such as constant transfers, transfers to unimportant stations and other similar expressions of disfavour. This being the situation ruling in the official world for the last few years, the first requisite seems to be that the entire official mind has to be changed and it must be borne in upon them that as Government officials they are performing a duty which is above caste, community and colour and their real function lies in keeping the scale even in the midst of conflicting claims and disputes. It is of the utmost importance therefore that Government should frame a sort of an Instrument of Instructions for officials which should guide this class in their action in matters arising out of the communal problem. These Instructions, it should be made clear, must be followed not in the letter alone but in spirit, and the measure of imagination and idealism necessary to deal with communal matters should be instilled in the official mind before any other scheme is sought to be given effect to. This becomes all the more necessary when the drive for communal peace comes from the Government, and those through whom the implementing of the drive would be undertaken must first be so inspired as to be able to create an atmosphere necessary for fostering communal goodwill. If, however, officials take up an unhelpful attitude and seek by overt or covert acts to sabotage Government efforts, it will become impossible to achieve the desired objective. Indeed every section of public servants should be made to realise that like law and order, the promotion of communal amity is one of its first and foremost duties in the discharge of its functions as public servants.

In order to shape and guide the scheme of promoting communal harmony, a Special Officer should be appointed who will be attached to the Home Department.

To deal with communal disputes a Board of Conciliation should be set up in every district with power to deal with local disputes of a communal nature.

If necessary, District Officers should be empowered to appoint such Boards in Sub-divisions also; but such small territorial Boards should be appointed only in those sub-divisions or districts which have unfortunately acquired a bad name for communal discord. It is necessary that as far as possible these Boards should consist of only non-officials; although Government officials such as D.Ms. S. D. Os and C.Os. may be in the Board. In no case however their number should be such that it may be reasonably said that officials swamp the body.

The entire machinery should work within the framework outlined below.



PUBLICITY

Any attempt towards establishing and fostering communal goodwill must embrace different aspects of our lives and all possible machineries, existing or prospective, must be utilised for a well-planned drive. Needless to say in such matters publicity and propaganda play a very vital part. In this regard newspapers may play the most useful part, and the Government should appeal to the local newspaper through the Press Advisory Board to co-operate so that irritating newspaper articles or even exciting items of news may not create

communal disaffection. It is not however hoped that newspapers should surrender their true function for the sake of communal harmony as such, but what is sought to be impressed is that even without foregoing their rightful obligation to the reading public they can help the Government by conducting their columns in such a way that the sharp edge of communal difference may not be flaunted so pointedly as they are done now. Moreover, under the auspices of the Government a Communal Harmony Week may be observed every year when the newspapers should be asked to bring out special issues containing articles on Hindu-Muslim unity in its various aspects. It may be recalled that during the days of the non-co-operation movement the tidal wave of communal amity was made possible only because of the services rendered to the cause by newspapers. Unless, therefore, newspapers are brought within the orbit of the projected drive, results may be disappointing. It may not be a bad idea to grant reasonable subsidy to such papers as are agreeable to publish such special issues specifically for this purpose. It must be realised that in a problem of this nature the Press has to play the most significant part and therefore more than anything else support of newspapers should have to be enlisted as the first effective step against communalism.

The existing machinery of the Government Information Department should also be utilised for this purpose and through leaflets and folders issued through Thanas, Union Boards and Municipalities the necessary stimulus to communal harmony should be provided.

Educational

In a long-range programme of inaugurating an era of communal peace educational policy has a fundamental part to play. Now that the disease of communalism has gone deep, the attack must be frontal, while at the same time means should be found to attack its very main-spring. In respect of the latter a new educational policy is urgently needed which should aim at turning out good citizens rather than good Hindus or good Muhammedans. This naturally would take time. But so far as the immediate problem is concerned, much can also be done through the existing educational institutions many of which, as many have regretfully noted, are to-day breeding-grounds of the worst communalism. In the first place, while appointing a teacher non-communalism must be insisted and it should be made a condition of service that no teacher should indulge in either communal activities or foster communalism amongst pupils either by covert or overt act or by personal example. In the second place, such educational institutions as turn themselves into hot-beds of communal acrimony should not be allowed to draw Government grants-in-aid. In the matter of preferment, the School Managing Committees should demonstrate that no teacher who is found to be communally-minded or encourages communalism is given preferment. The main objective of all these would be that both the teacher and the school managing committee would be made to feel that communalism was not a paying proposition; on the other hand it was positively detrimental to one's personal interests. This will tend to harm self-interest and once it is found that one's personal interest is going to be adversely affected by the pursuit of communalism, one's mind would naturally turn away from that path. This indeed will serve as a psychological deterrent. It would also be a good policy to encourage those institutions which have been able to establish a good record in this respect by increased grants-in-aid or other suitable methods of Government approbation.

The Central Text Book Committee has also a great part to play in presenting before youthful learners a better ideal of communal fellow-feeling. Unfortunately in the past the Central Text Book Committee has failed in this task and both the communities have expressed concern at its attitude. The Committee, it is felt, will be greatly facilitating its task if, while selecting text books, it marks the creation of good citizenship as the main test by which these books are to be judged for approval. It is felt that those books which emphasise the seeming cultural differences between the communities or merely political antagonisms of the past, would hardly be conducive to the best interests of cultural fellowship. Therefore those books which contain objectionable matters and are likely to hurt the religious feelings of one or the other community. should not be prescribed as text books and such books as emphasise the cultural bond between the different communities in India should be encouraged. It should also be emphasised that while writing text books the main stress should be laid upon the fundamental unity of our problems so as to make the points of common interest come out in bolder relief. These books should also seek to develop in the minds of the learners a feeling of respect for one another's religion and culture. Unless the whole tone of our text books is changed and a higher note of cultural fellowship emphasising the

fundamental unity of our lives is struck, the seed of unity to be sown in the minds of juvenile learners would possibly find an arid field.

In the sphere of higher education it should be the aim of Government to encourage works of research in which the ideals of cultural fellowship are sought to be established. Thus a Hindu scholar working upon Muslim history, philosophy, theology or language should be encouraged by the state in the same manner as the Muslim scholar working upon those subjects relating to the Hindu community. In high schools competition for essay prizes may be held and subjects tending to promote inter-communal harmony may be set for competition. Further, in every school such students as render some distinctive service for promoting inter-communal amity should be offered prizes just in the same manner as in many schools boys are given good conduct prizes for their ideal conduct in the class room and outside. All these will tend to create an atmosphere of good-will and fellowship for youthful minds so that from tender age they will grow in an atmosphere of good neighbourliness and understanding.

Propaganda

Along with all these, definite propaganda should be directed to catch popular imagination. In this regard the cinema would indeed provide a very good medium. Government may commission cinema pictures to be taken of stories delineating communal fellowship and through the agency of peripatetic lectures may show these in Melas and villages and trade centres. In educational institutions magic lantern slides may also be found very suitable. On the top of all these, Government Officials should be instructed to take all possible steps to promote and emphasise communal harmony while on tour. On such occasions they should also make note of such persons as are found to hamper communal harmony in the locality and see that they receive no Government patronage in any matter, whatever might be their other claims to this.

Government Recognition

It has been found that communalism in Bengal has been bred largely by Government patronage. People known to be bitterly communally-minded have been rewarded by titles, nominations and such jobs as Government Pleaderships and Public Prosecutorships. These prizes dangling before their eyes have made communalists of many. They have taken to communalism mainly because it pays and pays well. If it is found that communalism shall cost them their prospect in life, it is certain that many will abjure this path. Therefore, Government should immediately begin their attack on this front. It must be made known as a settled Government policy that those who are active communalists and are known to have hampered the promotion of communal fellowship should not be considered for titles, nominations, or Government posts like Government Pleaderships or Public Prosecutorships. When it will be found that the path of nomination to the Union Boards, School Boards and to higher bodies like the Bengal Council, Calcutta Corporation, District Boards and Municipalities is blocked for one who works along communal as opposed to national line, much of the incentive to communalism as a trade will go. While this should be the negative attitude to be adopted by the Government against communalism, the positive attitude should be to encourage by titles, nominations and public positions those persons who are known to hold enlightened national views and act accordingly. If the Government strikes the first blow at the realisation of his self-interest, the active communalist will surely awaken to the path of wisdom and return to sanity.



THE ROLE OF CHINA IN THE WORLD WAR

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

As the theatre of War is extending from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal and the Chinese forces are taking an increasing share in defence of the frontiers of Burma and India, the role of China in the World War assumes supreme importance. Like Red Russia, Nationalist China will ere long become a focus point of world attention. The man-power and immense resources of a people of 45 crores and its iron determination to fight the Fascist menace may well prove a decisive factor not only in resisting the Japanese aggression, but also in turning the table against the Axis Powers.

Imperialist Intrigues & Strifes

For decades China has been the cockpit of strifes and intrigues, the battleground of powerful vested interests that fought with each other for the domination of its economic and political life in order to exploit its vast and untapped resources for their own benefit. The commercial interests of alien Powers had far-reaching imperialist designs in this all-important region of Asia and they took the utmost advantage of its internal strifes in destroying its national solidarity and tightening their stranglehold on the fertile land. Selfish and ambitious warlords were used as their henchmen to serve their ulterior purpose. The extra-territorial rights enjoyed by the foreign powers over all its vital ports were mercilessly utilised for strengthening their foothold over China and carrying out their own expansionist schemes. Chinese sovereignty was reduced to a non entity.

Imperialist & Japanese Designs Exposed

But these designs of fraud and force of the intriguing foreign Powers received a deadly check as they struck against the steel wall of the growing mass resistance of Nationalist and Red China. After centuries of terrific wastage of national blood and energy, the genius of China, at last, found a way out of the vicious circle of massacre and suppression, turmoil and partisan warfare, blood and toil. The undaunted spirit of the heroic Chinese people, tempered through this fiery ordeal into an iron will, defied and resisted the combined offensives of the imperialists. The much-despised Chinese underdog struck the heaviest blows on the white domination over the coloured peoples of Asia. The dream of a New Order of the Japanese imperialism in Asia received a rude shock in China. The henious designs of exploitation of the blood-thirsty Japanese warmongers were exposed in their naked brutality and horrors. Their conquest and subjugation of Manchuria and Jehol Province by sheer brute force showed the shameless nature of their hypocritical war-cry of "Asia for the Asiatics." All-Asia soon knew what they really meant by their false and misleading talk of ending the White supremacy in Asia.

China Leads the War of Liberation in Asia

It is the valiant people's army of the Chinese Democratic Republic—and not the self-condemned militarist regime of the Japanese overlords—that is actually showing the only way out of the impasse to the oppressed peoples of Asia and leading them as their vanguard in the War of Liberation to overthrow the domination of a people by a people and of the multitude by the privileged and powerful few.

Ordeals of the Heroic Chinese People

The role of the Chinese people in the fast-developing people's war is inseparably connected with their fight for national independence and democratic freedom. For years together they have been engaged in a desperate struggle against the Japanese aggressors at an enormous cost of men and materials. Millions of unarmed men, women and children have been mercilessly bombed and slaughtered. Soldiers in millions have fed the enemy cannons. Their industries and ports have been ruthlessly bombarded and seized by the Navy and Air Force. Vast regions passed under the iron heel of the Japanese militarists. Their economic life has been shattered to pieces. Seething masses of toilers have been driven like cattles out of their hearth and home. Millions have been harnessed to a slave labour of drudgery and shame. Hunger and famine, floods and epidemics took their heavy tolls.

A National Resistance Without Parallel

Yet, the ill-equipped army and unarmed people, by sheer force of their unbreakable will, iron determination and superb heroism, have resisted year after year the "irresistible" march of one of the strongest mechanised forces of the world. They have performed a feat short of a miracle. The resistance has no parallel except perhaps in the Russian people's historic struggle against the notorious war of interven-

tion. Even more than that. Before the War China has been bled white not only in money and materials, but also in men and women. There has been a continuous cycle of repeated peasant uprisings, unique in history, against the various autocratic regimes which have been only replaced by new ones with barbarous suppression and massacre. Millions and millions of the flower of the Chinese youth, of the teeming toilers have perished in the fiery process. If we only remember that, we can not but marvel at the unique resistance China has been offering today almost singlehanded against a foremost military power—a resistance that has no historical analogy.

Mighty Mass Movement Amidst Civil War

Still it must be recorded that China has never been free, until very recently, of blood feuds, partisan warfare, and civil war of a most sanguine character even in this period of historic resistance against foreign aggression. The Japanese have partitioned China and again and again attempted to buy up and play one general against the other. Yet in the midst of this strife and turmoil, a stupendous movement gathered momentum in volume and intensity that has not been surpassed by any other colonial or semi-colonial country. The rising upsurge of the Chinese toilers rose to its highest pitch during 1925-27 and found its extreme expression in the Canton, Hongkong and Shanghai general strikes in 1927. Strongholds of foreign imperialism were rocked to their very foundations. The phenomenal growth of the Labour Movement culminated in the Second National Labour Conference representing 570,000 organised workers in all the principal cities of China. In January, 1926, the number of organised workers rose to 8 lacs. A mighty peasant movement also rose side by side with the workers' movement. By the end of Nov., 1926, in Hunan alone there were 54 organised *Hsicn* (peasant Unions) with a total registered membership of 1,071,157. By January, 1927, the number had passed 20 lacs.

The Growth of the Striking Power of the United People's Front

Although this gigantic mass movement received blows after blows at the hands of internal and external enemies and passed through terrible ordeals of mass massacre and suppression for years together in a sanguinary civil war, the heroic Chinese workers have again and again asserted themselves and proved their mettle against heavy odds. They have ultimately overcome the period of reaction and forged a national unity that has successfully resisted the menacing advance of Japanese aggression. Nationalists and communists joined together under the flag of the Kuomintang in a countrywide united people's front whose valiant resistance and striking power struck terror in the hearts of the aggressors. Heroic guerilla bands created havoc behind the Japanese lines. The blood-thirsty enemies were paid back in their own coins. The Chinese army counterattacked with lightening speed and ferocity under the able leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. While they held up the Japanese advance on different fronts, a vast reserved army was built up and armed with whatever equipments and materials they could get through their unfailing friend and ally the Soviet Union and other sources. The shattered industries were founded on a co-operative basis, self-sufficient village units with their own defence factories were created in extensive areas and the whole economic life of the country was reorganised and placed on a sound footing in a planned way. The Chinese people showed a courage, skill, foresight and resourcefulness in efficient planning and organisation of war efforts and developed a striking power that staggered the Japanese and surprised the world.

China Shows What a Determined People Can Achieve

The valiant people of this ancient land has demonstrated to all oppressed peoples what a united and determined people can achieve, however insurmountable may appear to be the difficulties and obstacles in its way. The Chinese statesmen and generals have conclusively shown how a people's army can resist the ruthless aggression of a foremost military power even with an ill-equipped and half-trained army and with all the disadvantages of antiquated weapons and scanty supply of war materials and without any Navy and Air Force worth the name. They have shown how the unarmed workers and peasants can be armed with any available materials and trained in guerilla warfare to make every inch of enemy advance a costly business. They have actively demonstrated how a people's militia can be raised and trained even from the midst of an unarmed people within a short time, if only it has the iron will and determination to resist the aggression at all costs. Every village unit like that of the Afridis and Pathans can be equipped with the crude knowledge and necessary materials for making their own home-made

rifles. Poisonous arrows can be aimed with deadly certainty in forests and mountainous regions and from river banks. Swords and even *lathis* can deal effective blows on modern soldiers in a hand-to-hand fight. Courageous women can play their own part not only in handling those weapons, but also aiding their menfolk in so many ways. China has shown those ways to all those who have the will and courage to resist the Fascist gangsters in order to defend their hearth and home and their birth right to live as free human beings.

China Fights for Asia's Honour and Freedom

That is why China could withstand for years together one of the most valiant and ruthless mechanised forces of the world. The outside world, not even sympathetic Indians could believe it as true. All the tall claims of the Chinese resictance sounded like a fairy tale. Mighty powers began to dangerously under-estimate the comparative strength of the Japanese military machine. Soon they had to pay dearly for their illusions. The hammering blows of the Japancse Navy and Air Arm fell in quick succession on the fortified citadels of the Allied Powers. Their tremendous striking power went home to the complacent and proud commanders and statesmen along with the spectacular march of the Japanese forces on a three thousand miles' front. All this, in a striking contrast, revealed in its glorious colours the unique nature of the Chinese resistance against which waves of Japanese offensives broke into pieces or reeled back with fearful losses. The White world marvelled at the signal achievements of an ill-equipped army of a coloured people that knew no freedom only years ago. The much-belated recognition of Chinese valour and striking power came from the Allies who made, at last, a military alliance with the Chinese Republic to fight the common enemies. That is why the Chinese forces today are fighting the Japanese menace in Burma and India. A people's war is being fought at the same time on their own soil. It is, again, China —and not Japan—that has vindicated the honour of the Asiatics. It is the heroic Chinese people that are fighting for the national honour and freedom of the Asiatic peoples whom the Japanese mercenaries attempt to trample under their blood-soiled feet.

Hitler and Tojo can not Win the War

Therefore, if China can secure necessary equipments and war materials, its striking power can be immensely increased. At any estimate, its vast resources and man-power are bound to prove in the long run the greatest obstacle in the way of the Japanese domination over Asia. While the mighty Red Army fights the battle of Europe and hurls back with terrific losses the much-boasted victorious army of Hitler, the people's army of China keeps the Japanese at bay in Asia. They will continue to engage them in a prolonged deadly war till their unbreakable resistance tire out the war-weary gangsters and work upon their nerves while the growing striking power of the anti-Fascist peoples deals them a final blow. As the Nazis cannot win the war in Europe without crushing the Red Russia, the Japanese cannot win the war in Asia without exterminating the Chinese, no matter whatever may be their initial successes. Both the heroic peoples have proved to be the hardest nuts to be broken by any mercenary gang. Hitler knows it. Tojo knows it too. That is why they are making the last desperate attempt to break their iron resistance.

Russia & China to be the Graveyards of Fascist Forces

But it is surely beyond their powers to crush over 63 crores of people who are bent upon giving their life-blood in defence of every inch of their motherland and all that they hold dear and near to their brave hearts. Hitler fears that deadly truth and trembles before the spectacle. Tojo may yet smile for some time but he will also soon reap the harvest he has sown in cold-blooded brutality. Russia and China will be the principal graveyards of the mightiest mechanised forces of destruction the world has ever seen. Nothing can save them from the ultimate outcome of this gigantic conflict from the *Nemesis* that will overtake them sooner or later as sure as death. Nothing.

Nothing Can Stop the March of History

Indians would do well to take timely lessons from the heroic examples and experiences of Russia and China and play their own part manfully in this terrible conflict between the spearheads of progress and reaction, revolution and counter-revolution, that will not end without ending not only roots of Fascism, but also roots of Imperialism too. No Empire, no antiquated form of exploitation can survive the total people's war. Let there be no mistake at that. If India plays her part courageously at this historic hour, no power on earth can stop her from attaining her cherished goal of independence, sure and complete. Nothing can stop the march of history. Nothing.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY IN CHUNGKING

Thirty-third Anniversary



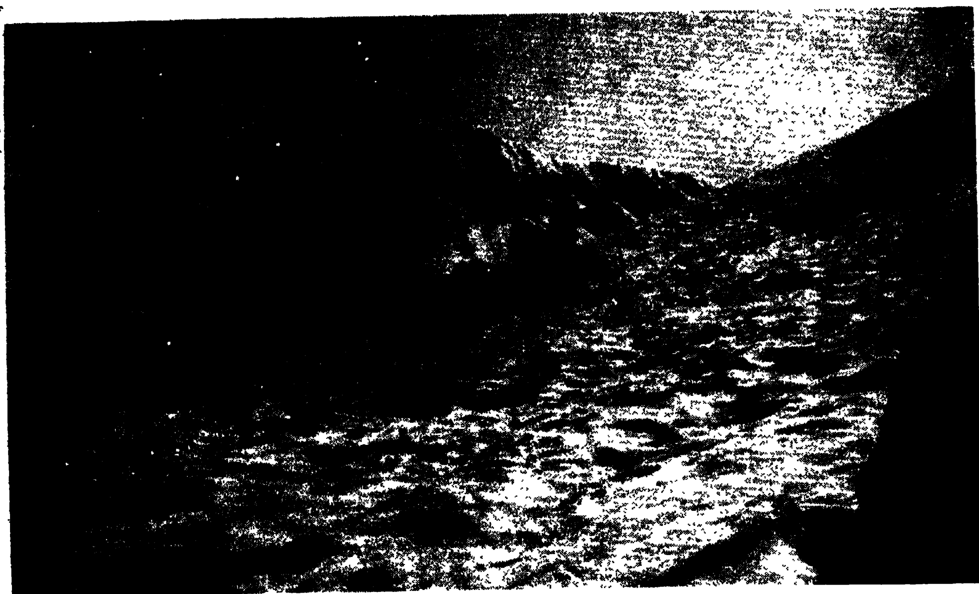
Madame Chiang Kai-shek presided at the Anniversary



Young girls and women were given an opportunity to express their opinion



Chungking women gathered to listen to Madame Chiang's speech on the occasion



On the way to the glacier



The avalanche down the slopes of Bharkhattia : particles of ice and snow resemble a cloud

A QUEST FOR THE TRAIL'S PASS

By ASHOKA GUPTA

We had made up our minds not go to a hill station but if possible, to go far into the Himalyas amidst its lofty snow-clad peaks, with their mysteries and grandeur.

At first our idea were treated with contempt but the mention of glaciers and snow-clad passes evolved some degree of respect and interest. Hikers of our sort are still uncommon here, so we were flooded with unsolicited offers of help and advice by a crowd of friends most of which was worse than useless.

Before describing the journey, let me give you a topographical picture of the place we were heading for. In the Almora district of the United Provinces, there is a tributary to the river Alakananda named the Pindar. The source of this river—a glacier, generally known as the Pindari or Pindri Glacier is fairly frequented by travellers. This place is seventy-five miles North-North-East of Almora. Mr. Trail, Commissioner of the Kumaon division (1815-35), crossed this glacier into the Milam valley. The path taken by him starts from somewhere close above the second ridge on the west side of the glacier. The altitude is about seventeen thousand feet above sea-level. This path was our destination.

At last we left Allahabad to meet the rest of the party at Lucknow. A little shopping was planned here, a few camera accessories, a couple of ice axe—and such like things. I cannot say why, but it happened that Lucknow lacked all the necessary things we wanted. We somehow managed to procure a few things we wanted badly and in the evening set out for Kathgodam.

To go to the glacier one has to motor up to Garur, Someshwar or Almora and then walk to Bageshwar and onwards. We chose the first-mentioned station as our motor terminus.

We reached Kathgodam a few hours behind the scheduled time, and as a result of this delay all the buses refused to go to Garur that evening which meant a day lost out of our holidays. Anyway we left for Ranikhet and reached there at nightfall.

The first wisps of the cool Himalyan breeze and the sleeting rain battering on the window-panes of a hill-station hotel refreshed us completely, our rugs felt particularly snug after the hot and sultry nights on the plains.

Next day we experienced extremely bad motoring from Koshi to Garur reaching it late in the afternoon. Garur is a small village only two miles from the famous village of Baijnath. Garur with the temple of Baijnath was beautiful. We enjoyed its quietness and were charmed with the beauty of the moon-lit snow peaks—a rare sight from most Indian hill station.

The following day we engaged two pack ponies to take us up to Loharkhet—a good three days' march. On the first day while walking I was reminded of Stevenson trudging with his only companion, Modestine, all alone through the Alps. But we were six, four of us, two "modestines" and two of their owners. We walked twenty-one miles that day reaching a small village named Harsil. Here for want of a dak-bunglow we accepted a shop-keeper's offer of hospitality and spent the night in his verandah which was a dilapidated piece of masonry.



Bharkhattia from the Phurkia dak-bunglow



Nandakot and Bharkhattia peaks from Martoli

Early the next morning we strapped ourselves for Loharkhet, a distance of nineteen miles. Here, according to plan, we left the ponies and engaged five porters to take us up to Phurkia, the last dak-bunglow of our journey.

The porters, like all Himalayan porters, were a fine lot of men, all jovial, happy and ever smiling. They were ever willing to help, and seemed to be strangers to fatigue and hardship. Their truthfulness and devotion is too well-known for mention.

We set out late in the afternoon of the 21st of May for Dhakuri, a march of five miles. Loharkhet to Dhakuri is undoubtedly the most difficult portion of the journey as within such a short distance one has to ascend about four thousand feet—rather a stiff climb for men of the plains. But when one reaches Dhakuri, all his troubles and hardships are rewarded beyond expectations. Dhakuri is certainly one of the beauty spots of India. It is too lovely to be described, too picturesque to hold it before you in words. On three sides tower the lofty peaks of the Trisul (East), the Nandakot and very many others whose names are not known. They lend a grandeur to the Himalayas which remains unsurpassed.

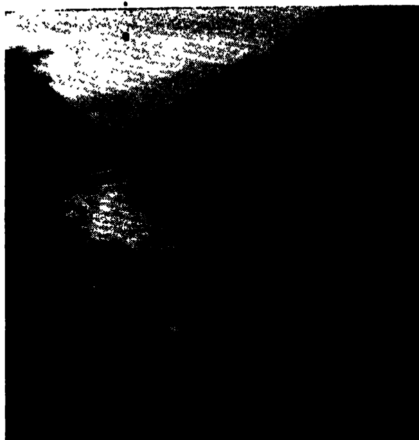
Here for the first time we began to feel the altitude, for Dhakuri is about 9,700 feet above sea-level and most of us had hardly ever spent even a few hours at such a height, let alone spending a whole night. The following day on the way to Dwali, we stopped at Khati for a few hours. Here, according to the kind information given to us by a local 'Quanungo,' we enquired about one Gopal Singh, to accompany us as a guide over the snows. Uptil then, the glaciers were the end of our plan. I had heard about the existence of a pass somewhere nearabout, but my ideas were rather vague. But the interesting stories about it told us by the Quanungo made us determined to go up and explore.

At about nightfall that day we were at Dwali—a beautiful spot surrounded on three sides by bare mountains having snow-capped tops. On the third side meet the two gushing streams from the Pindari and Kuphni glaciers. We could not pause to enjoy the scenery as it was getting late and the place is too often frequented by wild bears.

At early dawn next morning, the sixth day of our march, we tramped through the thick jungles, often over snow and slush, towards Phurkia. On reaching the dak-bunglow all were terribly excited, so we had a hasty cup of tea and set forth to reconnoitre. Armed with an ordinary axe, Alpine sticks and a rope, we marched along sometimes on snow but mostly over tufts of grass. Turning a bend after the third mile from the dak-bunglow we were suddenly



On the way to the glacier



The river Gomti

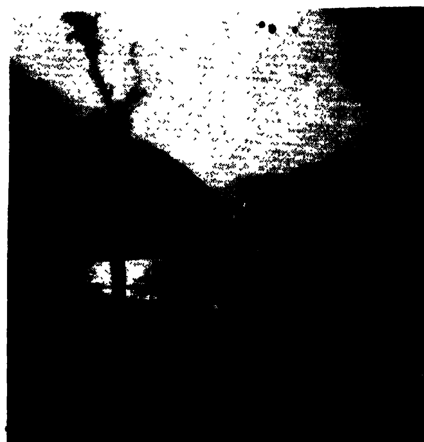
spell bound, for all of a sudden the last barrier between us and the snow-clad peaks had vanished, and there stood towering before us Nandakot and Bharkhattia with all their splendour and clad in mystery, marvel and grandeur. In a gully between Nandakot and Nanda-Devi (?) glide the Pindari Glaciers—a glorious sight. Its beauty can only be seen and adored, words merely spoil its magnificence, and we were literally drunk with the beauty before us. We had to walk three miles more before we could reach the glacier proper. We clambered down the lower moraine and got as far as the middle moraine when another fearfully beautiful aspect of the Himalayan snows was revealed to us—the avalanche. With a sound like the booming



At the base of the Trail's Pass—the author standing

of cannons a huge mass of ice dislodged itself and came down the slopes of Bharkhattia. For a second we stood rooted to our tracks—while the sound echoed and reechoed on all sides—but when the guide signalled to us the danger with which we were faced and brought to our notice more overhanging ice we decided to call it a day and return.

The Pindari Glacier is fed by three subsidiary glaciers, one from Nanda-Devi (?), another from Nandakot and the third from Bharkhattia; of these the first one seemed to be the biggest and the last one the smallest. From a study of the map we found that the snout of the glacier had receded about half a furlong or so from the mark put by the Presidency College Geological Society-Survey. Of the three posts mentioned by them only one can still be noticed and the other two are most probably destroyed. The Presidency College Geological Society-Survey also writes that they had noticed that the glacier had receded about 490 feet in seven



The Sarjoo river

years, that is about 70 feet per year. The speed of recession is now definitely slower.

On examination, the bare rocks were mostly found to be impregnated with mica. A thorough examination was done by the abovementioned society and the following is the result of their work. They mostly found

> "Garnet mica schist, mica schist, tourmaline mica schist, felspar-quartz tourmaline (pegmalite), ochre coloured rocks......,., true pyrites, arsenical pyrites and also gold in quartz veins."*

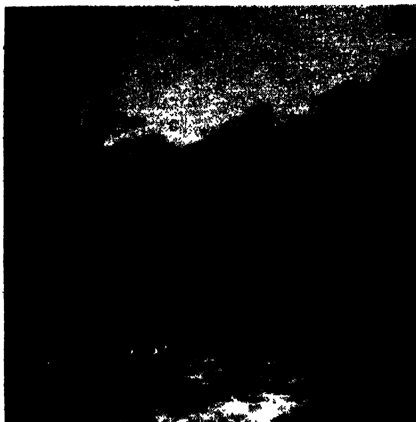
Curiously enough the water was markedly green in colour, the reason may be due to the presence of ferrous sulphate in the rocks.

Having gathered a fair idea of the place we

* This is extracted from the *Log Book* at Phurkia dak-bunglow.

came back drenched to the skin by rain and snow.

The best time of the day to climb to the glaciers is from early dawn to ten or eleven in the



The Pindar river

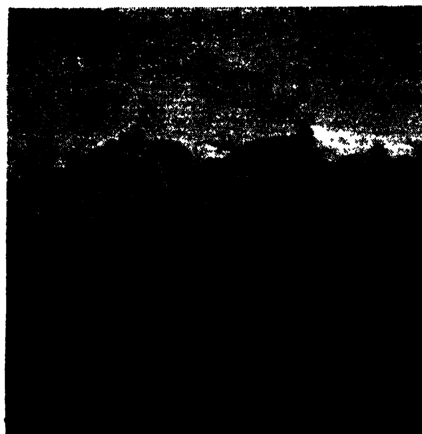
noon. Later on clouds set in and completely envelop the place making progress extremely dangerous. So, early next morning, fresh with a night's rest and full of enthusiasm we started for our real climb. We walked through the sleeping mountains freshly clad with snow fallen during the night. The sight was very sublime.

As on the day before we climbed down the left moraine, but hardly had we all crossed it when huge boulders rolled across the path we had traversed about a couple of minutes ago. Charged with excitement we struck forward, crossing the moraine over to the glaciers. Once on ice you feel very safe; but soon you have to cross a crevasse or jump across a patch of deceptive snow and it is then that you feel the real thrill of mountaineering—one wrong step and you are sure to go to some unknown region.

Now when danger lurks at every corner and you lightly try to skip past them, quivering with excitement, it is then that you feel life, you feel the preciousness of every single moment that you are spending. In the cities surrounded by your own people you are distracted from the hard reality of your existence; but once in the hills amidst snows—facing life and death at the same moment—you do feel really and truly your own existence.

At about eight we reached the base of the first steep ascent of the glacier. Here we took some rest and as we were discussing our next move we heard a few more avalanches falling on the other side of the Nanda-Devi. But to our utter dismay we saw three huge crevasses opened our across the slope of the glacier, stretching across the Trail's Pass and terminating at the base of Nandakot. This sight completely unnerved one of our party who rather obstinately refused to go further up—though he protested vehemently that he was not afraid. This refusal rather damped our spirit. However, with great difficulty we climbed the steep ascent and reached the base of the Trail's Pass. Here we rested for a while, but as further climbing that day was impossible and as we were not properly equipped we decided to descend. Climbing down is much more difficult than going up, and as we were all novices—unused to rope—every wrong step by any one, meant a pull on the rope, consequently endangering the others.

The Trail's Pass as is given in the Log Book at the Phurkia dak-bunglow is seventeen thousand and some odd feet high, but I doubt if the altitude is correctly given. Unfortunately uptil now I have not come across any authoritative literature on the subject, but I have an idea that the Pass is not very much more than sixteen thousand feet above sea-level. The Survey of India Department should be able to give correct figures. Another thing that seemed apparent was, that one should be equipped with



A view from Dhakuri dak-bunglow
—note Trisul (East) on the left

rope-ladders and planks to cross the pass. The best time to attempt is certainly September-October and not May as in our case.

At nightfall that evening we were back at Dwali—rather exhausted but elated over our adventure.



The party with their guests at Nainital —the author third from left

We took a rather easy way back by taking the motor road at Someshwar. To me it seems that the best way of going to Pindar is to take bus for Someshwar instead of Garur. Someshwar is a pretty little village in a valley, where one can get all that he requires on his way, including rations. Porters are fairly cheap and plenty here. The return journey should be made through Garur, for by going so one walks the same distance from Bageshwar to the motor road, but avoids a terrible climb. Garur is a small village and nothing necessary for your journey can be had there. Our trip was a great success and with the tips given I hope other parties will have a still better time and less toil. I hope too that this beautiful place will be more frequented by energetic and enthusiastic Indian youths and not left for American and European travellers and tourists only. One need spend only fifty rupees to spend sixteen memorable days in the Himalayas, amidst its snow-clad peaks, its gushing streams and dancing rivulets, its mystery, marvel and grandeur.

University College of Science,
Allahabad

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

SRIMATI CHINMOYEE SEN GUPTA, daughter of Prof. Satindranath Sen Gupta of Patna B. N. College, topped the list of successful female candidates in the last Intermediate examination in Arts of the Patna University. She stood sixth in the list of successful male and female candidates. In her Matriculation examination Sreemati Sen Gupta had won a scholarship of Rupees Twenty per mensem.



Srimati Chinmoyee Sen Gupta

MISS INDIRA RAJE DAVE, recently passed the A.T.C.L. Examination of the Trinity College of Music, London, at the age of seventeen. Miss Dave is also a prolific writer and her short stories and other writings have been published in different magazines and journals. She is the daughter of Dr. M. J. Dave, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Retired Principal, now in the Punjab University.



Miss Indira Raje Dave

A LONDON SCHOOL IN WAR

By GEORGE GODWIN

[How can such normal activities as education in national schools be carried on in cities whose functional efficiency and complex organization have been subjected to the ordeal of heavy air attack over long periods ?

How can children who have been bombed by night be taught by day ?

How can children, the fabric of whose home lives, and often those homes themselves, have been demolished, act, think, respond and behave like the school children of lands at peace ?

Such questions are answered, in part, at least, by what has been achieved in one large London school in a poor and crowded district.]

To understand the impressive social phenomenon of Peckham Central School, and its significance as an index of the national character, it is essential to say a word about its origin. For this school, which has today over 450 pupils, came into being as a result of this war, as an "emergency school." But it has nothing makeshift or temporary about it, but rather elements of permanence and of prophecy for Britain's future educational system.

In the first days of the war, there was a mass migration of London school children to the spacious safety of the countryside. This was followed by a drift back to the city. By January, 1940, the first policy of closed London schools had to be reversed, and schools reopened.

Many schools were then being used for civil defence purposes or were not equipped with air raid shelters for the returned children. How was an ordered educational system to be built with a constantly growing number of pupils, an inadequate staff, and shortage of books ?

Under these difficult conditions, Peckham Emergency School opened in March 1940. By June there were 600 pupils. They had to be taught in two shifts. Then, in June, came the fall of France, and a new large-scale evacuation.

Many children from Peckham were evacuated to Devon, but many remained, and when the air raids began there were still 400 boys and girls at the emergency school. But the first result of the heavy bombing was a series of wholesale absences.

At this juncture, any school at all seemed superfluous and the Head Mistress of Peckham, backed by her classless staff, switched at once from education to social service. The school assembly hall became a Londoner's Meals Service restaurant, and Rest Centre services were organized. Men and women teachers rolled up their sleeves, donned aprons, and set to work cleaning, cooking and serving.

The raids developed and became intensified, and Peckham suffered much. Yet many children remained, and presently began returning to school. From that point, the school became dual in purpose : it had to teach the children who remained to stand up to the air bomardment of the city; but it had, also, to carry on with its war-time social services.

The astonishing part about the phase which next developed is the completeness with which school life was re-established.

For example, that Christmas, when the raids were particularly heavy, Peckham Emergency School held its Christmas festivities, and the children, many of whom had undergone by then terrible experiences, produced "She Stoops to Conquer," which they rehearsed in their air raid shelters.

These are bare facts, but they are revealing facts also. For they show character in reaction to disaster and the unusual and unforeseen. They show, too, the spirit of service which inspired the Head Mistress, her staff and the children.

Made up of elements, both pupils and teachers, from a number of pre-war schools, and working always in the face of danger and difficulty, the school welded the parts together, and emerged as an integrated institution, with a traditional approach to life.

This is how the Head Mistress herself put it :

"Here in Peckham something wonderful has been growing during 1941. The children are proving what so many of us so ardently believed : that the spirit of youth is unconquerable and its powers limitless. These gifts can be developed and become fruitful only in an environment which demands sacrifice and service. There must be little moralizing, but a direct, clear-cut appeal to imagination, sympathy and the latent instinct to serve and to be generous."

Today, every boy and girl in this school holds a position of some kind demanding responsible action. In each Form a Log Book is kept, and in it each representative of the local social and war services writes his or her reports each week.



Peckham Emergency School

The handicraft master teaches the boys to model with their hands, and at the same time instructs them in aircraft recognition. All the boys are members of the Air Training Corps, the junior branch of the British Air Force

Each Form has an elected Social Service Committee which studies the Log Book and makes further suggestions for better results. The Log Book then passes to Form Master or Mistress, and last to the Head Mistress herself.

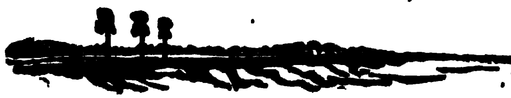
So today, while these London children prepare for examinations, they are also busy working for the Borough in which they live.

This work takes many forms. The pupils work on the school allotments, organize salvage collections for the Borough Salvage Scheme, and run a School National Savings Group—persuading those at home to save through the School Group, too. The fruits of this last effort now run into hundreds of pounds, though all the children are from poor homes.

In addition, the school has adopted a ship. The children provide comforts for the seamen, and correspond with them. They save to send a weekly parcel to a prisoner of war; work for the Red Cross and a local Hospital; make comforts for wardens, firemen and stretcher bearers and act as messengers for the Women's Voluntary Services and local war organizations.

All these out-of-school activities are linked up with the school life. A London war-time school is thus not only contriving to carry on, but is snatching from disaster something of permanent worth. For these children are discovering for themselves that we are happiest when we are devoting ourselves to the service of others.

It will be surprising indeed if Peckham Emergency School does not produce fine citizens, well prepared to battle with the difficulties which lie ahead in the post-war years.



THE INDIAN DRAGON :
A Vedic Motif on a Gupta Relief

By O. C. GANGOLY

In claiming for Indian Art a general autochthonous character, Havell had made a brilliant guess that most of the motives illustrated by Indian Artists are derived from Vedic ideas. It was left to Coomaraswamy to prove, by concrete demonstrations, how in its so-called Buddhistic formulations, Indian art-motifs are rooted in ideas which go back to the Vedic period. Indeed, by a microscopic examination of the forms and motifs of Early Buddhist Art, he has been able to demonstrate that concepts expressed symbolically in the literature of the aniconic, Vedic period have found their first iconographic and plastic expression in Early Buddhist Art.

"The symbolism and iconography of Indian Art can almost always be referred to Vedic formulations, and that apart from these sources, the symbolism and iconography cannot be explained, but only described" (Coomaraswamy).

Examples of plastic art contemporary with the Vedic Literature are very few, and, it is hoped that further studies of the pre-historic Indian terracottas, may help to establish the existence of a system of plastic parallels to the Vedic literary traditions. Occasionally, in the later periods of Indian Art, some motifs crop up which have no immediate predecessor, in the earlier history and which cannot be related to any pre-existing Indian artistic traditions, except through Vedic literary sources.

On the "decorative" embellishments of a late Gupta Pillar in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, it was my good fortune to discover a representation of a peculiar animal motif, for which I have been unable to discover any earlier precedent, or prototype. The decorative relief, in question, is a semi-circular facade of one of the four faces near the capital where the circular form of the pillar develops a four-faced band, on each side of which are four different representations of four animals. On two opposite faces occur a *hamsa* motif (Fig. B)[1] and an Indian "Dragon" motif (Fig. A) with which we are, here, principally, concerned. The *hamsa* with a spray in its mouth is a fairly familiar convention, frequently met with throughout the whole history of Indian Art, in stone, metal, and on woven and printed fabrics. The dragon-motif is absolutely without any precedent or any near analogue. On some of the reliefs of the Amaravati Schools, there are various animal-forms depicted which seem to anticipate the Bestiary of the later Pauranic mythology. I am one of those who firmly believe that the seeds of all Pauranic conceptions are rooted in the Vedas. But, in this case the available *repertoire* of Pauranic animal conceptions offer no help, or suggestion. The Dragon is a very popular and ancient Chinese motif going back to remote antiquities. And it is quite probable, that the suggestion for the animal-motif in question on our Gupta Pillar, might have come from Chinese sources. Just as the *Kîrti-mukha* is an essentially Indian parallel to the Chinese Tao t'ieh, I considered the possibility of a similar parallel-



Fig. A. The Quelling of the Dragon Vrtra
Collection : Allahabad Municipal Museum
By the Courtesy of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas

1. The *hamsa*-medallion, though somewhat irrelevant to the present topic, is cited, here, for stylistic and chronological considerations.

ism and to regard our motif as an Indian version of a Chinese Dragon, of which there are various types with distinctive features. If we compare our animal figure (let us call it, provisionally, an Indian Dragon) with its Chinese analogue, we find the resemblance is very remote, and forbids any direct derivation. Let us describe and formulate the peculiar characteristics of our Indian Dragon. It has a lion-face (*simha-vaktra*) and pricked-up ears standing erect, possibly, horns (*srnga*) the terminating curves of which appear to be visible under the cover of the ear, from which descend the structures of its cheek-bones very like the anatomy of fishes. The enormous head is attached to a comparatively slender body tapering towards the end in 'serpentine' convolutions, rendered in terms of foliated appendages designed with exaggerated imagination and profusion. The complicated turns and convolutions of this ornamental appanage constituting the tail of the monster occupy half the area of the semi-circular space. This form of foliated ornamentations is in the familiar style of Indian decorative motifs of which there are numerous examples and applications. It is hoped the text of the *Silpasāstras* will provide the distinct technical name for this manner of foliated treatment. Our Dragon, with its tremendously long tail, is a cross-breed biped half-lion and half-serpent.[2] Its morphology distinctly suggests an ophidian type. It has no scales like the Chinese Dragon, which in their typical forms are fore-footed monsters. To demonstrate the divergences of our Dragon from Chinese parallels, we cite here two contemporary Chinese examples borrowed from a well-known Buddhist Stele from the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and datable about 500 A.D. The two drawings here cited (Fig. C & D) are copied from the decorations of a Buddhist Image Relief, and provide convenient examples of the manner of representing dragons in China about the middle of the fifth century, which is, therefore, almost contemporary with our Indian Dragon-motif. The Chinese examples are four-footed monsters with tails characteristically borrowed from types of reptiles. It is obvious that our Indian motif could never have been derived from Chinese models. It has a wholly divergent morphology very forcefully and originally designed in the characteristic manner of Indian decorative patterns, and are affiliated to the family of animal conceptions, both in treatment and ideas, which we owe to the fertile, though somewhat fantastic exuberation of Indian artistic imagination.



Fig. B. The Symbol of the Hamsa
Collection : Allahabad Municipal Museum
By the Courtesy of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas

In Hiuen Thsiang's description of the buildings at the Nalanda monastery visited by the pilgrim about the year 640 A.D., there are references to "dragons" as ornamental motives of the architecture of some of the buildings at the site. Thus, we read :

"All the outside courts in which are the priests' chambers are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections." (Beal's *Life of Hieuen T'siang*, Book III, p. 111).

Most probably the word "dragon" used in the passage represents *nāga* (serpent), for, as we know, that the Nalanda monastery was so-called on account of the association of the site with the pool of a serpent named Nāga—Nālanda, and, probably, the decorative motive used in the architecture was some conventional representation of serpents (as in the balustrades at Angkor, Indo-China) and, there is, probably,

2. The lion-face distinguishes the form from the well-known types of *makaras*, which are fundamentally "fish" or "Leviathan" symbols.

no reference to any "dragon" of Chinese extraction, in the architecture of Nālanda.[3]

The source of the form of our Indian Dragon on this Gupta relief has, therefore, to be sought for elsewhere. The clue to the identification is provided, as we shall see, in the peculiar upturned pose of the monster, which while it balances itself on its two legs, its head is 'whirled up' (*udvavarta*), and the rest of the anatomy is in an inverted pose. It has a gaping mouth, and, on the whole,—the demon is in a pose of a defence from an attack, its tail being crumpled up in an agitated gesture.

Who could have thought, that Vedic texts offer an explanation and identification of this monster motif?

In the texts of the Rig-Veda, there are references to the legends and descriptions of some *asuras* (Demons, Monsters, or Titans). Thus, we have the story of the Titan Visva-rūpa ("Omni-form"), described as the son of Tvastr by a sister of the Asuras. And according to various accounts recorded in various passages in the Rig-Veda, here, cited in the footnotes[4] Trita Apta (*i.e., Agnir*) with the help of Indra kills or rather vanquishes the Asura Visvarūpa, who is described as a three-headed, six-eyed and a seven-rayed monster. Evidently, our one-headed monster depicted on the relief cannot be the representation of Visva-rūpa.

Ours is a 'Whirling 'Monster' one that whirls, turns and inverts, that is Vrtra (from the root *Vrt*, to turn).[5] The Reptile form of Vrtra (as that of the monster in our relief) is suggested in the Rig-Veda (IV, I, 11) where it is described as the first-born of serpents (*prathamajam ahinam*). According to the more elaborate versions of the legend as given in the Taittirīya Samhitā (II, 4, 12, II, 5, 1) and in the Satapatha Brāmhana (I, 3, 1-17) (IV, 4, 3, 4), the Birth of Vrtra from the fire of the Soma sacrifice is related. Tvastr after the death of Visvarūpa prepared a *Soma* sacrifice from which Indra was excluded. But Indra seized the *soma* by force. Thereupon, Tvastr whirls (*avartayat*), the remainder of the *soma* upon the sacrificial fire announcing: "Hail! wax great as Indra's foe" ("*Yadavravit Svāhendra-sattruh-vardhasva*"). It sprang to life and was called Vrtra either because it enveloped and covered all the worlds (*imān lokān avrinot, Yad imān lokān avrinot tat Vrtrasya Vrtratvam*), or, because Tvastr, the progenitor of the monster "averted" it into the fire (*Tvastā-havanî yamupa-prāvartayat...yat avartayat tat Vrtrasya vrtrattvam*). The inverted and whirling posture of our relief follows the latter alternative.

According to the version of the legend given in the Satapatha Brāmhana, when the gods slew him "his head whirled up," or, literally, "he whirled up at the head" (*murdhodvavarta*), and the same head (skull) became the *drona-kalasa, the soma-vessel* the "vessel of the Angels."[6]

Anyhow, after the birth of Vrtra, the *asura*, devoured, that is to say, took demonaic possession of Agni and Soma, who thus became subject to its demonaic (*asurya*) power. Both Indra and Tvastr were alarmed. Then Tvastr provided Indra with his bolt, and Indra raised the weapon to slay Vrtra when Agni and Soma cried out that they were located inside the capatious body of the Titan. Thereafter, Indra made Vrtra to open his mouth (as we find in our relief) and then Agni and Soma escaped from his mouth. When Indra was about to throw the bolt to slay Vrtra, the latter shouted "Cast not, only dissever me." Thereupon, Indra cut him in two (*dvedhānavabhinat*). In our relief, the two parts of the upper and the lower anatomy are clearly differentiated—though, the severance has not yet taken place. The gaping mouth suggests the moment, when Vrtra was made to disgorge Agni and Soma, before his body was cut into two pieces, and when the body contracted. Thus according to the text of the Satapatha Brāhmana: "Now, Vrtra, on being struck lay contracted like a leather bottle drained of its contents like a skin bag with the barley-meal shaken out. Indra rushed at him, meaning to slay him."[7] We venture, therefore, to identify our relief as the illustration of the Vedic version of the Slaying

3. The Chinese types of Dragon are, certainly, borrowed in various Persian and Indo-Persian Miniatures of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.

4. "Asmabhyam tat Tvastram Visva-rupa-marandhayah sakhyasya Tritaya asya subanasya mandinas Tritasya nyarvudam vavrdhano astah" (R. V., II, 11, 19). "Trisirsanam Sapta-rasmim Jaghanvan, Tvastrasya cinnih sasrje trito gah" (R. V. X, 8, 8).

5. Dr. Coomarswamy seeks to derive Vrtra from the root *Vr*, to cover: "The derivation of Vrtra, like that of Varuna from Vr, to "cover," "enclose," "hide away," would seem preferable to a derivation from *vrt*." (*JAOS*, Vol. 55, 4, p. 385, footnote 16). Coomarswamy renders Vrtra by he word "Dragon."

6. Satapatha Bramhana (IV, 4, 3, 4): "*Drona-kalasa grhnati Vrtra vai soma asit tam yatra deva adhnamstasya murdhodvavarta sa drona kalaso 'bhavat.*" The Kanva Text reads: "*Vrtra tai soma asit tam yatra devah patresu vyagrhnata tasya murdhno vyavart tasya drona-kalaso 'bhavat.*"

7. "Taddeva khalu hato Vrtrah|Sa yatha drtirnispita evam samlinah sisye yatha nirdhuta—sakturbhas traivam samlinah sisye tamindro 'bhyadudrava hanisyan || 16 ||" Satapatha Brahmana, I, 3, 16.

of Vrtra (*Vrtra-Samhāra*) depicted at the moment suggested in the last quoted text.

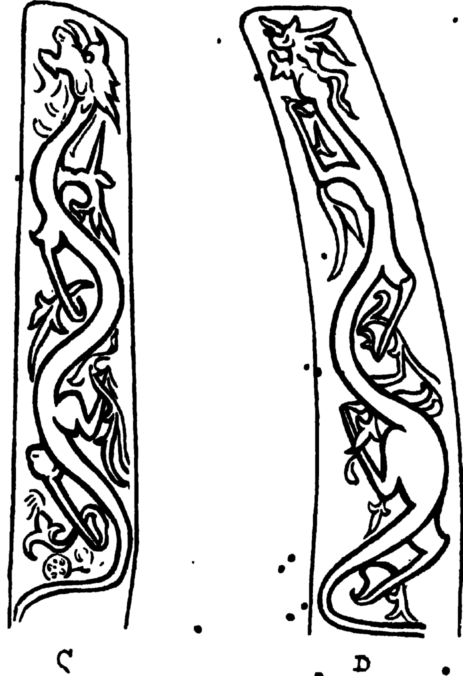
There is one difficulty in the identification. In the Satapatha Brāhmana account (1.6, 3) of the birth of Vrtra, it is stated that when the Soma is cast into the fire "inasmuch as it was whirling (*Vartamānah*) it became the Dragon and inasmuch as it was footless (*Apād*) it became the serpent."[8] This apparent difficulty may be explained by the fact that the essence of the body of Vrtra consisted of two elements—the Fire, and the Soma. In its aspect of Agni (Fire) the form is footless, and also headless and "its end is not disclosed" *i.e.*, it is without the termination of a tail. (Rig. Veda, IV, 1, 11 : "*Sa jāyata prathamah pastyāsu moho budhne rajaso asya yonau Apādaśīrsā guhamāno antā' yoyuvāno vrsavasya nīde.*". Agni in its essence and substance is effulgence (*rajasa*) and, essentially, a "headless," "footless" form. But, Vrtra is made of two elements Agni and Soma, and its twin parentage cannot forbid the conception and formulation of a body with two legs.

Now, the form that emerged from the Fire of the Soma-Yajna could not have been "human in shape" as wrongly and gratuitously suggested by Eggling: "The moment it (the Soma-libation) reached the fire, it developed (into human shape)." The text does not suggest a "human shape." It was the form of a Titan (*dānava*), the monster, like his deceased brother Visva-rūpa. We have refrained from alluding to the later versions of the legend as elaborated in the Rāmāyana (Uttarā-Kānda, 97-99), the Harivamsa, the Devībhāgavata, and the other Purānas, as they do not help us with the sources of the iconography of our relief. According to some of the Purānas, the form that emerged from the Fire was a Titanic body (*mahā-sarīra*) with 'wide fangs' (*dīrgha-damstra*) in a mass of 'black collyrium' (*anjanapinda*)[9] and the size of its shape covered 'a hundred *yojana* in length, and a hundred in breadth.'

The form depicted on our relief, follows very closely the Vedic texts cited above, and seem to ignore the Pauranic versions.

We have, therefore, an illustration of a Vedic Myth pictured on a Gupta Pillar.

Some comments may be offered on the date of the pillar on which this motif occurs. The style is distinctly Gupta in character, though the Pillar cannot be dated definitely earlier than



Figs. C and D. A Buddhist Stele (c. 500 A.D.) Metropolitan Museum, New York

600 A.D. There are several examples of similar Pillars, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and a very closely parallel example, numbered R, in the Lahore Museum. The last named example (excavated by General Abott from the site of a mound at Jhelum, Punjab) was dated by Cunningham, some time between 600 and 800 A.D. which is certainly not a very accurate guess. On a basis of stylistic comparison, the Pillar from which we have borrowed our relief with the Vedic motif cannot be later than 650 A.D. and is closely affiliated to the style of late Gupta Art.

It is gratifying to note that the original Vedic version of the Myth is still persisting at so late a period. It would be interesting to search for and discover the history of its plastic representation in earlier monuments.

8. "Sa yat varttamanah samabhavat|Tasmat Vrtro' tha yat apat samabhavat tasmat ahih tam Danusca Danayusca mateva ca piteva ca parijagrhatuh tasmad Danava ityahuh || 9 ||" Satapatha Brahmana, I. 3, 9.

9. Markandeya Purana V, 1, 3, 9.

ARE THE MOSQUES IN INDIA PROPERLY BUILT ?

By LIEN CHI ALTANGI

His Holiness the Prophet of the Muhammadans directed that all true followers of his religion should turn five times daily during their prayers towards the *Keblah*. At first he fixed Jerusalem as the *Keblah*, i.e., the fixed point towards which the Muhammadans must turn at the time of their prayers. Then he changed the *Keblah* to Mecca. In the Surah of the Cow (shortly after the second Rakat begins) we find :

> "We appointed the Keblah towards which thou didst formerly pray, only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth back on his heels; though this change seem a great matter, unless unto those whom GOD hath directed. But GOD will not render your faith of none effect; for GOD is gracious and merciful unto man. We have seen thee turn about thy face towards heaven *with uncertainty*, but we will cause thee to turn thyself towards a Keblah that will please thee. Turn therefore thy face towards the holy temple *of Mecca*; and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that *place*."

It is therefore the duty of every Muhammadan to turn towards the holy temple of Mecca at the time of their prayer. In India the mosques are generally so built that the *mihrab* (or niche) in the west wall is towards Mecca; and any one praying in the mosque, if he keeps himself parallel to the line of *mihrab*, faces towards Mecca, and thus discharges the religious obligation.

But here in India in many mosques, constructed both in mædieval as well as in recent times, the *mihrab* is built directly west, without having regard to the fact whether it turns towards the *Keblah* or not. Mecca is situated in 21°20′ North latitude and 40°13′ East meridian. India extends from 7°N to 36°N latitude, and from 65° East meridian to 98°E. A mosque at Cochin, for example, instead of facing directly west, should face a point 17° or 18° north of true west. Similarly a mosque at Kashmir or at Lahore should face a point 22° or 23° south of the true west. In some places, an attempt is made to allow for the differences in latitude and longitude but without success.

If one is to interpret literally and strictly this ordinance of the Holy Prophet of the Muhammadans, these mosques are wrongly built; and they should be demolished and reconstructed having regard to the proper direction of the true *Keblah*. But we believe, either in the Koran or in the *Sonnah* or the oral laws, there must be some provision not to interpret the ordinance too literally, but to have regard to its spirit alone. For to hold otherwise, we shall have to hold that generations of pious Muhammadans, who have either built the mosques or prayed there, have not followed the ordinance and thus they have committed sin, and made themselves fit only for the eternal fires of Jehannum.

Here in India, a controversy is going on between the Hindus and the Muhammadans about the stoppage of music before mosques. There is no ordinance in the Koran which requires stoppage of music before mosques. There is a story however that once His Holiness the Prophet was leading the prayer, when a procession of camel-drivers passed that way beating drums; and every one in the mosque, excepting the Prophet and his son-in-law Ali, left it to see what was going on outside. At this the Prophet sent a message to the camel-drivers intimating that they should not beat drums at the time of the prayer, and thus cause diversion.

The best way to secure privacy and concentration at the time of prayers is to build the masjids and places of worship away from the public thoroughfares and if any are situate on public highways to build high dead walls along the road frontage so that noise from the road may not penetrate inside, and interfere with their devotions. I have heard from Hindu religious men that their auspicious marriage days and festival days on which their gods and goddesses are worshipped will not number more than 60 days in the year. If the communities mean to live amicably the Muhammadans should not object to music on these 60 days and the Hindus should play no music whatever in public thoroughfares on any days other than those 60 days and each community should hold the places of worship and religious practice of the other in respect, and help them to screen their places of worship.

If by praying at a mosque, which does not turn strictly towards Mecca, the Muhammadans do not commit sin, surely they would not commit anything either if they permit the Hindus to play their religious music.

In India the Hindus seem to be the more intelligent, more virile and richer of the two major communities. But strangely enough their political leaders do not know anything about the theology or the religious practices of the Muhammadans or of their history. And if in a political discussion, a Muhammadan claims a grossly superstitious practice (perhaps not strictly Islamic) to be the integral and essential part of his religion the Hindu is at once silenced. The Hindu leaders should study Muhammadan theology and practice and Muhammadan history thoroughly to appreciate their line of argument.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The world war has now reached a critical stage. The Axis submarines in the Atlantic, the Axis air-force and submarines in the Mediterranean and the Japanese air-craft carriers in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean are now going all out in order to prevent the United Nations from developing a co-ordinated counter-offensive. The U. S. A. is as yet far from being ready, Britain still has not reached full strength and Russia has not been able to recover her lost centres of armament production. On the other hand, the Axis powers are now at their zenith so far as production and armament concentration are concerned. Even Japan, who is—or rather was—supposed to be the poor-relation of the Western have-nots, is now putting forward 400 miles per-hour fighters and new bombs and highly efficient light artillery. The Axis knows its strength, and has no illusions about its prospects in case of a long-drawn war. Therefore, we see this all-out effort at a knock-out in 1942, in which the last ounce of weight is being put behind the Axis thrusts, in the battlefields of southern Russia, in the air above the Mediterranean near Malta and in the Far-Eastern war-zones of China and the South-West Pacific. Heavy toll has been taken of the complacence and unpreparedness of the United Nations, in fighting material and in territory, extremely valuable from all considerations, economic and strategic. And as yet the tide does not show any signs of turning.

In Russia the German armies with their foreign auxiliaries are now at grips with the redoubtable Marshal Timoschenko. Here the question seems to be one purely of armament supplies. The fighting-power of the Soviet forces seem to be as formidable as ever despite losses on a scale that surpasses imagination. The question on the Russian battle-line, long-drawn and enormously complicated in regard to lines of supply and bases of operation, is as to which side is able to attain a definite superiority in weapons of mechanised warfare at positions most favourable for launching an offensive. General Winter, who proved to be as formidable as ever, despite being scoffed at by "Great" authorities—the writer of these columns being the reverse of an authority had more faith—did at least one great service to the Soviets. By totally wiping out the most dominant advantage gained by the surprise assaults *en masse*, that is to say the factor of initiative, the gallant old warrior has restored the balance somewhat towards terms of equality on both sides. Now the question is one of technical superiority, in the field, at the production centres and at the supply and overhaul bases. And here again the much discounted-off General Mud is substantially helping the Russian cause by releasing his paralysing grip on the Nazi war-machine slowly and bit by bit along the battle-line.



Gunboats for China
Admiral Chen Shao-kwan accepted for the Chinese Government, the U. S. and British gunboats from Lt.-Col. J. M. McHugh, U. S. M. C. and U. S. Naval Attache seen in this picture on the left, and from Brigadier Gordon E. Grimdale, British Military Attache

How far has the U.S.S.R. been able to recuperate after the terrible punishment she took

in last year's campaign, and whether her allies have been able to bring her battle-strength up to the desired extent ? These are the questions on which a lot will depend during the next few months. It is well known that the Axis munitions and machinery production has been whipped up to the last extreme during the winter months and every factory and engineering works in occupied Europe has been harnessed to the task of completing replacements and to the furthering of the German high command programme of accumulating still vaster masses of mechanised weapons. Hitler openly declared that the Spring offensive will see an even greater weight of metal against the Soviets forces than was done in the summer and autumn campaigns of last year, and that the weapons would be of superior quality and of new design in many cases. He could not say anything about the quality of the troops he was going to employ in the coming campaign. Probably war-wastage and the terrible rigours of the Russian winter have worked havoc in that direction to a far greater extent than has been admitted. Goering's last speech is significant, and it is probable that the Russian recovery in this respect is more complete and that the Soviets' reserves are less depleted proportionately.

After the Japanese entry in the war, the question of supplies to Russia—and to China—have become complicated beyond measure. It is now known that the Arctic route to Murmansk was one of the main arteries of supply. With the approach of summer and the consequent total absence of darkness, the Luftwaffe and the under-sea-boat command will be able to intensify their attacks on the slow-moving convoys, thereby holding up and destroying supplies in an increasing ratio. The other supply routes entail tremendous long-hauls, which, in these days of acute shipping shortage, is a crippling handicap. Air-craft of all types can probably co... over the Alaskan route under its own power, but other supplies, specially tanks, have to be sea-borne and it is at this weak link in the supply chain that the Axis submarines and bombers are hitting with all the power behind them. American production may soar but without an adequate supply of bottoms it will not avail the Russians much. Which means that unless the submarine menace is overcome in the near future, the Russians will have to depend more and more on their own resources during the coming campaign.

Sixty per cent of Soviets munitions production centres, as known to the outside world, lay in the region overrun or attacked by the Germanic hordes last year. This would normally mean the strangling of a fighting force sorely in need of replacements, reinforcement and refitting. The destruction of Russian war material was appalling in its extent and with all the sources of recuperation and replenishment destroyed or bottled up, total collapse would seem inevitable. So thought the Axis commanders when they triumphantly announced the imminence of a debacle in the Russian forces, and so thought most of the great authorities on warfare, of the anti-fascist world. It is too early to say that these authorities were wrong, just as it would be unjustifiable to proclaim that the Soviets are now stronger than ever. But it is apparent that the armament production capacity of the Russian centres in the Urals and in the further-off regions deep in Siberia, is far greater than was known to the outside world.

The Urals possess rich deposits of iron, copper, bauxite, lead, manganese, magnesium, zinc and potash. Its coal resources are not known to be adequate, but there are great deposits at Karaganda, about 600 miles away from Magnitogorsk, the great steel production centre of the Urals. The Kuzbas coal basin, said to be one of the greatest in the world, is about 2000 miles off, but railway communications are said to be excellent. There are vast oil-fields in the Urals too—indeed they are believed to be greater than those in the Caucasus—but they are as yet in the development stage. The Ural region is virtually at the centre of the Soviets territories and as yet lie far away from the battle-zones.

Magnitogorsk possesses one of the biggest steel production plants in the world. At Chelyabinsk and Stankostroy there are great tank arsenals and machine tool production plants. Then there are great munition plants at Sverdlovsk and Solikamsk. Copper is smelted at Krasnouralsk and zinc at Chelyabinsk. Some aluminium is produced at Kaminsk, though the quantities produced do not compare at all with what was produced in the Ukraine. Ufa possesses great Diesel motor plants and Perm air plane engine factories. Besides these, many other plants evacuated from the invaded areas have been set up in suitable localities and a very large number of primary and secondary production plants that were known to be in various stages of construction before the world war started, must have been completed by now.

Apart from the Urals, there are large factories deep in Siberia, built to make the Siberian East independent of European Russia for munitions and armament. These must have

been expanded by now. But it must be admitted that very little is known to the outside world about these production centres and any speculation about their nature and capacity is futile.

But all the above does not mean that Russia's industrial capacity has not suffered serious losses. The Soviets' armament production capacity has been severely hit, specially through acute shortage of certain vital raw materials which were largely obtained from the areas now within the orbit of war. Power output now must be at a far lower level than before though augmentation of existing sources, still under control of the Soviets, must be well under way. All that can be said is that the Soviets can still fight a mechanized war on a major scale if some help is available from their allies. And their capacity for fighting back is still formidable though as yet not to that extent as would justify the rosy optimism displayed in some "authoritative" forecasts.

In the Pacific and Asiatic zones of war the situation is far more serious. Here the question of munitions and armament production has uptil very recently been tackled by the powers-that-be in a fashion that must have caused rejoicing in Berlin and Tokio. It is useless now to discuss how much of it was due to plain muddling, through chronic incapacity or inefficiency, and how much due to a deliberate plan to preserve markets for post-war periods. The plain facts snow that at the end of 33 months of world-war, and nearly six months after Japan's entry as a belligerent, recruitment in India is limited by the supplies available and Mr. Attlee is obliged to make the very disturbing statement that Britain must wait till Japan shows her hand before reinforcements can be sent anywhere. This statement is virtually an admission that not only does the initiative in this very widely strung-out war-zone rest with the Japanese but that there is no immediate prospect of a challenge by the United Nations.

The Japanese air-craft carriers have seriously altered the naval situation in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. But that does not make Mr. Amery's apologia for the present situation any less open to criticism than was that other astounding statement by the Burma officials regarding the political situation in that unfortunate land. India was openly and declaredly anti-fascist and pro-democracy at the beginning of this war. India has great resources, vast stores of man-power and unlimited resources for the development of skilled labour in its artisan classes. Indian enterprise and direction succeeded in building up a great iron and steel concern—perhaps the largest in the British empire—in the face of the most severe handicaps that any such concern ever faced. Indian enterprise came forward to tackle the job of vital armament production right at the beginning of this war. In the sphere of politics, the Congress, which is the only self-sufficient All-India organisation and is powerful beyond all comparison with the other political parties in the aggregate—in spite of all protests to the contrary by officialdom—offered to meet the British Government half-way, even though that meant dropping Mahatma Gandhi. The logical sequence to all these undeniable facts would have been that India by now would have developed into a great arsenal and a gigantic reserve of fighting power. Whose duty was it to see that this task should be accomplished? Even granting that the Indians are as inefficient and torn by religious factions, as they are depicted to be in Western fiction, what measures were taken to rectify all that? A great noise is made abroad—probably with an eye on Washington—about the Stafford Cripps Mission and how the miserable Indian leaders failed to avail themselves of a golden opportunity. We in India who are in the position of onlookers see in that disaster only the ruining of a great reputation. It was as fore-doomed and fruitless a venture as was that of the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse*. Sir Stafford came at an opportune moment and he had great and powerful friends amongst the Indian leaders. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek had done the groundwork in an excellent fashion. But what had he to offer but the mummified corpse of the purile 1940 proposals packed in a gilt and polished Sarcophagus?

Even now the situation, grave as it is, is not desperate. But new brooms are needed, not only here but overseas as well. Or else there would be Blood, Toil and Tears, for all and sundry, for many a long day to come. It will take a decade—at least so it seems to our maybe ignorant way of thinking—to dislodge the Axis from its gains in this part of the world, once it is able to consolidate and entrench itself in the conquered territories. We do not see, with our limited vision, how that can be prevented without the full support of India, material, moral and physical. And the cross-roads are not very far off.

In Russia the Spring offensive has not materialized. Marshal Timoschenko's drive towards Kharkov has undoubtedly been slowed down by determined German resistance and by the flanking thrust from the south by Von Bock's armies. But it seems to have upset, at least for

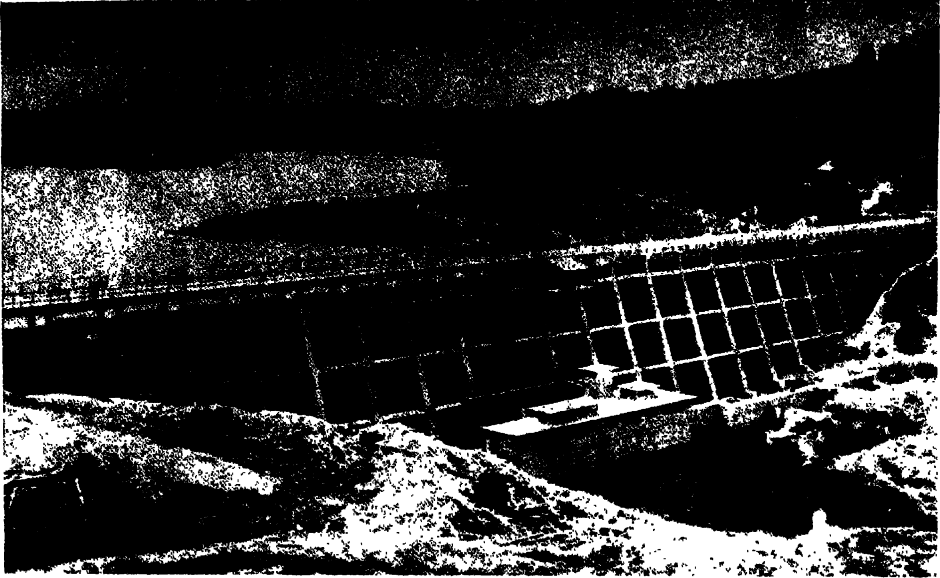
the time being, the plans for a drive on to Caucasus, of which the first part was the occupation of the Kerch peninsula. The thrust from the south, which is being delivered with great force has made some progress and is being pressed on with extreme violence, large masses of panzer units being freely used. This battle, which is being fought with the maximum of ferocity and determination from both sides may finally develop into the key movement for a general offensive. All reports indicate that mechanized armament and air-craft is being thrown into the battle on a scale that surpasses all previous records. Of course, this is now a struggle for the mastery of the initiative but it will certainly cause an enormous drain on the reserves of either side. We hope the Soviets' organization for supply, overhaul refitting and replacement has been sufficiently augmented by the Allied nations to bear the strain. The Russian left flank is in a somewhat precarious position at the time of writing and adequate reserves and quick replacement of war wastage will soon become a vital factor.

In the Middle East there is a flare up. The air-offensive on Malta was only a powerful covering move to guard the Axis supplies across the Mediterranean, as we indicated last month. Evidently this offensive in the Western desert has been planned to coincide with the Spring offensive in Russia, and now that the German and Italian armies have received the supplies needed they have commenced the drive. There is no doubt that General Auchinleck is ready to meet this new thrust, but the Luftwaffe in the Arctic and the Mediterranean, the German submarines in the Atlantic and the Japanese aircraft carriers in the Indian Ocean have rendered the supply routes to Russia and Libya full of hazard. The occupation of Madagascar has ensured the Indian Ocean route to some extent so far as the approaches to the Arabian Sea are concerned.

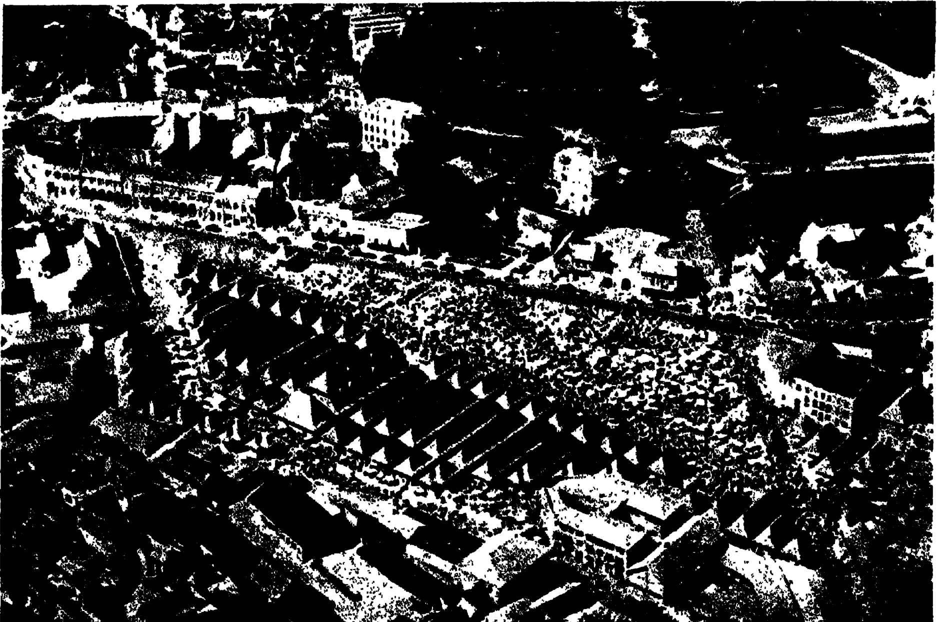
In the war-zones of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, the situation is as precarious as ever. With the fall of Corregidor, the last barrier held by the United Nations against the Japanese in the Far-Eastern area has gone down. Now Japan is in a position to consolidate her gains by constructing a continuous chain of fortresses as an outward barrier protecting the inner sea lanes connecting the Pacific with the Indian Ocean. Her approaches to Australia and India are now vulnerable at the extreme fringes only and any major naval offensive against her must impose enormous handicaps on the United Nations henceforward. The battle of the Coral Sea seems to have put a stop for the time being to the Japanese advance towards Australia, although the claims made for that action by the Japanese high command should indicate the contrary. Australia is fully alive to the dangers threatening her and the respite granted as a result of this naval action should prove of great value in her preparations for combatting the menace of invasion.

The Chinese are now facing a new offensive. Japan seems to have decided to turn all her forces against China in order to force a decision at a time when China is practically isolated from all her allies. A major offensive seems to be in preparation on a line that extends for nearly 2000 miles, though actions are being fought at selected points only. But Chinese determination and valour has overcome such critical situations before and there is not the slightest indication that they are any the less ready to meet this new challenge to their freedom. The situation is now enormously complicated by the total blocking up of all supply routes.

In Burma the Japanese are now in possession of all important places. There is a lull in the fighting for the present, most probably because the Japanese are concentrating all their forces for a major drive into Western China. But there are ominous reports of Japanese activities on the West coast of Burma and it may be regarded as certain that preparations for an invasion of India are in progress. The monsoons are bound to hamper all major movements of supplies and personnel, but they cannot be regarded as an insurmountable barrier against aggression by such a resourceful and determined opponent as the Japanese have proved to be. Of course, the time factor is of the greatest importance in such matters and very valuable time has been gained by the organisers of India's defence through the heroic fight put up by the Chinese and British forces against the Japanese armies. It is very likely that the coming of the monsoons will grant a further respite, but it is certain that that will not be quite as long as gentlemen, who are already talking about the allied armament production in 1943; would consider as desirable.



The dam and lake of Ikopa Mantasoer. Madagascar



A view of Tananarive, the capital of Madagascar



Fort Dauphin, the first French settlement (1643 A.D.) in Madagascar



The crater of the volcano off Lake Itasi. Madagascar

THE POLITY OF SOVIET UNION, AND ITS PRESENT INTEREST TO INDIA

By V. KALYANARAMAN, B.A., B.L.

The Government of the Soviet Union is essentially a Government of the workers, by the workers, for the workers; it has no place for the idle rich or for the idle poor. Workers include all men and women, who work with hand, brain or machine; who work in the factory, school or office, or on land and in mines with the plough and pick-axe; they include all men in the army, navy and air force; they include all artists, authors, journalists, scientists, house-keepers, domestic servants, and all men and women, engaged in every conceivable occupation useful to human life and human existence. All these men and women constitute the entire body of citizens, and possess the right to vote and be elected to any office in the U. S. S. R. They are not merely citizens; they are also producers and consumers. As workers they produce goods, commodities, machines, and amenities of life. As they have to live and grow, in health, in wisdom and knowledge, they must necessarily consume some of the goods they produce. Thus, the man acts, and has rights and duties, in three different capacities, namely, *Man* as a *Citizen*, *Man* as a *Producer*, *Man* as a *Consumer*. This triple conception of the rights and duties of man, firstly, in his capacity as a citizen, secondly, in his capacity as a producer and lastly in his capacity as a consumer, is a unique and all-pervasive feature of the Soviet Constitution.

As citizens, men and women express their will, and record their votes openly in all meetings and in all elections, not secretly, not in huge masses nor in huge constituencies, as they do in western democracies of Europe and America. Communism does not believe in the democracy of the mob. Actual unit of the electorate, whether urban or rural, is a small assemblage of persons seldom exceeding a thousand who, whatever their grade, status or craft, are habitually meeting each other in daily work or in neighbourly associations; an assemblage at which there is generally an intimate discussion of the issues in which the people are interested and about which they have views of their own. Every elector knows intimately the person to whom he gives the vote. (The term 'Soviet' originally meant a meeting or council of workers in a factory or industry. It is now applied to the council of citizens, in any village or city, the delegates to which are elected by direct vote.) In the village council (Selo-soviet), there is one delegate for every 100 electors. In the city council (Soviet), there is one delegate for every 50 electors if the city population is 10,000 and below. In bigger cities like Moscow and Leningrad, one delegate generally represents every 500 electors. In all these primary assemblies, the vote is recorded openly, directly, by show of hands. The Soviet voter knows nothing of the ballot and the ballot boxes. The people of the Soviet Union believe in basing their constitutional structure, not on the anonymous mass voting of huge electoral constituencies, but on a large number of relatively small meetings of neighbours and associates in work. They believe in giving the right of representation to every conceivable social or economic group, however small it may be. Consequently, the unit of electorate choosing a representative or representatives, whether in the rural or urban areas, is very much smaller than the one we find in the other democracies of Europe or America. The total number of rural electoral areas, electing village councils is approximately 80,000; and the delegates elected to these village councils is approximately two million; a colossal representation of rural opinion. As population increases, the number of delegates to be elected to these village and city councils is also increased, because the representation is based not on the area or territory considered as a unit, but on the number of people or group of people taken as a unit.

We said that, as citizens, men and women have the right to vote in all elections for the village and city soviets. The same men and women, as producers, have the right to vote in all elections to the several trade union bodies. The primary task of these trade unions is to make the workers (producers) realise that, as sole owners of the means of production, they must take full responsibility for the maintenance, efficiency and increase of the means of production. The Soviet trade union is not an isolated and detached body of workers fighting merely for a rise in wages; it is an integral part of the Soviet Constitution, assisting in the fulfilment

of production programmes, and attending to the cultural and economic requirements of the workers. The main interest of the trade union organisation in the Soviet Union lies in the increasing productivity of the Soviet industry in general; that is, the productivity of all the factories and industrial plants in the whole country. Thus both in structure and in its aims and objects, the trade union organisation in the Soviet Union is radically different from that prevailing in America or Great Britain. In the Soviet Union, it is an integral part of the constitution itself. It has its own councils, congresses, and its own committees and executive bodies. It is in full and independent charge of the entire industrial activity of the country. There is no separate ministry or commissariat controlling labour and industry in the Soviet Union.

Again, as consumers, the same men and women exercise their right of franchise in all elections to what are called Consumers' Co-operative councils. The whole system of distribution in the Soviet Union is done under the authority and supervision of this Consumers' Co-operative organisation, which is considered as an equally important part of the Soviet Constitution. Here again, as in the case of Soviet councils and trade union bodies, the election to the primary co-operatives is by open and direct voting in a small assemblage of persons gathered for the purpose in each electoral area. There are three main types of Consumers' Co-operatives, The most numerous is the village store with branches in every inhabited village and hamlet. Next comes the city co-operative store with innumerable branches accessible to every nook and corner of each city. The third type is what is called the vocational or closed co-operative in which membership is restricted to men and women employed in a particular vocation or occupation.

The above, in bare outline, is the base of the Soviet constitutional structure. The city and village soviets are the first and primary bodies through which man, as a citizen, acts and expresses his will. The trade unions are the first and primary bodies through which man, as a producer, acts and expresses his will. So are the consumers' co-operatives through which man acts and expresses his will, as a consumer.

Above the village and city soviet, there is the Rayon congress of soviets. Above the village and city trade union, there is the Rayon trade union council. Above the village and city co-operative, there is the Rayon council of consumers' co-operatives. The Rayon is an area formed mainly on the lines of economic production (roughly corresponding to the district or county in other countries), comprising a number of villages, together with such cities or urban settlements as happen to be intermixed with them. The soviet of each of these villages and of urban settlements annually elect one or more delegates to constitute the Rayon congress of soviets. Similarly, every village and city trade union, and every village and city consumers' co-operative, elects its delegates to constitute the Rayon council of trade unions and the Rayon union of consumers' co-operatives, respectively.

The next tier of councils or congresses above that of the Rayon is that of the eleven (11) constituent socialist republics that are comprised in the whole of the Soviet Union. In area and population, the most important republic is the R. S. F. S. R. (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) with its capital at Moscow. The second in size and importance is the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with its capital at Kiev. The other constituent republics are the White Russian with its capital at Minsk, the Azerbaizan with its capital at Tiflis, the Armenian with its capital at Erivan, the Turkoman with its capital at Ashkhbat, the Uzbek with its capital at Samarkand, the Tadzhik with its capital at Stalinbad, the Kazak, and the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics. In every one of these eleven constituent republics, there is the All-Republic Congress of Soviets controlling and directing the entire activity of man as a citizen, there is the All-Republic Congress of Trade Unions controlling and directing the entire activity of man as a producer, and there is the All-Republic Congress of Consumers' Co-operatives, controlling and directing the entire activity of man as a consumer, within the area of the Republic.

Thus, in every constituent republic comprised in the whole Soviet Union, we have a supreme body at the top, one for the activity of man as a citizen, another for the activity of man as a producer, and a third for the activity of man as a consumer. All these (republic) congresses or councils are made up of delegates elected by the Rayon congress of soviets, the Rayon trade union councils and the Rayon consumers' co-operatives; and these provincial bodies are again composed of delegates elected by the village and urban soviets, by the village and urban trade unions, and by the village and urban consumers' co-operatives. All these village and urban bodies, being the primary councils at the base, are elected by direct vote at innumerable small

gatherings of electors, associated either in work at various establishments, factories, institutions, or as neighbours in rural areas. From top to bottom of this pyramid of councils, each tier has complete authority over all below it and is itself completely subject to all above it. This system is called 'Democratic Centralism,' which is an important characteristic of Soviet communism.

At this stage it is necessary to mention how the communist leaders have solved the problem of nationalities and of national minorities, a problem which has baffled up to now all attempts at solution in Central and Eastern Europe, the same problem which now confronts every political leader and statesman in Modern India. In the old Russian Empire, the official policy throughout was one of militant Russian nationalism and of oppression against all the non-Russian nationalities. The Communist Party, though strongest in Russia proper and mainly composed of men and women of Russian nationality, from the very beginning proclaimed, and sincerely adhered to the doctrine of equality of all nationalities. They put their trust in a genuine equality of citizenship, irrespective of race, language, religion, or colour. Communist doctrine asserts that interests of the proletariat are identical all the world over, and there can be no conflict of interests between the members of the proletariat, whatever their race or nationality. Nationality is merely a personal attribute which each person is entitled to enjoy in full, and therefore in a communist state, nationality is as irrelevant as religion. The Communist Party consistently denounced any kind of forcible treatment of nationalities, and proclaimed the recognition of equality and sovereignty of every nationality in determining its own destiny. Under communism, the state is predominantly a communist state and not a national state; it is a non-national state. All the confusion and conflict in Central Europe and the Balkans arose because the nation idea and the state idea were mixed up and considered as identical. State idea is purely political and economic. Nation idea is social and religious. The two ideas are fundamentally different and there is no necessary conflict between the two.

Nations were in existence long before the states came into being. "The national state" is subsequent, is a modern conception characteristic of the 18th and 19th centuries; a conception which gave rise to never-ending conflicts between national minorities in every state, and between nationalities in adjoining states.

"True equality is clearly incompatible with the theory of the national state. For in the national state a majority (national) claims exclusive possession of what should be the common heritage of all. . . . But if this confusion between the two things, which are of their nature fundamentally different, can once be abandoned, there is no reason why a score of different nationalities should not live together in a state of any socio-economic structure. The multi-national state, if it is anxious to keep its territory intact, should make it its first object to divest itself of its national character."*

For a successful and harmonious administration of any multi-national state, the false identification of political state and personal nation must be abandoned. A perfect multi-national state is one which treats personal nationality as irrelevant to political nationality. Given cultural and regional autonomy, social and religious freedom, there is no reason why different nationalities should not live together in peace and harmony in the same political state, provided one nationality does not impose its culture on the other. This is exactly what the builders of the Soviet Constitution did. They allowed complete cultural autonomy, complete sovereignty and freedom, to every ethnic group within its political and territorial limits. There are now nearly 20 nationalities and over 70 national minorities, each with a language and culture of its own, within the borders of the Soviet Union. All the major and important nationalities are given the status of 'autonomous republics.' All other national minorities are termed 'autonomous areas.' All these are distributed and spread over the eleven constituent republics that are comprised in the Soviet Union. All these have their own village and urban soviets, their own village and urban trade unions, their own village and urban consumers' co-operatives. They elect their own delegates to the congresses and councils of the constituent republics within which they are situated. Further, these autonomous republics and areas send, in their own right, representatives to the apex congresses and councils of the Soviet Union. This conception of cultural autonomy involves the right of every autonomous area to adopt its own language in the schools and colleges, in their councils and courts of justice, and in all official intercourse. They are encouraged to give preference to their own nationals as teachers and local officials. Their religious services and social customs are not interfered with. With cultural and regional autonomy, each national minority with the state becomes the master of such of its affairs as genuinely concern itself alone. The minority, however, joins with the other national-

* *National States and National Minorities* by C. A. Macarthey (1934).

ities for the conduct of those political and economic activities which interest all equally.

Cultural and regional autonomy is thus the most suitable form of political structure for any multi-national state. For example, the four Moslem Union Republics of Azerbaizan Turks, the Turkomans, Uzbeks, and Tadzhiks in the Soviet Union, enjoy perfect freedom in religion, language and their culture. They have their own schools and text-books, their own philology and folk-lore, and their own theatres and cinemas; the Soviet authorities have taken particular care in fostering every indigenous industry, in establishing new industries and in developing all mineral resources, all being owned and managed by the Moslem nationalities themselves.

The Soviet government is not Russian; it is a proletariat government. It does not seek to Russify the various nationalities of the Union, but it does train them as partners in the building up of a communist state. All this is the work of Stalin to whom Lenin had entrusted the solution of the problem of nationalities. The very word "Russia" was deliberately removed from the title of the Soviet Union, which is officially designated as the (U. S. S. R.) Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In the solution of the problem of nationalities, what has been so successfully done by the builders of the Soviet Constitution is certainly a matter for sympathetic and intelligent consideration in all other multi-national states. The actual method and manner of organisation are unimportant, and must necessarily depend upon conditions of each country. If it is conceded that India is a multi-national state, if it is conceded that the Punjabee differs from the Mahratha in language, in cultural tradition, and in social or religious custom, as much as a Bengalee differs from his Madrasi brother-countryman, if we concede that caste and community is an additional complication to the solution of the problem, then the constitution to be framed to suit Indian conditions, has necessarily to be viewed in the light of the Soviet experiment.

We now come to the topmost edifice of the constitutional structure. The supreme body, the apex so to speak of the entire soviet fabric, is the *All-Union Congress of Soviets* which is composed of delegates from all parts of the U.S.S.R. It is convened once in three or four years. The delegates to this *All-Union Congress* are all elected by the councils and congresses of the constituent republics and also by the councils and congresses of every autonomous republic and area, at the rate of one delegate for every 125,000 of the population. Besides, the soviets of the most populous cities and important urban settlements have independently the right to send one delegate for every 5,000 of the workers' population. The number of delegates, therefore, varies from census to census. In 1935 there were 2,200 delegates. Apart from the general discussion of All-Union matters and of plans and programmes, the most important function of this supreme body is the election of the Central Executive Committee, called *Tsik*, to which is entrusted all legislative and executive power until the meeting of the next *All-Union Congress.*

This executive (*Tsik*) is a curious type of bi-cameral body, a plan devised by Stalin to give equal importance to the various autonomous republics and areas along with the constituent republics, in the supreme constitutional organ of the Soviet Union. It consists of two chambers, one is the 'Union of Soviets' and the other is the 'Soviet of Nationalities.' The first chamber (Union of Soviets) has 607 members (1935), all elected by the *All-Union Congress,* according to the census then prevailing, at the rate of one member for every 300,000 of the population. The second chamber (Soviet of Nationalities) has 150 members representing all autonomous republics and areas, and also the eleven constituent republics. The two chambers have equal rights as regards legislation. Each chamber is to examine every projected legislation from its own point of view, the one from the all-union point and the other from the multi-national point of view. Each chamber must separately record its assent to every law. This two-chambered organ of the Soviet Constitution is a standing body, between one *All-Union Congress* to the next, meeting in regular and special sessions about six times in the year. It is both a legislative and executive body, there being no distinction between legislative and executive functions, a unique feature in every organ of administration throughout the U. S. S. R. This two-chambered organ *Tsik* is not an imitation of the bi-cameral system of capitalist countries, since the two chambers are co-equal in their function and their power of legislation. In case of disagreement, a conciliation commission of members of both the chambers is formed, and if this body fails to come to an agreement, the matters is referred to the next *All-Union Congres* whose decision is final. As this bi-cameral body is too unwieldy to operate in day-to-day administrative and legislative action, in between its sessions, the powers and duties of the *Tsik*

are entrusted to what is called its Presidium. The Presidium of the *Tsik* consists of 27 members, 9 elected by each of the two chambers and 9 elected by both the chambers in their joint session. The Presidium is the standing representative of the whole *Tsik*, and is responsible for all its actions to the *Tsik*. While the legislative work of the *Tsik* is generally performed by this Presidium, the actual administration and execution of decrees are carried out by the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) which may be taken as the highest executive authority in the U. S. S. R., corresponding to the cabinet of ministers in the democracies of Europe and America. The President of the Council of People's Commissars is appointed by the *Tsik* and the individual Commissars are appointed by the Presidium of the *Tsik*.

Viewed as a whole, the constitution of the Soviet Union is a combined political socio-economic structure of multiform democracy, with its three-fold representation of man as a citizen, man as a producer, and man as a consumer. The Government centred in Moscow is the apex of these three important pyramidal structures covering the whole of the Soviet Union, each based on small meetings of associated workers. The whole system, unique in structure and novel in its conception, with its continually increasing electorate and equally increasing number of its representatives, with tier over tier of councils, involves the personal participation in government by an ever-increasing number of citizens. It is not a mere political structure. It is not a mere social structure. It is not a mere economic structure. All the three aspects of human life and human activity are blended and combined in the whole constitution. The pattern is not found in any other part of the world, and is fundamentally different from any we have known in human history.

PRICE CONTROL

By Professor BIMALENDU DHAR

When a country is at war, internal prices tend to soar very high, and it becomes necessary to control them by Government action. When the war clouds burst upon Europe in September, 1939, the Government of India, foreseeing the situation that would soon arise and wishing to provide for it in advance, assumed very large powers, among which were powers to control prices. By Sub-section 2B of Rule 81 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government became empowered, for securing the defence of British India, the efficient prosecution of the war or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, to provide by order "for controlling the prices at which articles or things of any description whatsoever may be sold." By a notification issued on the 8th September, 1939, the Central Government declared that the powers possessed by it under the abovementioned rule may be exercised also by any Provincial Government subject to the following conditions, *viz.*,

"(a) the power shall be exercised only in respect of necessaries such as medical supplies, food-stuffs, salt, kerosene oil and cotton cloth, woven from yarn of counts not exceeding 20s in the warp or the weft;

"(b) imported commodities other than medical supplies, salt and kerosene oil, shall not be brought within the scope of the orders without the previous sanction of the Central Government;

"(c) the orders shall be applicable to prices at each of the following stages: sale by producer or importer, each stage of wholesale trade and the point of retail trade;

"(d) the orders shall not subject the prices charged at any of the above stages to a maximum lower than 10 per cent. and above the ruling price at the same stage on 1st September, 1939."

The clause (*d*) just preceding was amended on the 16th September, 1939, and again on the 29th September following. The effect of the amendments was to state that the maximum price charged by the dealers in respect of goods produced in British India as well as goods imported from abroad, shall not be less than 10 per cent above the ruling price at the same stage of production, distribution or sale on the 1st September, 1939.

Control of prices is necessary in war-time not always to prevent further increase. It sometimes becomes necessary to prevent fall of prices as well. Not all prices rise in war. Some tend to stampede also. Foreign exchange, for example, tends to become weak in war-time. The prices in the gilt-edged market slump as a rule, particularly if the Government launches upon a heavy borrowing programme, or if the strategic position

at any time becomes adverse. Prices of commodities, which depend mainly on external markets, heavily fall if such markets are rendered inaccessible by the war. That is the cause of the present low price of raw cotton. Japan, our chief purchaser, has now become a belligerent nation, so that our supplies can no longer go to her, and hence the price has sagged.

There is no doubt, however, that in most cases prices tend to rise in war-time, and hence, price control usually signifies control to prevent rise of price.

Recently there has been a large outcry in the press against what have been considered to be abnormal price increases. It would, however, appear that the general price-level has not offended so much as some particular prices. In some instances, rise of price is all too evident and would not require any statistical corroboration. The worst offender has been, perhaps, domestic coke. Cotton piecegoods and wheat flour have also gone up appreciably. Fortunately, profiteering has not had much to do with such increases and they have been due mainly to economic factors. Thus, for increase in the price of coke and flour transport difficulties have been largely responsible. Shortage of production and cessation of imports have sent up prices of cotton piecegoods. To say, however, that increase of price in any particular case or cases has been caused by economic reasons is not the same thing as to justify such increase. Economic forces are neither sacrosanct nor do they produce always beneficial results. They have got to be tampered with sometimes in public interest.

In the following table prices in August 1939, the last month before the war, are set against prices in February 1940, February 1941 and February 1942, being the last month for which detailed statistics are available.

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices in Calcutta
(Prices in July, 1914=100)

Commodities	Aug., 1939	Feb., 1940	Feb., 1941	Feb., 1942	Price Index in Feb., 1942 on the basis of Aug., 1939=100
Cereals	83	99	95	114	137·3
Pulses	96	103	90	122	127·0
Sugar	162	158	136	164	101·2
Tea	140	134	168	248	177·1
Other food articles	114	157	158	217	190·3
Oil seeds	101	113	96	100	99·0
Oil, Mustard	80	80	75	80	100·0
Jute, raw	57	130	51	72	126·3
Jute, manufactured	79	130	109	140	177·2
Cotton, raw	64	110	65	73	114·0
Cotton, manufactured	97	124	130	171	176·2
Other textiles (wool & silk)	90	147	152	96	106·6
Hides & Skin	63	84	67	86	136·5
Metals	142	161	188	264	185·9
Other raw and manufactured articles	93	118	112	145	155·9
Building materials	121	127	127	141	116·5
All commodities	100	126	119	153	153·0

Thus, while it is clear that nearly all prices have increased, in very few cases can the increase be called phenomenal. A war calls forth various sacrifices, and depreciation of money is one of the hardships to be borne. Nor is rise of price an unmixed evil. It benefits producers, and in India, rise of price of cereals, pulses, cotton, jute, etc., would be a most welcome change to the agriculturists, constituting nearly 70 per cent of the population, who have never seen a bright day (except for a temporary break in 1937) since 1929 when the great depression set in. As a matter of fact, price control is opposed by agricultural and manufacturing interests on this very ground. It is pointed out that as the government did nothing to alleviate the miseries of these people so long as prices were unduly low, it ill behoves them now to rob them of the somewhat improved prospects created by the war. As a matter of fact, if we compare the present admittedly inflated prices with prices in 1929, which was the last normal year before the onset of depression, we shall find that in many cases, in spite of increase (since August, 1939) prices are still below the pre-depression level, and, speaking on the whole, they have merely regained their former stature. The following table brings out this point clearly enough.

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices in Calcutta
(Prices in July, 1914=100)

	1929 Annual Average	Feb., 1942	Price Index in Feb., 1942 on the basis of 1929=100
Cereals	125	114	91·2
Pulses	152	122	80·2
Sugar	162	164	101·2
Tea	140	248	177·1
Other food articles	162	217	133·9
Oil seeds	155	100	64·5
Oil, Mustard	108	80	74·0
Jute, raw	95	72	75·7
Jute, manufactured	122	140	114·7
Cotton, raw	146	73	50·0

	1929 Annual Average	Feb., 1942	Price Index in Feb., 1942 on the basis of 1929=100
Cotton, manufactured	160	171	106·8
Other textiles (wool & silk)	133	96	72·1
Hides & Skin	113	86	76·1
Metals	128	264	206·2
Other raw and manufactured articles	141	145	102·8
Building materials	151	141	93·3
All commodities	141	153	108·5

Thus between 1929 and February, 1942, increase of price has taken place to the extent of 8·5 per cent only. Viewed in this background, there does not seem to be much justification for all this clamour about rise of price.

Movement of prices during the first three years of the last war may be cited for contrast and they provide many interesting analogies too. The following table shows how prices reacted to the first world war.

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES IN CALCUTTA
(Prices in July, 1914=100)

	1915 Annual Average	1916 Annual Average	1917 Annual Average
Cereals	116	106	91
Pulses	121	107	96
Sugar	163	184	189
Tea	115	114	95
Other food articles	122	143	186
Oil seeds	81	84	83
Oil, Mustard	78	71	72
Jute, raw	68	80	64
Jute, manufactured	108	128	138
Cotton, raw	89	121	174
Cotton, manufactured	97	134	203
Other textiles (wool & silk)	94	114	129
Hides & Skins	102	118	112
Metals	120	186	266
Other raw and manufactured articles	128	155	184
Building materials (teakwood)	99	80	103
All commodities	112	128	145

While the general price-level in this war has not yet risen to any abnormal extent, as already hinted particular prices have registered very sharp increases and it is on account of them that public discontent is today so very pronounced. For this situation the Government is chiefly to blame. They have failed to strike at the root of the circumstances that have made prices unduly high in many cases and have also failed to prevent variation in the price of the same commodity from province to province. Transport difficulties, as already indicated, have played a very important part in this war in making prices high. The war has placed a very heavy burden upon the railway system on account of the very large volume of military transhipments that take place every day. Such transhipments have also the right of way. Dangers attending the sea route have eliminated much of the normal coastal traffic, and this factor along with petrol rationing has increased the demand for railway freight to an abnormally high extent. Rise in the prices of coke, pulses and wheat is mainly attributable to this circumstance. The Central Government has done nothing to remedy this state of affairs. Of course, very recently, a Central Transport Authority has been set up, but it has as yet achieved no tangible results. Various Indian industries have been compelled to abolish night shifts on account of shortage of coal which cannot be had in adequate quantity on account of shortage of railway wagons. Transport difficulties are also responsible for the present acute rice situation. Bengal and India have to depend upon Burma every year for a marginal supply of rice amounting to nearly a million tons. This supply has now been virtually eliminated by the loss of lower Burma, and particularly of the port of Bassein, through which Burma's export trade of rice used to be mainly conducted. Far from being able to make good the loss of imports from Burma, the Government have themselves requisitioned large supplies for feeding the Imperial Army at Iran, Iraq, Syria and other theatres of war.

The Government of India, in spite of occasional promises, have so far done little to control prices on an all-India basis. Action has been mainly taken up till now by provincial authorities. In Bengal, for example, various articles of civilian consumption have been brought under control by the Provincial Government. These are : flour and *ata*, mustard oil, pulses, salt, domestic coke, certain spices, kerosene oil, matches, etc. But Bengal being neither the main centre of production nor of distribution with regard to any of these articles, it has never been possible to stabilise the maximum prices once laid down, and it has been found necessary to revise them quite occasionally. The Commerce Member's advocacy of the "standard cloth" has remained so far a pious wish. Even though the price of wheat has been controlled on an all-India basis, the price of wheat flour has proved to be quite erratic and has defied all regulations. The Punjab Government has further complicated the situation by imposing an embargo upon the export of wheat from the province. It is no wonder, therefore, that in Bengal wheat flour has become a rare commodity. Such essential articles as rice, coarse cloth, sugar, etc., are entirely exempted from control.

The practical results attained by the four Price Control Conferences held so far have been not at all impressive. Apart from discussions and deliberations, nothing has been done. It has, however, to be admitted that discussions and deliberations help to clarify issues and focuss attention where it is needed. The first Conference was held in New Delhi in the middle of October, 1939, and it was attended by the representatives of Central and Provincial Governments and also of some Indian States. This conference expressed the opinion that the Government had already enough powers for price control under Section 81 of the Defence of India Rules. Price control should be undertaken only in special cases and, generally speaking, free play should be given to the forces of demand and supply, as this would bring about uniformity of prices throughout India. The second Conference, held in January, 1940, reiterated these views, and opined that as agricultural prices had been unduly depressed previous to the war, some rise in the prices of these commodities would not be unwelcome. The third Conference was held in New Delhi on the 16th October, 1941. While it expressed the view that rise of price had been up to the time quite moderate, it showed much concern over increase in the price of rice and cotton piecegoods. Some account has already been given of the circumstances leading to rise in the price of rice. The position with regard to cotton piecegoods may be briefly stated here. It must appear strange, but it remains a fact, that the war has not led to any expansion worth mentioning in the cotton textile industry. Demand has greatly increased, but supply has failed to increase to a corresponding extent. In 1939-40, internal production of cotton piecegoods (4,012·4 million yards) was actually less than the production in 1938-39 (4,269·3). The production in 1940-41 (4,269·4) did no more than reach the level of 1938-39. On the other hand, imports of cotton piecegoods which in 1938-39 and 1939-40 amounted to 687·1 million yards and 579·1 million yards respectively, amounted to 447·0 million yards in 1940-41. In the current year (1941-42) it is feared that imports would be still less due, in the first place, to the freezing of the Japanese assets and, latterly, to the entry of Japan into the war. Thus, while imports have diminished, internal production has not increased, and the country has had to meet new demands for cotton textiles through the Supply Department for war purposes in widely separated countries like the East and South Africa, Ceylon, Egypt, Palestine, Burma and Malay (before Japanese occupation). To meet the scarcity of cotton goods in the country the third Price Control Conference adopted a scheme of evolving a "standard cloth" which has, however, as already stated, as yet remained a pious wish of the Commerce Member. The fourth and the last Price Control Conference was held in New Delhi in February last. It recommended two measures of price control. The first was the setting up of Regional Committees constituted of groups of Provinces and States and having four-fold functions, *viz.*, (1) ensuring the supply of certain commodities within their respective jurisdictions; (2) to direct the movement of commodities in such a way as to minimise transport and take up the least amount of freight space: (3) advising the Central Government about fixing the wholesale prices within their areas and lastly (4) the study of prices in adjacent areas. In the second place, the Conference recommended that Provincial or State Governments should not have the power to restrict the export of commodities from their areas nor should they have power to build up local stocks.

We may now state in brief the main causes that have caused increase in prices. These are:

(1) Loss of external source of supply;
(2) Failure of internal production to expand adequately;
(3) Transport difficulties and petrol rationing; and
(4) Increasing purchasing power in the hands of the public caused by war expenditure and currency expansion.

While the general price-level has not risen to any abnormal extent and profiteering has been kept within strict limits through vigorous penal measures and the taxation of excess profits, hardship due to price increases, where it has been caused, has resulted mainly from the failure of the Government to correct deficiencies of supply and save the transport system from utter dislocation. Inflation of currency has also played a part in sending up prices and the Government is trying to remedy this as far as practicable by encouraging voluntary savings and also through some measures of compulsory savings. Apart from petrol, the Government has not yet tried rationing of consumption goods as a remedy for increasing prices. Such rationing has been practised extensively in Great Britain and to some extent even in Ceylon. Price control, unaccompanied by rationing, loses much of its effectiveness, and places the richer classes in a position of advantage. If the present abnormal prices of some of the essential commodities show no sign of abating, but tend further to deteriorate, rationing of consumption—in respect of them will have to be introduced in our country at an early date.

DEMOCRACY: HAS IT FAILED?

By PARESH NATH MUKERJEE, B.A.,

JUST at present there is a great conflict of ideologies throughout the world. Democracy, which is the ideal of millions of human beings is challenged; and its fundamental strength is called in question. People have seriously begun to doubt if democracy can survive this war. It is, therefore, only proper for us to examine the relative strength and weakness of democracy and various forms of dictatorship, e.g., Fascism, Nazism and Communism.

The democratic countries usually have the greatest amount of individual liberty. Sidgwick had long ago spoken of the "individualistic minimum of governmental interference,"[1] and all democracies accepted this ideal. The method of peaceful persuasion is followed in every democracy. In every modern democracy, there is provision for non-political, non-sectarian education. Then there is freedom of the press and independent judiciary. The greatest strength of democracy is that there is the widest scope of criticism. Criticism is a corrective and the government that rests on criticism can never commit serious blunders, even though it may commit pardonable mistakes.

As against these, the dictatorships have 'corporate spirit,' or the absolute subordination of the individual. There is no individual liberty in any dictatorial State. There is absolute dictation and strictly uniform control in every aspect of life. This is at once a source of great strength and weakness for the dictatorships, strength because it makes for unified centralised control, and weakness because human beings are prone to rebel if there is too much of control. They can agree to accept strict dictation for some time, but surely not for all times. But so far as it works, it makes for greater efficiency than democracy does.

Fascism believes in the State management of the vital and national industries. The result is that industrial competition becomes more complicated and is backed by all the force of an organised state. This makes a necessity of warfare, which is the chief weakness of Fascism; and since no nation can stand the strain of perpetual warfare for all times, Fascism as a philosophy can have only temporary application but can have no claim to permanence. This is a very great drawback of Fascism. Economically, this doctrine is ruinous for any State

Now we come to another aspect of Fascism and Nazism. Both these types of dictatorships are based upon economic inequality and the subordination of woman to man. These are very serious shortcomings. And they are sure to make for weakness. The Communistic dictatorship is free from these two drawbacks; but it suffers from another very great weakness. It is atheistic. Religion as a social force has undoubted merits. To deny it is to deny all those merits. Thus the lack of social balance has been (many people have honestly suspected) rife in Russia after 1919. This is something which cannot go on for all times. Lastly, Fascism and Nazism make for economic weakness. They deny themselves the advantages of international division of labour or in the phrase of Mr. Cole a dictatorial state would be "producing things dearly when it could buy them cheap, and thereby necessarily improverishing the people......."[2] Such a system cannot be permanently maintained. We have examined the fundamental strength and weakness of dictatorship. We have found that the weakness is more pronounced than the strength of such an unscientific system. Now let us analyse the relative weakness and strength of dictatorship and democracy.

We started with a hurried sketch of democracy. Now we shall examine the real implications of democracy and how far democracy has been given a fair trial. Then we shall see if it has failed or not.

In the words of C. Delisle Burns:

> "Democracy is a society of interdependent groups so organised that every man shall have an equal opportunity to develop what is finest in him."[3]

It means that democracy insures the co-operation of all the parties and interests in a state on equal terms. In other words, there is no scope for coercion from any quarter, for every group (or school of thought) is dependent on the other. It secures the greatest amount of individual liberty and as such, it will do for all

1. Sedgwick: *Elements of Politics.*

2. Cole: *What is Ahead of Us?*

3. C. D. Burns: *Political Ideals.*

times. For, as we have seen previously, a nation can be coerced for some time, but not for all times.

Apart from its popularity for all times, which is a very great strength of such a system, democracy owes its strength to another factor. And it is that since the greatest amount of individual liberty can be enjoyed under it, democracy is much more flexible than any form of dictatorship. It is subject to change and its adaptability is a source of very great strength. There is always scope for a greater amount of sanity in a democracy than there is in a dictatorship. C. Delisle Burns writes with justice :

> "The widest franchise implies that every sane adult has something to add to the common store of knowledge and judgment. The rule of the majority implies, not that the greater number are physically stronger for they are not always so, but that in large issues of human life there is likely to be more basis for a sound judgment among the greater number."[1]

This is the inherent strength of democracy : and the want of it, the innate weakness of dictatorship. A dictator never permits criticism. Thus he is not only wrong, but obstinately he keeps doing the wrong things (as undoubtedly on many occasions he does) : whereas a true democracy is based upon criticism. In this respect Britain has gone to the greatest length. In the British Parliament the leader of the opposition is paid a salary, for he performs a very important function in the government. So there is absolutely not much scope for rash or idiscreet judgment to prevail.

Now the question is, 'Has democracy failed ?' The answer is at once, 'yes' and 'no.' For, in the first place, it has not been given a fair trial and without that it cannot possibly have failed. That is but commonsense. Again, if we look fairly and squarely at the question, we can not deny that in those countries in Europe, where dictatorship is a *fait accompli*, democracy must have failed. Now, why in those countries it failed at all ? In the first place, in Germany, Italy and Russia, Democracy had never been practised for any length of time. Even as late as 1815 only one country besides Great Britain had a parliament, and that was France. So that in most of the countries it was not given a fair chance to set up a tradition for democracy. Next, the democratic experiment was tried in a very unfavourable period. When Central Europe was threatened with currency, exchange and financial crises and was disturbed in the political sphere by unique problems, just at that moment the 'people' who had never before exercised ordinary commonsense in regard to the ordinary questions of everyday life, were suddenly expected to exercise sound commonsense on the most difficult and complicated questions. Naturally they failed. Then the men with exceptional abilities—the Dictators—came to the forefront, and the people submitted to them. Thus Dictatorship became an accomplished fact. That democracy never failed in France and England (countries with a long democratic tradition) after the War of 1914 is proof enough of the innate vitality of democracy. We think, rather we feel that democracy has not been given a fair trial in many countries.

The apostles of dictatorship contend that today our problems are much more intricate than ever before. The issues whether political, economic, social or administrative are much more intricate. The issues whether political, economic, social or administrative are much more important, because if we fail to deal with them properly, the failure will cause much more suffering. They further contend that the average voter is incompetent to tackle them. There is only a few "conscious and determined minority" that knows the problems and can solve them. And as such, they should rule over "the unconscious and unorganised majority" and thus do them good. There is some truth in this philosophy as the success (temporary although it may be) of dictatorship in some European countries has actually demonstrated. But this kind of success is always temporary, for the "unconscious, unorganised" majority, if ruled by the iron-hand of an organised minority, for any length of time, ceases to be either "unconscious" or "unorganized." Then troubles follow. The experiment in dictatorship has just begun, and for the time being it has proved a great success. But by its fundamental contradictions, it cannot be as great a success (if it suceeds at all) in the long run. For then the forces of reaction will assert themselves. No amount of dictation can repress them permanently.

Thus we find that, in the first place, democracy has not been given a fair trial in most parts of the world. Next, we feel that although dictatorship undoubtedly makes for greater efficiency, it can succeed only for the time being. In the long run it is bound to fail. It is extremely unhistoric to assume that the majority can be ruled by the minority for all times. That the majority in some countries have agreed to follow the minority is due to exceptional circumstances, which cannot remain for all times.

Now we come to the final stage of our

1. C. D. Burns : *Political Ideals*.

analysis. We have seen that democracies have in some parts of the world temporarily failed. This by itself is enough to show that democracies stand in need of some reform. That is self-evident. How should they be reformed? We think that democracies in order to have all the strength of such a system must be truly democratic. In the first place, franchise should be extended to the greatest extent, in every democratic country. This will make for much greater co-operation and strength than exists in most of our present-day democracies. Next, we think that in every democracy, 'mass education' should be extended very rapidly. We have seen that dictatorship rests on the assumption that the majority of human beings is incapable of a correct appreciation of the complicated problems of our days, and as such they are incapable of solving them. As C. Delisle Burns has pointed out, the average man has exceptional capacities and they are as yet undeveloped. Education can develop them to the greatest extent. Democracy is the rule of the people and if the people are weak (*i.e.* ignorant) then the rule is bound to be weak. Therefore, the necessity of mass-education is the greatest in a democracy.

Lastly, democracies must become increasingly socialistic in their outlook in order to maintain themselves. Mr. Cole wrote in 1937:

"British Capitalism . . . . prefers Hitler and Mussolini to a democracy which is based upon Left."[5]

That is clearly an exaggeration. And to-day no one will say that. But then the meaning is all right. Dictatorship could establish itself in Central Europe by exploiting the poverty of the masses. Thus Mr. Cole gave a very proper warning. Some socialistic writers seem to suggest that capitalistic democracy must give way to socialistic democracy in order to maintain itself. We need not agree with this view in toto. But we feel that capitalistic democracies must at any rate become increasingly socialistic in their outlook, in order not only to maintain themselves, but to maintain democracy as well. Mr. C. D. Burns truly says:

"The Democratic ideal is not proved to be futile because it has not been achieved; for at that rate one should not attempt to build a ship because it is not already built."[6]

5. Cole: *What is Ahead of Us?*
6. C. D. Burns: *Democracy—Its Defects and Advantages.*

INFLATION, WAR FINANCE AND PRICE CONTROL

By D. K. MALHOTRA,
University of the Panjab

All economic problems—monetary and non-monetary—during war resolve themselves into one single problem: the problem of control of economy. The basic wartime economic problem is: how shall the available resources of a country be mobilised and harnessed for the achievement of an agreed objective, *i.e.*, winning the war? While this transition from a more or less uncontrolled to a more or less controlled economy has to be accomplished in all belligerent countries (and many non-belligerent countries also) during war, in one respect the economics of countries undergo little change; they continue to be money economies. When a money economy is brought under wartime control, very obviously money cannot be left uncontrolled. Monetary control emerges, therefore, as the inevitable constituent of war-time economic control and creates some of the toughest problems for the statesmen and finance ministers. Since the economy of our own country in the near future may have to be brought under more comprehensive control, these problems should arouse very much more than academic interest.

Inflation, war finance and price control are the outstanding monetary problems of war economy. Of these, war finance is easily the central and most important; for on its satisfactory treatment largely depends the solution of the other two.

The problem of war finance is essentially one of so adjusting the available amount of purchasing power between the two sectors of economy—the war sector and the civil sector, as we may call them—that it corresponds to the real resources apportioned to each other. Prosecution of war involves the use of a steadily increasing proportion of a country's real resources for military needs. This necessarily means that

a steadily decreasing proportion of real resources is left to provide for civil consumption. An expanding war sector and a contracting civil sector of economy give a new twist, as it were, to a country's economy, and money or finance, if it is not to become a disturbing factor, must facilitate and faithfully interpret this twist. In other words, purchasing power must be drained off from the contracting civil sector and poured into the expanding war sector.

The reservoir of purchasing power which has to be thus directed into these two flows is fed by two big streams : (1) the total peacetime national income of a people, (2) the money value of their accumulated capital. But after the war breaks out, two more streams can be made to run into it, *i.e.*, loans raised in foreign countries and increased national income due to additional employment or avoidance of loss through the reduction of industrial conflict previously occurring. The reservoir is, therefore, not of a fixed magnitude; within limits it can be expanded but whether it is expanded or not, its contents must be diverted more and more into the war sector of economy.

Some idea of the proportion of wartime national income—the biggest constituent of this total stock of purchasing power—which countries are devoting to war purposes can be had from the figures for some of the principal countries. In 1940-41, 57% of the national income of United Kingdom and 58% of the national income of Germany was appropriated for war expenditure. War expenditure formed over 80% of the total expenditure in these two countries. The proportion of war expenditure to total national incomes was low in the United States in 1940-41, being only 7 per cent. but the ratio of defence expenditure to total expenditure was as high as 50 per cent. Both these figures must have been greatly exceeded during the year 1941-42. In India the proportion of defence expenditure to total national income is about 3-4 per cent. and to total central expenditure about 70 per cent. Great Britain, Germany and the United States—to take only three big combatants—are spending among themselves roughly 18,000 crores of rupees per year on defence. This figure may be taken as a rough measure of the frustration of the hopes of people in these countries for a higher standard of living and of the deprivation of welfare for achieving other ends.

One may imagine that in the hinterland of the brain of any Finance Minister in wartime must be arising three questions : What is the total amount of purchasing power I can draw upon ? How much of it shall I appropriate for war purposes ? By what means shall I do it ? The answer to the first question is furnished by computations, which are not very much more than near approximations, of national income and capital made by statisticians. The answer to the second is provided by the developments in war situation. As for the answer to the third, the Finance Minister has to make his choice between taxes and loans or any combination of the two.

One may not flog here the dead horse of taxes *versus* loans controversy. No exclusive reliance on either is possible or desirable and, for the rest, the conditions of a country will determine in what proportion they should be combined. United Kingdom and Germany seem to have aimed at a proportion of fifty-fifty during the present war and India in accordance with her peculiar conditions is relying more on loans than taxes. Borrowing during the present war has been shorn of one of its less attractive features, *i.e.*, high interest rates; nearly all governments have been conducting their borrowing at rates varying about 2-3 per cent. There is, however, one innovation made during the present war in respect of methods of war finance to which one may briefly refer. A scheme of 'compulsory saving' or 'deferred payment' involving the borrowing of compulsorily saved income by the Government was put forward by Mr. J. M. Keynes shortly after the outbreak of the war and though it has not been adopted so far even in the home country of its author, the principle underlying it has made wide appeal. This principle is one of compelling persons particularly those belonging to lower income groups to save without, however, depriving them of their saving for all time. The saved amount is to be returned to the saver after the war. Schemes embodying this principle were adopted in England during 1941-42 and two schemes to induce—rather than compel saving form part of the new taxation proposals made by the Finance Member, Sir J. Raisman, in India for the year 1942-43. In India, a scheme of this kind will make greater appeal and have larger scope for adoption as the war expenditure increases and heavier demands have to be made on persons with low incomes who form the vast mass of population.

The essence of war finance, it was said in the beginning, is to adjust the distribution of monetary resources between war sector and civil sector in such a way that it corresponds to the distribution of real resources between the two sectors. The penalty for the inability to do it is the development of inflation.

Inflation is perhaps the most misused and most misunderstood word in the whole vocabulary of war economics. So long as it is used in the sense of an excessive creation of purchasing power whether in the form of paper money or bank credit, it has a legitimate and easily understood connotation but a misinterpretation of it arises when the definition of the word 'excessive' is sought. The inclination to treat any increase in purchasing power which is accompanied by a rise in prices as excessive is strong. Actually, however, inflation should not be defined in terms of prices at all, though a rise in prices is one of the forms in which it may manifest itself. But just as inflation may develop even without a rise in prices as happened in U. S. A. between 1925 and 1929 when the Federal Reserve Board was pursuing a policy of price stabilisation, similarly a rise in prices may occur without any inflation, as happened in many countries after 1932 when rising prices stimulated production and employment.

The usage of writers on war economics is more helpful in this regard than their formal definitions. The term 'inflation' seems to be used in two senses and it will greatly help clarity of thought if they were kept absolutely distinct from each other. It may mean, in one sense, *inflationary issue* of purchasing power and, in the other, an *inflationary situation.* An inflationary issue may be said to occur when purchasing power whether in the form of paper currency or bank credit is expanded *beyond* the needs of trade, employment and production. So long as the expansion of purchasing power occurs *in response to* the expansion of trade, employment and production or *evokes* such expansion, it cannot be called inflationary in character. It follows that an increase in purchasing power may not be described as inflationary so long as it is leading towards further utilisation of resources, *i.e.*, towards a state of full employment. An *inflationary situation*, on the other hand, may develop during war even when some of the resources are unemployed, *i.e.*, even when there has been no inflationary issue as such. This will happen when the stream of purchasing power is not properly bifurcated so as to correspond to the volume of goods and services required for war purposes and of those required for civil consumption. The increased income accruing from increased employment of labour and other resources exerts its pressure on the limited supplies of goods of civil consumption raising their prices. This is a sure indication of the fact that the Government is not pursuing proper budgetary policy of reducing the incomes of the people by taxation and compulsory or voluntary loans. If one may put it in another way, inflationary issue results from an act of commission on the part of Government; inflationary situation, on the other hand, follows from a fault of omission.

The question is often asked if inflation has occurred in India. The total amount of note-issue in India increased from 179 crores in August, 1939, to Rs. 236 crores in December, 1939, Rs. 277 crores in July, 1941 and Rs. 380 crores at the end of February, 1942. There has been, in addition to it, an increase in the amount of small coin in circulation. This is undoubtedly a large increase but since it is mostly the consequence of the heavy demand for commodities and a rise in their prices, it cannot be described as inflationary. But it would be idle to deny that an inflationary situation is developing in the country and it is necessary to take suitable measures to immobilise increased spending power that people have acquired due to increased employment and earnings during the war. Already the Finance Member of the Government of India has made two savings schemes a part of his taxation proposals for the next year, 1942-43, one relating to income tax payable on incomes between Rs. 1500 and Rs. 2000 and the other to excess profits tax. The schemes are, however, voluntary in character and by themselves will not go very far. Taxation and, more particularly, borrowing still remain the major instruments of financial policy and given the willingness of people to save and to place their savings at the disposal of the Government will provide a fruitful line of approach to the problem from the monetary side.

Preventing the development of an inflationary situation is an essential measure to keep prices under control. One may, nevertheless, steer clear of the dangerous facility with which a rise in prices is often attributed to inflation. A given price situation, like the one that has arisen in India in recent months, is usually such a confused mass of diverse factors and forces that an attempt at extricating the major factors and properly emphasizing them cannot but help in a proper appraisal of it.

There are three major factors that enter into any price situation of the type now confronting us and on these we have to focus our attention. These may be described as:

I. The supply factor.
II. The speculative factor.
III. The monetary factor.

I. The first factor refers, of course, to the shortage of supplies. Physical shortage of certain goods required for civil consumption is bound to appear during war partly due to the heavy war demand for such goods and partly due to the diversion of factors of production to industries producing war materials. Prices of these goods, therefore, rise and though prices may be controlled, inequitable distribution of the smaller supply at controlled prices will result due to the market pull of persons with better means. Within obvious limits set by the demands of war economy, attempt can be made to increase the production of such articles or their near substitutes or obtain some supplies from other countries. Some relief can also be obtained by facilitating quicker transport of goods to prevent local shortages. The only satisfactory solution of the problem created by such shortages however, is the enforcement of a scheme of rationing. In a country of India's size and population and with such diversities of dietetic habits, rationing of the articles which belong to the class of necessaries would be a task of almost insurmountable difficulty and even if a scheme of rationing could be drawn up, no administrative machinery could easily bear the strain of working it out in practice. Price control with rationing and subsidies to poorer classes of consumers who cannot buy at the controlled price is the best solution provided it were practicable. Perhaps simpler but even less practicable would be the direct requisitioning or commandeering of the stocks of commodities by the Government and securing their distribution either through some agency of their own or through the organisations of traders. It is, however, difficult to see how this comprehensive and radical effort to do away the entire market mechanism and replace it by State control and direction can succeed any better without a scheme of rationing.

II. As regards the second factor, *i.e.*, peculation, profiteering by traders can be checked with comparative ease but there are the twin problems of hoarding by sellers and panicky purchases by buyers which are not easily solved. Fixation of prices can prevent a seller from charging a price higher than the fixed price but it may well induce him to withhold sales or sell at other than prescribed rates in the 'black market.' Only the strictest vigilance on the part of both the public and authorities can check the withholding of stocks on the part of sellers but hoarding on the part of buyers is even less amenable to control. Here is the dilemma : controlled prices lead to either disapppearance of supplies from market altogether or chaos in distribution; uncontrolled and rising prices lead to profiteering and a worse chaos in distribution with almost the certainty of social unrest. Price control, rationing, vigilance to check hoarding and suppress black markets : all these, it would seem, must go together to cope with a difficult situation.

III. Coming finally to the monetary factor, no price control scheme can be effective if the spending power in the hands of the people is so large in relation to the amount of goods against which it is to be exercised that the prices are subjected to a heavy pressure. If one sector of prices is controlled, spending power will flow out to the other sector and even the first sector will begin to experience the pressure of rising prices in the second sector. Rationing can no doubt sterilize this extra spending power; for it amounts to preventing people from spending their money, but a decisive line of attack is to take away the extra spending power by taxation, borrowing, etc. One should not omit to mention here how a rise in prices, if not controlled, tends to reinforce itself by causing a 'flight' from currency into goods. I think this factor has already begun to operate in this country and should be carefully watched.

The machinery for price control at present functioning in India needs a radical overhaul. It must consist of something better than *ad hoc* Price Control Conferences and part-time or overworked price controlling officers functioning at the provincial headquarters and in the districts. Co-ordination and careful watch over the situation cannot be secured with this machinery. Indian economy is now being subjected to the impact of new and incalculable forces and the prices will reflect the pressure by violent movements. A War Time Prices Board like the one set up in Canada is urgently needed in this country not only to undertake more thorough study of the price situation, keep closer watch over it and impose 'ceilings' on prices, but also to secure a more effective co-ordination of measures taken in the Provinces and local areas.

RAJA RADHAKANTA DEB ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INDIA

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

The name of Raja Radha Kanta Deb is associated with many beneficent activities of early nineteenth century. That he was also a pioneer of women's education may not be known to many. He in his own house started female *pathsalas* or primary schools. In those days periodical examinations of the Calcutta School Society's boys were held in Radha Kanta Deb's house. Girl students of private as well as missionary schools were examined along with these boys and prizes were distributed to the deserving. Raja Radha Kanta assisted materially Pandit Gour Mohan Vidyalankara in the preparation of *Stri Siksha Bidhayaka,* or a treatise on women's education in India, for popularising the cause among his countrymen at that time. This book ran through many editions, and people who were averse to women's education, gradually veered round it. Just after the foundation of the Bethune school, the forerunner of the Bethune College, at Calcutta, some correspondence was passed between the Hon'ble J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, the principal founder of the School and Raja Radha Kanta Deb, friend of women's education in India. In the family papers of Raja Radha Kanta Deb I have come across some of these letters written by Radha Kanta to Bethune from which his views and activities in this direction can be clearly ascertained. Raja Radha Kanta Deb wrote to say that the orthodox elements of society represented by him were no less keen to impart education to their womenfolk than the progressives, of his day. Only the former differed in this that in their opinion time had not then arrived to allow their female wards to join *public* schools. Mr. Bethune got *Stri Shiksha Vidhayaka* published afresh and in this too he received the Raja's blessings. These letters are still of much interest to the students of Indian education, and I reproduce them below. The first letter refers to the publication of *Stri Sikha Vidhayaka.*

(I)

The Hon'ble J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, Esqre.

My dear Sir,

I have been honored with your favor of this day and beg to state in reply that before I allow myself to appear in public as the author of the *Stri Siksha Vidhayaka* I should like to see the new edition of it which is about to be published under your auspices. I, therefore, ask the favor of your kindly sending me a copy of it when issued from the Press that I may examine its contents. As I have a great mind to hold conversation with you on the subject I shall feel obliged by your kindly letting me know when it will be convenient for you to see me at yours. Begging your acceptance of my best thanks for your kindness towards my nephew, I remain with esteem and regard,

Yours faithfully and obediently,
R.
[Raja Radha Kanta Deb]

19th February, 1851.

In the second letter Raja Radha Kanta Deb condemned the vituperators of Mr. Bethune and the cause he represented in no uncertain terms.

(II)

To
The Hon'ble J. E. D. Bethune, Esqre.

My dear Sir,

I shall do myself the honor of waiting on you at Sir Arthur Buller's on Saturday to come between the hours of one and two p.m. as my religious duties and other vocations will not, I regret, permit me to visit you in the forenoon. My literary occupations leave me little or no time to look over the newspapers but I have learnt from Mr. Blaquire's communication that impudent publications are appearing therein to sully your reputation. They are certainly the vituperation of a malignant mind that cannot rest without doing evil.

20th February, 1851.

I remain,
Faithfully and obediently yours,
R.

The third letter is the longest. Herein Raja Radha Kanta Deb gave a *resumé* of his activities in the cause of women's education for more than a quarter of a century. His views on various aspects of women's education, too, will be found in it.

(III)

To
The Hon'ble J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, Esqre.

My dear Sir,

On perusing the new edition of the *Stri Siksha Vidhayaka* which you lent me the other day I find that the first of it containing Dialogues between two Native famales on a vulgar colloquial style is comparatively a modern addition made I believe by Gour Mohan Vidyalankara the late Pandit of the School Society in some of the subsequent editions of the work—the second part is an exhortation to the Hindoo females by English

ladies to enlighten their minds with education. It was also I think composed by the said Pandit. But most of the materials were supplied by me especially the instance of some Sanscrit Text on behalf of female education and the examples of educated women both ancient and modern." To this extent I have a share in the execution of the work and no further. I cannot therefore conscientiously take upon myself the credit of an author.

That the work cannot be fathered on me will appear from the following remarks I made on it when it was circulated to me as a member of the School Book Society:

"I highly approve of the design of the work on the Hindoo female education in the manner proposed by me in my letters to Mr. Pearce and strongly recommend the republication of the work in the languages suggested by that gentleman, etc. This pamphlet being composed from the best Hindoo authorities would be both gratifying and encouraging to the Natives who peruse it to promote the important object in view. The revision which the work requires I have communicated to the *author* who I think deserves the proposed remuneration etc."

I may mention here that the first edition of the work was published in 1822 at the Baptist Mission Press for the Female Juvenile Society and its style having undergone material changes in subsequent editions has lost its terseness and classical purity.

To prevent any misconception of my individual opinion respecting the great cause you have been strugling for, I embrace this opportunity to declare that I have even shewn myself both by precept and example a staunch advocate of female education in abstract the importance of which in improving the morals and promoting the social happiness of a nation is too obvious to need any illustration.

The Indigenous schools or *Pathsalas* in Calcutta which flourished under the patronage of the late School Society numbered among the scholars many an intelligent girl who received their instruction at the domicile of their father or neighbours, were examined by the Pandits and other officers deputed by the Society and the distribution of prizes used to be held at my residence. I myself was the Native Secretary to the Society and had the supreme gratification of witnessing the admirable working of the system. Not a stigma was attached to it nor a voice of censure was raised against it. I sincerely wish that such a system may be restored.

Efforts indeed were made as early as in the days of Marquis Hastings to set up public female schools but since then all classes of respectable Hindoos have thought it derogatory to allow their daughters and female wards to attend these institutions. In my letter addressed to the Rev. W. H. Pearce in 1819 I find the following lines:

"We get our girls taught in Bengalee before they are married through all natives do not do so. I fear the school-masters will scarcely have any girls of opulent and respectable Natives to be instructed at their schools."

Again in the year 1821 when the British and Foreign School Society sent out Miss Cook to educate Hindoo females the same aversion for the instruction of females at public schools prevailed and I communicated to the above gentleman, the sentiments of the Hindoo Communtiy on the subject in the following terms:

"They may be all convinced of the utility of getting their female children taught at home in Bengalee by their domestic school masters as some families do before such female children are married or arrived at the age 9 or 10 years at furthest. For these reasons I am publicly of opinion that we need not have a meeting to discuss the subject of the education of Hindoo females by Miss Cook who may render her services (if required) to the schools lately established by the missionaries for the tuition of the poorer classes of native females."

In another letter to the said gentleman I said:

"The Hindoos cannot but feel themselves grateful if her (Miss Cook's) laudable intentions to teach the Hindoo ladies in European works of art both manual and mechanical prevail upon her to instruct for the present some poor women of good caste that when these have acquired a degree of skilfulness under her benevolent instructions they may hereafter be retained in the families of respectable Hindoos and their knowledge will thereby be diffused among native female generally without interfering with their immemorial customs and usages."

Thus it appears that the antipathy of the respectable classes of natives against the establishment of public female schools is not a novel one nor does it originate from any malicious disposition towards the worthy founders. In fact I would say that the sudden eggression from the close seclusion of hundreds of years in which Hindoo females of the higher classes have been kept however reprehensible it may be or from whatever source it might have originated cannot but lead to great abuses.

It is therefore my humble opinion that the proprietors of public female schools would do well to take into their Institutions Hindu girls of the *Nava Sayaka* class* which does not stand very low in the scale of Society, and encourage by some such system as that of the School Society the establishment of Indigenous female schools which will be supplied with teachers from those public schools.

I remain with esteem and regard

20th March, 1851. Yours faithfully and obediently

R.

P. S.—With many thanks I beg to return herewith the copy of the *Stri Siksha Vidhayaka* with the title page which you lent me the other day.

20th March, 1851.

*It comprehends nine inferior classes, *viz*: Gopa (the cowherd), Mali (the gardener), Taili (the oilman), Tanti (weaver), Modaka (confectioner), Varaji (the cultivator of the Bettle plant), Kulala (the potter), Karmakara (the black-smith) and Napita (the Barber).





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE INDIAN STATES' PROBLEM : *By M. K. Gandhi, Ahmedabad, Navjivan Press. 1941. Price Rs. 4.*

INDIAN STATES : *By K. R. R. Sastry, Allahabad, Kitabistan. 1941. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The first book is a collection of the writings of Mahatma Gandhi during the last twenty-five years on the subject of the Indian States. Considering the great part played by the Mahatma in the matter of the Indian States and, more particularly, of the relations between the Indian National Congress and the States, it is a great advantage to have all his writings on the subject brought together in one handy volume. The Mahatma has consistently held the view that the Indian National Congress should not directly and officially intervene in the internal affairs of the Indian States. And his attitude has often been criticised. But his attitude was not based on his love for the ways of the Indian Princes but on the ground of the impotence and helplessness of the Congress to give effective help. His personal opinion was : "It must be frankly admitted that the Congress possesses no authority for enforcing its will in Indian States even to the extent that it does in British India proper. Prudence, therefore, dictates inaction where action would be waste of effort, if not folly." (p. 47) He distinguished however between the Congress as a body and individual Congressmen in this matter. The latter were free to intervene, as he did in the case of Rajkot, without committing the Congress to such intervention. Of the princes and their rule, the Mahatma always held positive views. He said :

"The existence of this gigantic autocracy is the greatest disproof of British democracy, and is a credit neither to the Princes nor to the unhappy people who have to live under undiluted autocracy. It is no credit to the Princes that they allow themselves powers which no human being, conscious of his dignity, should possess. It is no credit to the people who have mutely suffered the loss of elementary human freedom. And it is perhaps the greatest blot on British Rule in India" (p. iv).

Mr. Sastry's approach is that of a student of constitutional law. After elaborate references to the numerous writers on the subject of the status of the Indian States, he seems to agree with the view that the Indian States have a *quasi-international* status. (p. 72) To foreigners they are British; to the British they are foreign. As between the States themselves Mr. Sastry saw a difference between states like Hyderabad which were not vassal states and others which were. He notes however that this distinction has been wiped out by the Government of India Act of 1935, Sec. 311, which defined an Indian State as any territory not being part of British India, "which His Majesty recognises as being such a state , whether described as a state, an estate, a jagir or otherwise." This definition reduces all states to one level and eliminates the distinction between Hyderabad and the least and the latest jagir.

Mr. Sastry quotes, apparently with approval, from the *British Year Book of International Law* that "Parliament which has full legislative power over all Briitsh territory cannot legislate for the Indian States." (p. 72-3) It may be noted that the British Parliament, by its own unilateral action, defined the Indian State as mentioned above, and incorporated it in the Government of India Act of 1935, and in doing so reduced the status of all Indian States to one common level,—"recognition by His Majesty." It is clear that the British Parliament has actually legislated on the status of the Indian States. If it be professed that recognition by His Majesty is different from an act of the British Parliament, it may be pointed out that under British Constitutional law the King acts only on the advice of his ministers, and the British Parliament has full control over the actions of the Ministers. It seems mere legalistic hair-splitting to suggest that the British Parliament's sovereign powers are limited by every petty jagirdar and Princeling. The truth seems to be that the British Parliament governs India, both British India and Indian Staes. It exercises what may be called parliamentary control over British India and paramountcy control over the Indian States. Both these classes of powers were in practice exercised until recently by the Government of India and now by the Viceroy. And the Viceroy acts under orders of the Secretary of State for India, who is responsible to the British Parliament for all his actions. Whether the power is exercised through the Parliamentary channel in British India, or the paramountcy channel in the Indian States, it is exercised ultimately by the British Parliament.

P. Kodanda Rao

AKHAND HINDUSTHAN : *By K. M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B. Published by the New Book Co., Bombay (1942). Price Rs. 4 only.*

The author is known all over India as a statesman, as the former Home Minister of the Government of Bombay. But he is a good deal more. He is a creative

writer of outstanding merit in his mother-tongue Guzerati producing several volumes of novels and stories and a comprehensive *History of Gujerati Literature.* Nearly one-third of this new book of his *Akhand Hindusthan* is devoted to the discovery of the basic unity of Indian culture and to the rectification of the wrong interpretation given to Indian history by foreign writers. They sought to disintegrate the mind of the Indians (Hindus, Muslims or Christians) by exaggerating the factors of division and disruption but clouded the main issue which was the emergence of the grand cultural synthesis which is India of today. To make the average Indian lose faith in this great unity and to seek petty success on *communal* tickets, would be the most dangerous attack of the Imperialist on our national life especially in these days of international chaos. So Mr. Munshi has made a great sacrifice by making this movement of national solidarity the chief plank in his political career, and exposing himself to be misunderstood even by his beloved leader Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. That Gandhi-Munshi correspondence is given as an Appendix to this volume which we are sure, will be read with interest and profit by all who believe in the future evolution of India along the path of progressive unity and progress. Disruption, which is the other name for Pakistan, must be stopped, at any cost; and every Indian, whatever his or her religious antecedent must strive, like Mr. Munshi, to hold up the ideals of national solidarity and cultural harmony for which India has been toiling for the last six thousand years. It is not a political pamphlet that Mr. Munshi has given us; he offers us a veritable Testament of his life as an Indian and as a statesman. He has served a great cause through this small book which we recommend to the rising generations of our country as well as to all those who love India and her cultural contributions to Humanity. With a rare clarity of vision Mr. Munshi combines an ardent faith in India's future and, we are sure, faith will triumph at the end, over all man-made obstacles.

KALIDAS NAG

SERAN VANJI (VANJI, THE CAPITAL OF THE CHERAS) : *By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Published by the Cochin Government, Ernakulam. 1940. Pp. 131. Price Re. 1-12.*

This book is the result of a controversy about the location of the capital city, Vanji, of the Chera Kingdom. The Chera Kingdom and its capital were usually located on the western coast, in the territory now known as Cochin. But recently some Tamil scholars have identified the capital with Karur in Trichinopoly district. The fact that this view gained added importance by its acceptance in two publications of the University of Madras, created a great commotion, and naturally it was greater in Cochin than elsewhere. The Dewan of Cochin, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, requested the author to reconsider the whole question and give his verdict upon it. The process of reconsideration and the verdict are contained in the book before us. The learned Professor has reviewed the whole of the available evidence and given a definite verdict in favour of the older view. He asks the reader to form his own judgment with the help of the materials presented by him, and hopes that the publication of his book would help towards the attainment of a final conclusion on the subject. It would be hazardous to express any categorical opinion on a matter on which the renowned Tamil scholars differ so sharply among themselves. But it must be freely admitted by all that Dr. Aiyangar has presented the materials in a scholarly manner and his remarks and observations are worth serious consideration.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

TRAGEDY OF JINNAH : *By Kailas Chandra with a Foreword by Miss Jethi T. Sipahimalani, Deputy Speaker, Sind Assembly. Published by Sharma Publishers, 12, Lakshmi Mansions, The Mall, Lahore. Pp. x+227. Price Rs. 2-8.*

There cannot be any doubt that the author feels and resents very strongly the mischief done to Indian public life and to the cause of political progress in our motherland by the canker of communalism. He devotes the first chapter of his book to prove that communalism was, in the first instance, fostered by the British. His contention is that even today British officials occupying the highest of positions have not yet been able to give up the old policy of divide and rule.

No mercy has been shown to those non-official Britons who lacking in satesmanship succeeded in bringing reactionaries belonging to various social and religious groups under one banner in order to reduce as far as possible the utility of the Government of India Act, 1935. And it has to be confessed that the evidence he has put before his readers in support of his views is convincing.

The various quotations from the speeches of nationalist Muslim leaders and the resolutions passed by the Muslim League of those days which appear in relevant places undoubtedly add to the value of the book.

Chapters VI and VII give a convenient and useful summary of the activities of nationalist and communalist Muslims immediately before and during the Round Table Conference but as Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the hero of the book had, according to the writer, little to do with them, their inclusion in the book does not seem necessary.

Shree Kailas Chandra had traced the gradual change in Mr. M. A. Jinnah who started as a full-fledged nationalist and is today the doughty leader of the foremost militant communal organisation. While all of us must regret this change in him, a change which we must regard as one for the worse, it does not seem that matters can be improved if those who are unble to see eye to eye with him permit themselves the use of far from moderate language. Obviously, the author is either a Congressman or one who sympathises with it. It should have been better if, in this matter, he had followed the example set by Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad who too have had their disappointments, and no small ones, in their dealings with the "elusive" Mr. Jinnah. The case made out by the writer against Mr. Jinnah is strong but he has weakened it by indulgence in gibes and sneers.

The writer has also been cruel to those of our Mussalman brethren who have been led astray by communalism. May it be pointed out that while we are entitled to hate sin we should not hate the sinner? Nor it is wisdom to make reapproachement, confessedly, a difficult task, still more difficult by antagonising our Muslim countrymen who, after all, are our own flesh and blood.

To his regret, the reviewer has missed in the book constructive suggestions as to how we can get rid of the poison of communalism. It has seemed to him that no study of this problem can be considered adequate which confines itself to a discussion of its causes and attempts to apportion the blame among those held responsible for it.

While the book is undoubtedly a contribution to the literature bearing on communalism, it has lost much of

its value, by the heat with which arguments against it have been advanced and personalities attacked. With these reservations, the reviewer recommends this volume to those interested in what has grown to be the most burning problem of the day.

The book has about half a dozen clever but cruel cartoons and also an Index, and is dedicated to National India.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN TEXTUAL CRITICISM : *By S. M. Katre with Appendix II by P. K. Gode. Published by the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1941. Pp. xiii+148.*

"Textual criticism," says Sir Richard C. Jebb (in *A Companion to Greek Studies*, edited by Leonard Whibley, p. 733), "has become an art guided within certain limits by definite general principles." It was a happy thought of Dr. Katre, the main author of this short but extremely useful monograph, to have sought to apply the principles of textual criticism, so well developed in the West, to Indian conditions. The need for such a work at the present time cannot be better expressed than in Dr. Katre's words in his Preface (p. viii) :—"With very few exceptions the critical handling of texts in India is lagging behind, and the editors have neither the training nor the proper guidance to qualify them for their task." It may at once be said that the present work, modest as it is in size, will go a long way to fulfil this need. Written in lucid style, with illustrations drawn from the few extant critical editions in this country (including above all the great critical edition of the Mahabharata by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and his colleagues), it touches on almost all the points falling within the scope of textual criticism—the topics of historical palæography of Indian manuscripts and of higher criticism alone being reserved for separate treatment (pp. xi, 87). Especially valuable is the author's detailed explanation (Chapters III-VI) of the process of collation of manuscripts, their arrangement in the form of a *stemma codicum*, their critical recension and their emendation. Three very useful Appendices (containing a glossary of technical terms, a chronological list of catalogues from 1807 to 1940, and a descriptive sketch of important Indian manuscripts and critical editions of the same), a select bibliography and an index greatly enhance the value of this work.

We append a few observations for the consideration of Dr. Katre in case a new edition is called for.

Page 8 : "Bricks on which Buddhist Sutras are inscribed have been found in the North-Western Provinces" (*sic*). The reference probably is to the two inscribed bricks containing the Pratityasamutpada Sutra, which have been recently discovered at Nalanda in Bihar and edited in the Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XXIII). Page 8: "Paper manuscripts are generally not older than the thirteenth century." The Gilgit manuscripts which are in course of publication by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt of the Calcutta University are written wholly on handmade paper of the kind still manufactured in this country, according to a communication made to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal at its meeting in March 1942 by that scholar. These manuscripts, being written in late Gupta script, cannot be later than the 7th century A.D.

Page 19*n.* : "A list of about 295 texts is given in an interesting inscription in Pegu in Burma of c. 1442 A.D. donated to the Buddhist Sangha by Taungdwin and his wife." The inscription which was collected by Dr. Forchhammer at Pagan is dated in B.C. 804 (=1442 A.D.) and it records the donation to the Sangha of precisely 295 texts by the Governor of Taungdwin and his wife. See Mabel Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 101-9, where the complete list of the manuscripts is given.

Pages 28, 33 : "Owing to the unceasing literary activities of Mahayana Buddhists some important texts have been preserved in the Tibetan and Chinese archives either in Tibetan and Chinese transliterations or in translations." "For a majority of Mahayana texts in Sanskrit, the greatest evidence for the reconstruction of the original text is from Tibetan and Chinese translations made at an early period.". The Chinese and Tibetan translations—the transliterations are confined only to a few mantras or *dharanis*—are preserved not in the archives, but in the Buddhist canonical literature of their respective countries. These translations are not exclusively or even largely those of Mahayanist Sanskrit works, for the Chinese canon contains versions of Hinayana texts as well, while the Tibetan canon includes translations of the Mulasarvastivada Vinaya and of the Avadanas which stand on the border line between Mahayana and Hinayana. For the reconstruction of the original Indian texts, the literal Tibetan versions are of the greatest help, while the abridged Chinese translations have only a secondary importance.

Page 33 : While on the subject of using quotations for purposes of emendation, the author might have noticed the warnings that have been sounded by competent textual critics of the West, *e.g.*, that the quotation, when consisting of only a few words or verses, would often be made from memory and as such would be inaccurate (*c.f.* Sir Richard C. Jebb, *op. cit.*).

Page 34 : To the list of *testimonia* given here the author might have added the interesting fact that occasional references in Greater Indian inscriptions help us to restore the correct titles of technical terms found in Indian printed and manuscript texts. The present reviewer has found it possible, with the help of a reference in a Cambodian inscription of King Indravarman I, to restore the architectural term *nandika* found in corrupt forms in the manuscript and printed editions of Agni and Garuda Puranas (See *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. VII, p. 110).

We have noticed a few misprints:—Caesar and Soghaura (p. 7). Ghasundi (p. 9), Janvanese (p. 33), Kavidracarya (p. 108). On p. 9 Ghosundi inscription is, by a slip ascribed to the Asokan period, while on p. 12 No. 15 is a misprint for No. 25.

U. N. GHOSHAL

OUR COUNTRYMEN ABROAD : *By Dharam Yash Dev, Secretary, Department of Indians Overseas, A.-I. C. C. With a Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. Swaraj Bhavan, Allahabad. 1940. Price annas eight only.*

The first of an intended series of pamphlets, the monograph under review attempts a general survey of the condition of Indians in the different parts of the globe without attempting any detailed study of the conditions in any country in particular. One cannot help admitting that here at last is something which ought to have been available years ago. The struggle for freedom must be united, and based on the loyal support of all sons of Mother India. There has been an increasing measure of attention paid to the subject ever since Gandhiji's return to India twenty-eight years ago. On the eve of what seems to be, by all potents, a new chapter in the world's history, it is reassuring, however, to be told by Pandit Nehru that free India of the future can never ignore the very important question of Indians abroad, but the pamphlet serves to remind the reader what gross ignorance about their present state still exists

to be removed, and the appendices will be found to be stimulating.

"The Indians in Burma number the largest, being about ten lakhs. Their condition is now the most serious. One feels curious to ask, what has the A.-I. C. C. done at this crisis? Published another monograph, or arranged for shelter, food and employment?

P. R. SEN

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD: *By Ramesh Chandra Ghosh. With a Foreword by Dr. Kalidas Nag. Published by the Book Company, Limited, Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 323+ix. Price Rs. 5.*

This book deals with the constitutional development of nine Islamic countries including Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan and Iraq. The author is a lecturer in History and Politics in Krishnagar College, Bengal, and is a Research Associate of the Calcutta Branch of the Indian Institute of International Affairs. It was in the latter capacity that he undertook the study of the constitutional development and political status of the Islamic countries in the Near East.

The book contains very useful information about the countries regarding which our knowledge is as a rule very meagre and poor. The author has done a distinct service to students of international affairs by throwing light upon many corners which would otherwise remain really very dark to us. It would particularly save the labour of many of our journalist friends who have to write about these countries but who for want of a handy volume find themselves not unoften in great difficulty. This gap has now been filled

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

CHANGING WORLD AND OTHER ESSAYS: *By Bimal Chandra Sinha, M A. Published by Prakashani, 15, Shyamacharan Dey Street, Calcutta. Pp. 230. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a collection of essays on a variety of subjects brought under the same cover because of the obvious links of connection between interdependent problems and issues whether they are immediately related to Bengal or India or to world planning. The author, who has already made his name through his contributions to this and other journals, has a wide range of interests and his intensive study is revealed in at least three of the topics in the volume, *viz.*, Planning, Economics of War and Education. Bengal's economic problems received due attention in essays on middle class unemployment, agricultural protectionism and debt legislation, the last supplementing the material contained in a previous publication by the author on the same subject, which is deservedly a *vade mecum* for students of the subject. The balance and the sociological perspective of the writer are always evident and we are sure the volume will receive the serious attention of students of social studies.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

WITTGENSTEINIAN PHILOSOPHY: *By Mr. G. N. Malkani, B.A. (Cantab.), Dip-Ed. (Leeds), Professor of Philosophy, C. & S. College, Shikarpur (Sind). Published by the author. Pp. 150 Price Re. 1.*

This book is an outline of Wittgensteinian Philosophy and is based on the lectures delivered by the author at the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner. Wittgensteinian Philosophy, which is a new school of Cambridge Philosophy, is hardly known in this country. This school of thought was founded at Vienna University by Ludwig Wittgenstein who was once a student of the celebrated English thinker, Bertrand Russell in Trinity College, Cambridge. During the last world war, Wittgenstein while in an Italian Jail wrote his "Logico-Philosophicus-Tractatus" which was published in 1922 with a preface of Bertrand Russell. Wittgenstein's mature ideas on philosophy are to be found in his 'Blue Book' and 'Brown Book' which remain still unpublished. Only a few typed copies of them have been circulated among his students and admirers. His 'Blue Book' contains a series of lectures given at the Cambridge University where he was appointed in 1938 as head of the Department of Philosophy.

Wittgenstein makes bold to say that there is something fundamentally wrong with the philosophies, that is, they have been misled by the ambiguities of the language. He thinks that the so-called problems of philosophy are not real problems but "language puzzles," for the genesis of metaphysics is the misleading nature of language. He defines philosophy as the "critique of language" and its function, in his opinion, is the correct usage of the language and logical clarification of ideas. According to him, profound problem in philosophy is the "meaning of meaning" and the problem of meaning is a verbal one *i.e.* the meaning should be found out in the ordinary language. Wittgensteinian philosophy though novel and revolutionary appears to be more a method than a system. The thoughtful author rightly observes that Wittgensteinian method is a 'blind and empty game with no philosophical end to realise.' So far as methodology is concerned there is more than enough in Indian thought, hence we are afraid this philosophy will fail to attract any attention in India.

While at Cambridge the author had the rare opportunity of attending the private discourses of Wittgenstein and he worked for a couple of years under his direct disciple, Mr. John Wisdom. The work under notice which is the maiden book of the author gives a simple and clear exposition of the fundamentals of Wittgensteinian Philosophy.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, SOME SUGGESTIONS: *By Rajendra Prasad. Published by Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Pp. 34. Price annas four.*

This is a companion volume to Mahatma Gandhi's booklet entitled *Constructive Programme* issued from the same Press in Ahmedabad. Babu Rajendra Prasad has some very helpful and practical suggestions to offer with regard to Gandhi's fourteen items of constructive activity.

Now that the war is almost on India, and many people are going back to the villages, we are sure both the booklets will prove of considerable help to those who wish to reorganize life in terms of village economy, as well as help the cause of national unity.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAILS IN BENGAL, 1940: *By Lt.-Col. M. A. Singh, Inspector-General of Prisons. Published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Alipore. Price annas twelve.*

This annual volume, as usual with Government publications, has been published when the year 1942 is well-advanced although it deals with the calendar year 1940. But none the less it provides interesting reading. Of late we have been hearing much about ticketless travelling in railways. Of those who have been thus convicted 433 are Bengalees, and 1,579 non-Bengalees.

The majority of the prisoners hails from the neighbouring provinces, and as they are convicted in Bengal, they are maintained from the revenues of this province. The question of recovery of at least a portion of the expenditure from the Railway Administration should be considered by our Finance Minister as the punishment is awarded in the interest of the Railways; and the offence often originates in another province.

In 1940, 19 persons were sentenced to death, but only 3 were executed, the sentences of death of the other convicts having been commuted by the Government on memorials submitted by or on behalf of these prisoners. This raises the important question whether a man sentenced to death by the Highest Court in the land, should be lightly exempted from paying the extreme penalty. Such powers, in our humble opinion, should be sparingly exercised by the Government.

The female convicts of all ages constituted 1·66 per cent. of the jail population. Of the female convicts 46·1 per cent. were married; 1·85 per cent. unmarried and 43·1 per cent. widowed and 8·9 per cent. prostitutes. Thus marriage seems to be no protection against crimes. This point requires further and closer study, and we hope the Inspector-General will publish further details in his next report to enable the student of sociology to formulate questions.

There are other interesting topics, such as juvenile convicts, after-care work, etc.

J. M. Datta

HINDUSTAN TIMES CONTEMPT CASE (August-November, 1941) : *Printed and Published by Mr. Devi Prasad Sharma, at the Hindustan Times Press, New Delhi. Price Rs. 3.*

The book under review contains a faithful record of the proceedings in Court of one of the most sensational Contempt cases tried in British India very recently.

Shortly stated, the facts of the case are these : On the 3rd of August, 1941, the Hindustan Times published a news-item received from its correspondent in Meerut to the effect that under instructions alleged to have been issued by his Lordship the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court at the request of the Governor of the Province, Judicial officers in the U. P. were to participate actively in war fund collections. The source of the correspondent's information was not disclosed. On the 5th of August, 1941, the Hindustan Times commenting editorially on the matter criticized the Chief Justice and in doing so also drew the inference from the news that the supposed instructions might have been issued through a circular. Thereupon the High Court issued notice to the Editor and the Printer and Publisher of the *Hindustan Times* as well as its Meerut Correspondent (at a later stage of the case) to appear in Court and show cause why they should not be punished for contempt of Court. Their Lordships of the Allahabad High Court held from the purely legal standpoint, that the effect of the statements made should be the deciding factors in a case of contempt and that intention in these matters does not count, as a result whereof the Editor Mr. Devidas Gandhi, Mr. Sharma, the Printer and Publisher and Mr. Singhal, the Meerut Correspondent were convicted and sentenced for contempt of Court.

Although there is considerable confusion in India about the law and procedure in contempt cases, still to the editors and journalists, this case is of considerable importance, so far as the law and procedure in contempt cases are concerned, relating to the exact definition of the legal responsibility of an Editor and a Correspondent regarding an item of news sent by the latter and published by the former.

The usefulness of the book has been enhanced by the inclusion therein of the Contempt of Courts Act (Act No. XII of 1926, as amended by Act No. XII of 1937), and an exhaustive Index.

Jitendra Nath Bose

HINDUSTAN YEAR-BOOK AND WHO'S WHO FOR 1942 : *By S. C. Sarkar, Author, Notable Indian Trials, Book of General Knowledge, etc. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Tenth Year of Issue. Crown 8vo. Pp. 696. Price Re. 1-12.*

Mr. S. C. Sarkar, the compiler of this useful and handy volume rightly claims that its standard has been fully maintained and in some of the sections it has been further improved. Among the new sections added are an exhaustive chapter on the 1941 Census, one dealing with the advancement of Indian industries during the War, and a complete history of the War. All the usual statistical sections, for which the data have been collected from primary sources, have been thoroughly and completely revised, the latest figures available being given.

THE NEW YEAR BOOK, 1942 : *Edited by J. Guha Thakurta, M.A. (Econ.), M.A. (Com.), Calcutta, M.Sc. (Econ.), London in Applied Statistics (Commercial) and Amal C. Ghatak, M.A. Published by S. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Second Year of Issue. Crown 8vo. Pp. 424. Price Re. 1-4.*

Among the features of this year book prominently mentioned are Bertrand Russell's "A Philosophy for you in these times" (extracted from the *Reader's Digest*), Nirad C. Chaudhuri's "An Outline of the War," Jatindra M. Datta's "Population and Census," Chanchal Sarkar's "Glimpses into the lives of men behind the War," and 'On-Lookers's' "The Constitutional Deadlock in India." All the usual statistical facts and figures, collected by experts carefully and brought up-to-date, are to be found in this issue. All important current topics and problems have been dealt with by competent contributors. The constitutional impasse has been specially dealt with. A special section has been devoted to sports.

X.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

THE HAMSA-DUTA OF VAMANA BHATTA BANA : *Edited by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Ph.D. (London). Published by the author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Pp. 43+28+39. Price Re. 1-8 or Foreign 3sh.*

The *Hamsa-duta* of Vamana Bhatta Bana as edited for the first time by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Ph.D. (London) is a welcome publication. Dr. Chaudhuri's introduction written in English contains several very valuable information not only on the author himself and his literary achievements, but also on other such *duta-kavyas* known to exist in Sanskrit Literature. The poet of the lyric, whose ambition was to rival the famous Banabhatta, the court-poet of King Harsa of the seventh century A.D. and who wrote a biography in prose of his own patron King Vemabhupala, himself belonged to the fifteenth century A.D. It goes without saying that this poet and some others who wrote such *duta* poems tried only to imitate the great Kalidasa, the renowned author of the Meghaduta, but they almost always met with scant or inadequate success both in the matter of language, style and sentiment. The poem under review is, however, an important *kavya*, for it contains much information of topographical interest. Dr. Chaudhuri has

added in the introduction notes on some of the geographical terms which will be utilised with advantage by students of Indian history. Students of the history of Sanskrit Literature will derive much benefit by a study of the editor's elaborate notes on other *duta-kavyas* in which the Swan acts as the kind messenger of the lover to his beloved. Dr. Chaudhuri has already attained a name in scholarly world for his editing old Sanskrit texts in a most scientific manner, and this has been amply proved by the edition of the present work. He should be congratulated for his excellent performance.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

SANSKRIT

SHRI SIDDHA HEMACHANDRA SHABDANUSHASHANAM: *Edited with Appendices, Notes, Variants and Introduction by Muni Hemanshuvijaya Nyayasahityatirtha. Published by Sheth Anandji Kalyanji, Zaverivad, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is a beautiful edition of the Sanskrit portion of the celebrated grammar of Hemacandra. It covers the first seven chapters of the work, the eighth and last chapter of which deals with the grammar of the different Prakrits. The text is accompanied by the author's own gloss on the sutras, while short explanatory notes are added by the editor in the form of footnotes. The value of the edition is enhanced by a short but informative introduction in Sanskrit, as well as by indices and appendices, more than half a dozen in number. Of the appendices special mention may be made of three: (1) list of variants collected from two old manuscripts of the gloss. (2 and 3) lists of important words and expressions some of which, here as elsewhere, are of immense historical interest, *e.g.*, Satrunjaya is six *yojanas* from Valabhi, all poets are inferior to Siddhasena, the people of Pataliputra are wealthier than those of Sankasya, etc., etc.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

MRITYUR PARE O PUNARJANMAVAD (AFTER DEATH AND THE THEORY OF TRANSMIGRATION): *By Atulbehari Gupta, M.A., B.T. Published by Sailendranath Gupta, 62L, Tilbhandeswar, Benares City. Price Rs. 2 only.*

This book records a number of psychic experiences and events calculated to prove the survival of human personality after death. The anecdotes are pleasant to read and are sometimes as exciting as detective stories and as entertaining as the tales told by Shaharzadi. This is not saying that they are equally untrue.

About the evidence cited in the book, it may perhaps be pointed out that, in law, the testimony of witnesses not offered for cross-examination is weak and invalid. This remark may be made with reference to *some* of the witnesses quoted in this book. We do not intend to suggest that, therefore, they are unbelievable.

The author is highly educated, is an adept in the subject and has always taken the greatest care to ascertain the facts. This fact alone ought to disarm any adverse opinion about his researches and prevent a hasty rejection of their results. The subject is interesting and deserves study; but it will be going too far to claim that the whole thing has been completely and firmly established on an unassailable scientific basis.

On page 202, we come across a slight mis-statement. It has been suggested that the King of England is subject to law. But one of the maxims of English common law still accepted is that "the King can do no wrong." Technically, therefore, the statement of our author is not quite accurate.

The belief in immortality reduces fear of death in man's mind. It is one of the beliefs that Philosophy also tries to maintain. Psychical research encourages and endorses this belief. If every man could persuade himself to think that death is not the end of the soul, death would cease to be considered such a calamity as it is commonly supposed to be and mankind would be free from many of the anxieties of life with which it is beset at present. This would be no small boon. And so far as books of this kind encourage such an attitude of mind, they are a source of comfort to worrying mankind.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HINDI

PREMCHAND: *By Ramvilas Sharma, Ph.D. Published by Saraswati Press, Benares. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 2.*

At a conference of the then newly-started Progressive Writers' Association, some years ago, the late Sri Premchand,—that pioneer and prince of Hindi novelists,—observed that the epithet 'progressive' was superfluous inasmuch as an author or artist is by nature (or at least, ought to be) forward-looking. Now this gives a clear clue to his conception of literature; namely, that behind and beyond the framework of visible facts which of course should be delineated with truthfulness, the writer has to look for the ideal and lead his readers to a perception thereof through the magic of his art. Sri Premchand himself always acted in accordance with this canon of his while portraying, say, the many-sided, misery-saddled life of the peasantry against the background of triple slavery: political, social and economic. The book under review, is a penetrating study of the mind of Sri Premchand and in the *motifs* of many of his novels. It also gives his views, though briefly, on the art of writing fiction,—which is stranger than fact!—national language and modern tendencies in Hindi literature. Dr. Sharma has done distinct service to the ever-increasing number of students of Sri Premchand's works in particular, and to the school of criticism in Hindi.

VIR VIJAY: *By Gopichand Varma Shastri, B.A. Available from the Author, Dayalsingh College, Lahore. Pp. 536. No price, only annas four for postage.*

This is a translation, together with a commentary of *Vir Vijay* (which is originally in Sanskrit *Slokas*) of His Holiness Swami Mangalnath, which gives the essence of Vedanta. Its earnest study by the seekers of reality will help them to unveil the identity of their soul with the Oversoul, and thus provide them with a sure foothold amidst the flux and flow of the world. The printing and get-up are of a high order.

G. M.

PRALAYA VEENA: *By Sudhindra. Published by Sasta Sahitya-Mandal, New Delhi. March, 1941. Pp. 134. Price Re. 1.*

This is a collection of about fifty poems by Sjt. Sudhindra written on a varied range of themes related to our national awakening and the new-born sense of a progressive literature. The prevailing mood is of an intense urge for a creative revolution in a world of a chaotic medley of greed and selfishness, and the poet often invokes the Goddess of Destruction for the accomplishment of the cherished ideal of human well being. Through the refreshing variety of rhymes and rhythms one can distinctly feel the poetic consciousness of the age seeking to express itself in diverse channels. Sjt. Sudhindra's language is mature, his imagery full of a vigourous vitality. Some of the poems have a topical interest only and the themes are not enduring. Face to face with a literature claiming to be progressive, the

common reader often doubts if the poet was writing from a fund of rich experience and a fine poetic sensibility or merely echoing one or more of the "isms" rampant in the air. We hope, Sjt. Sudhindra's future poems will leave little room for entertaining such a doubt.

M. BAJPAI

KANNADA

KANNADA RESEARCH IN BOMBAY PROVINCE: *By R. S. Panchmukhi, M.A., Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar, Bombay Province. Demi Quarto. Pp. 132 with 21 plates on art paper. Price Rs. 4.*

What strikes a reader when he takes up this book is the rich variety of historical material that lay unexplored so long. The book only shows that immense material of this kind is there ready to fall into the hands of those that seek it. The Congress ministry of Bombay must be thanked for its foresight in this matter as it was they who started the Kannada Research Department in that part of Karnataka. In fact geologically this part of India (Bombay Karnataka) was one of the oldest (older than the Himalayas) that made its appearnce and contains traces of the earliest civilization of man. The director has been able to discover recently relics of the iron age and many more surprises may await us.

From the publication, we can see that work has been conducted in four directions. Research material of archæological and epigraphical interest has been collected, the small beginnings of a museum and a manuscript library have been made, distinguished scholars like Shri Rao Bahadur Krishnamachari and Shri Govind Pai have been given opportunities to deliver lectures on specific subjects of distinctly historical value, and the results of these activities have been published in this volume.

The most important things that may attract the attention of scholars are as follows: The dolmens of Badami (ancient Vatapi) constructed out of huge unhewn rock. These indicate a pre-historic age. The paintings at Badami in the back of the cave in the third (Vaishnava) cave. This points to the antiquity of the cave which may go as for back as the 6th century A.D.

Some curious sculptures in Malegatti Sivalaya, which are half human and half-horse, point them out as Kimpurushas.

Linear carvings and drawings on the Gombigudda Hill (Jamkhandi State). These are very vigorous and clearly point to a pre-historica age.

The Jaina sculptures and bronzes found at Bhatkal are distinctly important, especially that of the Adinatha Teerthankara with a triple Prabhawali.

A whole set of steel stencils used for writing on palm leaves is a rare find.

Year by year as the work goes on, more material is sure to accumulate and a veritable museum can spring up and a vast amount of historical material will be available which will be helpful in writing not only Karnataka history but the history of South India. Here I may note that the K. Research office has also brought out in book-form the three lectures by Shri K. V. Subramanya Iyer, retired Superintendent of Epigraphy which are useful to research students. The first lecture deals with the method of historical research and may be said to be the crystallised experience of the lecturer while the latter two deal with "some dark spots in the history of Rastra Kutas." The other volume, brought out is in Kannada and contains three learned lectures by Shri Govind Pai, the well-known Kannada research scholar, poet, and author. They deal with the antiquity of Kannada, the date of Basava and Ranna's Parasuram Charita and Chakreshwara Charita.

R. R. DIWAKAR

TELUGU

SOVIETLA DESAM: *Translated by Sasi. Published by Cultural Book Club, Madras. Pp. 132. Price annas eight.*

The book under review contains some chapters of "The Land of the Soviets" in English, nicely translated in a clear and comprehensive form. These few pages unravel the mystery of Socialism as it evolved, defying the hazards of time and age.

The present translation serves admirably well from the cultural point of view.

VIRAHI: *By M. Krishnamurty. Published by Navya Sahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 47. Price annas four only.*

This booklet contains a number of short modern love poems. These are interspersed with fleeting emotions as they rush in and rush out. The brevity of each lyric gives colour to its passionate appeal.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

JODANI MALE KHISSA KOSHA: *Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1941. Second Edition. Thick card board. Pp. 268. Price annas eight.*

This is the second edition of that extremely useful pocket Dictionary of Gujarati words, spelt according to a standard approved by Gandhiji and adopted by several educational institutions. The first edition (1940) consisting of 5,000 copies was exhausted in a short time, and a fresh edition called for. This is sufficient proof of its popularity.

ISHWARNUN KHUN: *By Divyanand. Printed at the Navprabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Cloth bound. Pp. 272. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The object with which the play is written is to expose the hypocrisy and immorality of religious heads who inveigle their followers—specially of the fair sex—into their wishes, under the guise of Learning, Piety, etc. Some of the youthful characters of this play fight against this state of things and preach the propaganda of Patriotism and Reform all round, a worthy attempt.

CHA GHAR, PART II: *Published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Office, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Cloth bound. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1-8.*

A collection of seven short stories with a historical background written by seven literary friends, all well-known as writers, this book furnishes romantic reading. They meet at a tea table, and discuss all and sundry things and the result is "Tea House," Parts I and II. An Introduction by Mr. N. J. Trivedi discusses the form of the Historical Novel with much intelligence and acumen.

K. M. J.

STATISTICS AND ADMINISTRATION

By Dr. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A., D.SC., Bar-at-Law, M.L.A. (Central)

Time was when an acute controversy raged over the question whether Statistics could be regarded as a science or not. But all doubts have now been set at rest and it is recognised everywhere that not only is Statistics a science by itself but that it is capable of rendering very valuable assistance to the study of the other sciences. So far as the study of the social sciences is concerned, it is being increasingly felt that mere qualitative treatment of social phenomena is insufficient and that quantitative investigation is essential.

I will not enter upon a discussion of the relative usefulness of the pure and the applied side of Statistics, but I have no hesitation in asserting that statistical methods are now considered indispensable in the study of Economics. In the field of Public Administration also Statistics has begun to play a considerable part, and there can be no doubt that with the expansion of governmental functions this science will play a growingly larger part in future. Who can deny that for the solution of administrative problems like those relating to agriculture, industry, trade, sanitation, education and so forth invaluable assistance can be given by Statistics?

If Statistics is a science, the study of it, in its theoretical as well as its practical aspect, should be pursued in a scientific spirit. The sole aim of a statistical enquiry should be the ascertainment of the truth. No sort of bias or prejudice or private interest should enter the mind of the enquirer at any stage of the investigation. "Truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" should be the motto of the investigator as well as of the Government which directs the enquiry. Besides, if fruitful results are to be obtained from the application of Statistics to the problems of administration, correct methods must be adopted from the beginning to the end. Otherwise, there is not only the danger of error and pitfalls but also the possibility of reaching wrong conclusions. I will offer a few brief observations on some of these points.

The first thing which should engage the attention of the enquirer is the object of the enquiry. It serves no useful purpose to observe and record facts at random. Before an enquiry is undertaken, the authority responsible for it should have a clear and distinct idea of the kind of information which is to be obtained and how it can be obtained at the least sacrifice and at the smallest cost.

Next comes the question of data. Great care should be taken to secure accuracy in the collection of data. For this purpose a proper and reliable agency must be employed. If this is not done, the enquiry becomes vitiated from the very start. There should also be adequate provision for the verification of the data actually collected. Errors and omissions can be eliminated to a large extent if adequate steps are taken to verify all available data.

The question of compilation and classification requires serious attention. In this regard there should be no deviation from the scientific method nor any departure from the accepted principles. Mistakes and misrepresentations often arise from changes in the method of classification. The proper form of presentation also deserves attention. This would differ according to the class of persons to whom the information is expected to be conveyed. If the figures are meant for the enlightenment of the general public they would naturally take a form somewhat different from that which would be desirable for presentation to the specialists. But however much the form may vary, the substance must not be altered in any way.

Last of all come the questions of interpretation and use. This is the stage of the crucial test. When any conclusions are to be drawn, all the relevant factors should be given their due weight. Nothing is more essential than absolute impartiality in the interpretation of figures. The popular belief that statistics can be utilised to prove anything does not seem to be wholly unjustified if we consider the use sometimes made of figures by some Governments. If the suspicion embodied in the old saying that, "of the three well-known categories of falsehood statistics is the worst," is to be rooted out of the public mind, it is incumbent on the authorities to show by their disinterestedness, their freedom from bias and prejudice, and their scrupulous regard for truth that the proverb of the by-gone days is inapplicable to modern conditions.

Coming to Indian statistics, it can hardly be denied that they are very unsatisfactory in many respects. The agency for the collection of primary data is, as a rule, wholly unreliable, and no steps are taken to verify them. As has been pointed out by two experts, statistics in this country originated largely as a "by-product of administrative activities" and have remained "unnecessarily diffuse, gravely inexact, incomplete or misleading." Innumerable instances can be cited of the untrustworthy nature of the records compiled by the Government. I will refer to one such instance here. The Census of Population is regarded in every country as a very important matter, but in India sufficient care is not taken to secure reliable information. The consequence is that many inaccuracies and misstatements of a serious character are to be found in the records. In the Census Report of 1931, for instance, the astonishing statement was made that in the Kishoreganj Subdivision of the district of Mymensingh in Bengal there was not a single literate in English. This mistake could have been easily avoided, if the slightest attempt was made to verify the statement. I brought matters of this kind to the notice of the Central Government and the Central Legislature and urged the adoption of measures likely to prevent mistakes being made in connection with the Census of 1941. But no heed was paid to this request, with the result that the Census figures of 1941 are perhaps more untrustworthy than those of 1931. Distrust and dissatisfaction have been expressed almost throughout India regarding the census operations. In addition to complaints about carelessness and inefficiency, charges of deliberate manipulation have been levelled against the authorities. In the province of Assam, for instance, the present Census shows a decrease in the percentage as well as the number of the Hindu population as compared with the Census of 1931. When this matter was brought to the notice of the authorities the reply was given that this had been due to the substitution of "Community" for "Religion" in classifying the population of the Province. No explanation is yet forthcoming as to why and for whose benefit this change in nomenclature, apparently simple but involving a momentous alteration in the relative proportions of the different religious groups in India, had been made. The recent Baroda Census Report, like the two previous Reports, has been prepared with greater regard for accuracy than the British India Report; but unfortunately the altered classification has been adopted here also, apparently under instructions from the Government of India.

It is a well-known fact that conclusions supposed to be based on statistics are often drawn in India without attaching due importance to all the relevant factors of the situation. Figures are to be found in the Government publications which do not seem to have been arrived at by the application of scientific methods. Statements are sometimes made by responsible officers about important matters like the burden of protection, the incidence of taxation, and the taxable capacity of the people of India which cannot stand scientific scrutiny.

Time has come when Indian statistics, particularly those relating to the administration of the country, should be placed on a satisfactory footing. Eight years ago, two well-known persons were brought out to this country to advise the Government of India on the question of obtaining more accurate and detailed statistics than were then available. Professor Bowley and Mr. Robertson made certain recommendations, but it is not known to what extent these have been carried into practice. Even if improvements have been made in recent years it is clear that they have not substantially affected the unsatisfactory nature of the situation in this regard. What is, therefore, needed at the present moment is not only a radical alteration in organisation but also an entire change in outlook.

I wish to say a few words about the statistics of the Government of India. These should no longer form part of the Department of Commerce but ought to be constituted as a separate department under a Director-General. In every important branch of the Central Government as well as of the Provincial Governments there should be statistical officers who should work in association and collaboration with the Department of Statistics. This will lead not only to more efficient organisation, but also to a better and more scientific handling of statistics. I am glad to know that there exists in Baroda a Department of Statistics which is entirely separate from other departments of administration. This State, under the guidance of its benevolent and far-sighted Rulers and under the control of its able and efficient administrators, has in the past taken the lead in many measures of social reform and educational advancement. This gives me the hope that in future enlightened Indian India will form the vanguard of the progressive forces of the country so that we may be able to reach our destined goal at no distant date.

The mere establishment of separate departments of Statistics, however, will not be sufficient. The Universities of India must devote their serious attention to the study of Statistics in both its aspects, theoretical and practical The Calcutta University has already taken definite steps in the matter, and it is to be hoped that the other Universities will soon follow this lead. With these developments the need for the continued existence of an independent association like the Indian Statistical Institute will be greater and not less in future. The advice, guidance, and assistance of this Institute will be available to the Government of India, the Provincial Governments, the Indian States, and the Universities. This association is still in its infancy, but during the short term of its existence it has rendered very valuable service to society. Its progress, however, is being hampered by lack of funds. The financial assistance so far given to this body by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments has been very inadequate. If the Statistical Institute is to function properly, more generous aid should be made available to it not only from the various Governments, but also from the general public of the country.

[Presidential Address delivered at the Economic and Administrative Section of the Indian Statistical Conference, Baroda, January, 1942.]

GIDNEY OF THE ANGLO-INDIANS

By CHAS. D. NEWTON

I was one of the Press Correspondents at Delhi that had the privilege of knowing Sir Henry Gidney whose death has just occurred with tragic suddenness. He was then at the height of his career and had recently formed the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly with Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi as his Deputy. This indicates in no small measure his popularity in the House. He had widened his political horizon for, while he still championed the cause of the Anglo-Indians with unquenched vigour, he also began to promote the welfare of India as a whole. His loss will therefore be the more grievous to the newly-formed Independent Party which will find it hard to get an equally fearless leader especially now that Sir Abdul Halim has also deserted its ranks.

Sir Henry Gidney was undoubtedly an affable man and those who visited his handsome Pithviraj Road residence will not forget its hospitality. He had unusually good taste for antiques, china, paintings, and cut glass. His drawing room was a real art gallery and few who left it came away unimpressed. Fond of big game hunting as well, he had scores of trophies displayed in his front verandah which must mark him as an excellent marksman.

Noted for Humour

Sir Frederick James has rightly remarked at a New Delhi condolence meeting "I have often seen him in tight places but I have never seen him lose his sense of humour." This will be readily endorsed by all who have met Sir Henry. Not without cause was he known as the best after-dinner speaker in the country. He was once asked by the Editor of a leading news agency whether he might send a reporter for an hour every day to note down Sir Henry's jokes!

Best Dressed Man in the East

Sir Henry dressed with exquisite good taste and had the proud privelege of being known as the best dressed man in the House. Some observers have gone so far as to say that he was the best dressed man in the East. He was always seen wearing a beautiful button hole.

Few leaders of Indian communities can claim so brilliant a career as that of Sir Henry and fewer can claim so long a period of undaunted selfless devotion combined almost with philanthropy. He had helped thousands of young men and women of his community to obtain suitable employment. He had often to swallow the bitter pill of being disclaimed by these same people. He once obtained a good post for a man who asked his help and later saw this same man as his most fierce political opponent. Typical of his generosity when this same man asked his help again, Sir Henry did not refuse him. Which politician would help an opponent in that manner?

Excellent Public Career

How Henry Arthur Gidney rose from the bottom rung of the ladder to the top in the

medical profession is too well-known to be repeated. He was India's greatest cataract specialist and an ophthalmic surgeon of great repute. Within a few years he had established a large and lucrative practice in Bombay and it was only the plight of the Anglo-Indian people which led him to abandon his work. He saw that his people were without a real leader and that there were many dissensions. He at once set to work and with a vigour which finds few parallels in communal history he wrested the presidency of the Anglo-Indian Association from Mr. J. H. Abbott, thereafter welding the dissentient Bengal and Allahabad Associations to form the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. He made a whirlwind tour round the whole country and gained the eager support of all the people. In 1921 he was nominated the Anglo-Indian representative in the old Imperial Legislative Assembly. Among works which will ever remain reminders of his public-mindedness is his stirring appeal in the Legislative Assembly for the manufacture of locomotives in India. The small attempts to manufacture locomotives in Indian workshops are largely due to his repeated appeals in the House. Another act which few remember but which will go down in medical history is his great attempt to safeguard public health against spurious drugs. When he made the sensational disclosure that the quinine which was being sold to the public contained more chalk than cinchona and forced an adjournment motion he was at once hailed as a public benefactor. The House listened to him with rapt attention and the result was the Drugs Bill.

With the help of Lord Lloyd he secured protection of Anglo-Indian rights in the Government of India Act of 1935 and by his resolution moved on the 1st May, 1939 he obtained the consent of Government to pay Anglo Indians the minimum salary of Rs. 55/- month. This in itself had such far-reaching effects, and at once raised thousands of families from the mire of poverty, that he deserves the gratitude of all.

Probably few people have thought of his immense energy despite his age. He rose at 4-30 in the morning and worked till 11 at night. This strain alone told severely on his health.

Lately he was honoured by Indian artists when he was chosen as the President of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society.

Sir Henry's father was an official in the B. B. & C. I. Railway and was drowned in a steamer accident. He lost his wife in London in 1936, which left him a completely broken-hearted man.

It would be wrong to suppose that Sir Henry had no faults because experience teaches us that it is humanly impossible to be perfect. Few that he had were completely dwarfed by his patriotism and magnanimity. We should remember the poet's fine words:

> "Be to his vices a little blind
> Be to his virtues very kind."

A Second Parnell

Some self-seeking people raised a vile campaign against him on personal grounds. It grew in proportion and became a malicious campaign of slander. His case, in some respects, is similar to that of Charles Parnell the Irish patriot. What could be more disheartening to a public man than to think that his people were not behind him; that his good work was belittled; and that the very people who were reaping the rewards of his labours were conducting an abusive campaign against him! Poor Sir Henry!

His death will nevertheless bring home to his people with grim reality the immense loss that they have suffered. Seldom has the Anglo-Indian community been plunged in such grief. He it was that put them on the political map of India. He it was that united them. It will be hard for them to find a leader who can match his political and mental acumen. They have lost a father. India has lost a great leader.



THE DYNAMIC CHARACTER OF HINDU CIVILISATION

By M. B. DEOPUJARI, M.A., LL.B.

THE ideal of the Bhonsala Military School, Nasik, expressed in the motto 'The Book and The Rifle,' is as old as the Hindu civilisation. Westerners have generally misunderstood and misrepresented our ideals and achievements in historical times. According to them, the contribution of the Hindus towards world progress, except in matters spiritual, has been next to nothing. But the Hindu conception of life was comprehensive enough to include both its spiritual and material aspects. The Hindus of all ages—Ancient, Medieval, and Modern—were as materialistic as any other people on earth. They not only solved abstruse metaphysical problems but founded kingdoms and empires. In short all-sideness was by no means a gift peculiar to Westerners.

Glimpses of our past history impress on us this truth. The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harrappa have brought to light the stage of material progress that Hindus had attained nearly four thousand years before the birth of Christ. The towns which have been dug out compare favourably with our modern towns in the matter of sanitary arrangements, water-supply, and roads. In historical times the achievements of the Hindus in arts and crafts, literature, and positive sciences, such as Astronomy, Medicine and Mathematics, had reached a high level of excellence during the Gupta Age; *i.e.*, the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. That was the age of Kalidas in literature and of Parakramank Samudragupta, in politics. Kalidas described his ideal man and his ideal king in these words

शास्त्रेषु अप्रतिहता बुद्धिर्मौर्वी धनुषि चाततम् ।

This description applies aptly to Samudragupta—the Digvijayi. Kalidas was teaching no new gospel. He was merely recreating for the edification of his listeners the ideal which had receded into the background with Asoka's premature abandonment of conquest by the sword as an instrument of State policy in favour of conquest by love and piety. Numerous foreign tribes had thus been encouraged to invade and to subjugate parts of Bharatvarsha. The need of the hour was to rid the country of these tribes and to revitalise the Hindu society. The burden of the teachings of Bhagawadgita, Atharvaved, Manu's Manav Dharmshashtra and Kalidas's Raghuvamsha may be summed up in the motto—'Charaiveti'—which meant, 'Move on and Expand; be Dynamic and Active.' This message has come down to us from time immemorial.

Shivaji, the greatest Hindu of modern times, was an embodiment of this philosophy of life. Many changes and revolutions had taken place during the twelve hundred years that separated the master spirits of India—Samudragupta and Shivaji. Foreign invasions had come before and they came again. But there was a material difference between the old and the new invaders. The Greeks, the Scythians, the Huns and others had failed to make any permanent conquest of the country. Their domination over the border regions of India had lasted for a time and with the loss of political power they had merged in the existing population. The process of Hinduisation had slowly but steadily effaced all racial distinctions. But the Turks and the Afghans followed by the Moghuls had succeeded in subjugating the greater part of India. There was a general decline in the political sense of the Hindus with the loss of sovereign power and it produced a universal sense of frustration, defeatism and an abnormal craving for the other world as an escape from the evils of existence. The vitality of the people, however, did not let this situation continue and the reaction against this philosophy represented by Ramdas in his 'Dasbodh' had gathered sufficient momentum when Shivaji was born. During his short but eventful life he could found an independent kingdom to serve as a nucleus of future efforts. But more important than his political achievement was the spiritual ideal he transmitted to the Hindus. Simultaneously the Sikhs in the Punjab under their leader Guru Govinda Singh organised themselves into a military brotherhood for the protection of their religion and liberty. Maharana Ranjit Singh, the exponent of 'Militant Nationalism' dominated during the first half of the 19th century. The creative spirit of the people, however, failed to work itself out to its logical end, that is to say, the establishment of an all-India empire which alone could have welded the different communities into one organic whole—what the Westerners call a Nation. The advent of the East India Company as a political force spelled the end

of these ambitions and India relapsed into the old condition of political subjection which inevitably results in spiritual degradation.

During the later half of the 19th century Indian nationalism, largely the product of Western education and the impact of Western thought, became vocal. There was far too much emphasis on social reforms and the schooling of Indians in the art of self-government in the beginning. The dazzling successes of England and the helplessness of the people in face of force used by the powers that be, bred this mentality and made our politics insipid. Towards the end of the century appeared Swami Vivekananda with his message based on the ideology of the Vedas. He reminded the Hindus of their mission in the modern world in these words, "We have to conquer the world. The sign of life is expansion; we must expand, show life or degrade, fester and die."

In order to be able to play a worthy part in the world of tomorrow, we have got to harmonise the spiritual with the material, as our forbears did. The materialism of the West was one-sided and the History of Europe after the Industrial Revolution is a record of national antagonisms and class-feuds. The present war, let us hope, will see the end of these conflicts. The European nations will probably look again to India for spiritual guidance. The youth of the country, particularly the Hindus, have to equip themselves for this tremendous task. They should have the necessary physical and moral strength to subdue the evil and to worship the sublime. The message of Hindu energism and the tradition of Digvijaya is as important today as ever. We should not be mere imitators of the West. Nor should we reject the material achievements of the West in a narrow nationalistic spirit. Let us march along the road to immortality, unwearied by the toil of the journey. As the *Aiteraya Brāhmanam* puts it, "To march along is to gain immortality; marching by itself is the sweetest fruit of the journey. Look at the sun, the ever-glorious and eternal traveller, who once having started on its journey has never felt drowsy. Hence, O traveller, March along, March along."

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

A Common Script for India

M. R. Udayver's letter under the heading "Too Many Scripts in India," in *The Modern Review* for April, is wrong as to facts and his arguments are fallacious, too.

M. R. Udayver claims that Gandhiji asks us to "return to the Nagari script." Actually, Gandhiji wrote that India should adopt "one of the *Sanscritic* scripts" as a common script. Bengali is also a Sanscritic script and so it is not excluded from Gandhiji's list of possible common scripts.

M. R. Udayver's fallacy is that he assumes the Nagari script to be the true and original Sanscrit script, the script used in classical times. As a matter of fact it is very recent in origin. The Bengali script is older and far more akin to the ancient *Brahmi* script.

M. R. Udayver's appeal, "Will the daughters of Sanscrit (he means Nagari, the context shows) return to their mother?" is pointless.

There are many reasons for putting forward Bengali as the common script for India, but I cannot go into them here.

Mymensingh — Amitabha Sen

"My Homage to Mohammed"

It has given me great pleasure to read Swami Pavitrananda's article on "My Homage to Mohammed" in *The Modern Review* for May, 1942. With unerring insight with which Providence endows a man of religion he has realized that "when one comes face to face with Truth, when one has a direct realization of the ultimate Reality, one no longer belongs to any particular clime or time. He then belongs to the whole of humanity." No follower of the Prophet could have spoken better than this.

There is however one statement made by him to which I should like to draw his attention. He says: "The most prominent feature in Mohammadanism is the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man." The emphasis laid on it really belongs to another feature of Islam and that is, the Oneness of God. "There is no God but God" is the refrain of many a verse in the Quran, it is a part of the creed of Islam, aye it is a part of our faith and as such this rather than any other is *the* most prominent feature in Mohammadanism. The moral grandeur of Islam and for that matter of any other religion derives its sustenance from the Unity of God. God is the Creator—this is one of his 99 names stated in the Quran—and we all being created by him stand to each other in relation of brotherhood. The Quran (CXII) tells us, "Say: He, Allah, is One. Allah is He on whom all depend. He begets not, nor is He begotten: And none is like Him." This precludes even symbolic reference to Fatherhood of God.

I write this not to enter into an argument with the Swami Sahib to whom I pay humble tribute of respect for the fine homage he has paid to Mohammad (may peace be on him).

Sanda Road, Lahore — Ahmad Shafi

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN U. P.

By S. N. NIGAM, B. COM., C.T.

INDIA is a very unfortunate country. Apart from the social evils evident in every walk of life, it is educationally very backward. Its illiteracy is simply appalling. Among the first pioneers who advocated the cause of compulsory education, Gokhale's name can be mentioned. Since then every nationalist leader has never ignored the problem but the apathy of the Government has always been responsible for impeding the progress. The paucity of funds has been one of the causes. Though in recent years, we have been hearing of the literacy campaign organised with the help of the Provincial Government, yet we have to see how long will it take for the "rule of thumb" to vanish. In this connection we have to examine as to how far the working of the provisions of the Compulsory Education Acts in U. P. has been responsible in removing the illiteracy, and what defects one has to come across.

In 1919, for the first time in the United Provinces the Compulsory Education Act was passed for the municipalities. It was, however, realised late by the Government that the rural areas should not be treated on a different footing. In 1924, Mr. K. P. Kichlu was deputed to examine if it was possible to introduce compulsion in rural areas, and if so, with what limitation. He had emphasised in his report submitted in 1925 that to eliminate wastage in the primary stages it was quite necessary that compulsion should be introduced in district board schools on a permissive basis as has been done for municipal schools in 1919 As a result of his report the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act was passed in 1926. Both the Acts have been drawn on similar lines with some variations here and there. In a municipality two-third of the number of members are required to vote for its introduction while in a district board, more than half of the number of members are required. The scheme when passed is sent to the Government for its approval which is later on published in the Gazette. There is rather a funny difference, *e.g.*, the introduction of compulsory education for the girls cannot be permitted in a municipal or a district board unless it has got compulsory education for the boys in that area.

Both the Acts prescribe the ages of six and eleven, during which period the provision of the Acts can be enforced. The Act of 1926 for District Boards has fixed that the Muslim girls between the ages of 5 and 9 can be compelled to read in a school. In order to keep up the record of such school-going-age children a board is required to take census of such children in the month of February every year. This is done with a view to take into account of such children so that the defaulting parents may be served with notices which are issued in July of every year.

The age limit of 11 years is too low for an illiterate country like India. Due to ignorance people cannot or do not state correctly the age or dates of birth of their children when the census is taken nor do they remember the dates of birth. Many persons living in rural areas do not know the names of English months, etc. The birth and death registers are not maintained in the villages generally. Whatever records are available, it is from the police stations. But they too are not complete, for an entry to the effect depends upon the mercy of the village chowkidar. The depressed class people and the illiterate orthodox Muslims give wrong information. To make the mischief more prominent the public give the names of those grown-up children (who have passed the age of eleven) or names of those children who have passed the Primary school examination of class IV and are reading in Anglo-Vernacular schools or colleges. In cities attempts have been made to check the entries from birth registers but it has served no purpose, for the registers do not record the names of children. In a city municipal school teachers are required to record the names but they take little interest in the work as they do not get any remuneration for this work. They submit many wrong names.

It goes without saying that compulsory education has not attained the required success. Compulsory education is prevalent in isolated parts in many cities and villages. Such enforcement is quite unsound. Instead of doing any good it has proved harmful. It has resulted in waste and inefficiency. Particularly in cities people trying to escape compulsion move

to non-compulsion areas. This is less possible in villages where the means of livelihood depend generally on the soil which is immovable.

The Act mentions six grounds under which a child can be exempted. The public has come to know how to make use of them. They want to avoid compulsion on the slightest possible excuse or pretext. The primary education is under the management of local bodies, the members of which in order to satisfy their voters are always recommending for the children's exemptions. The Muslims being orthodox prefer religious education and want exemption on this ground. The Act allows exemption on religious grounds but not for religious education. Mr. Weir, the former D. P. I., had emphasised in his report on primary education for boys and girls that the term 'religious ground' should be restricted to mean that the child had to perform religious duties which made it impossible for him to attend school. Later on this was made more clear by a G. O. no. 266/XXIII-68, Oct. 26, 1932. The system of education as it is has never interfered with religious education. The teaching of three 'R'-s is totally ignored if a child gets religious education at home. The department has given recognition to many Islamia maktabs which apart from the prescribed curriculum impart teaching in religion. There is one Deputy Inspector of Mohamedan schools in each circle. Even then the Muslims want this education to be given first at home. The problem can be tackled by opening such institutions in greater number. Naturally the Hindus will desire likewise and a permanent policy of segregation will be the result. By doing this no doubt the desire of a section of the people can be met but in a country like India, where communalism is rampant in every walk of life, growth of such communal institutions will add fuel to the fire. The girls are generally married early and many people seek exemption on this ground. As a matter of fact, the Act does not mention anything to this effect.

The Act provides a maximum fine up to Rs. 5/- for the defaulters. For recurring offence it is up to Re. 1/- per day from the date of the first conviction. Often the courts deal lightly such cases and sometimes the parents are let off simply with a warning. This does not produce a healthy effect on the guardians.

For enforcing compulsory education a school committee is constituted for each area under a municipal board. The members manifest little interest. They consider it an important body whose duty is to exempt cases or to prosecute or to withhold the prosecution.

The Act prescribes that under very exceptional circumstances a parent should be given exemption. The enrolment as laid down in the rules should not fall below a fixed percentage. The department has also insisted on the literacy percentage which means the ability to read a letter and write a reply to it. It can be achieved in class III. The literacy percentage is below 10%. It clearly shows that there has been a wastage of more than 90% of the money spent by the Government and the local bodies.

School Building :—The school buildings whether in a city or in a village are generally not constructed with a view to provide the utmost facility to the teacher and the taught. In cities the building generally do not have enough space for games. In villages the schools are often situated in places where there is too much of dirt and filth. The schools in a village generally should be situated outside the village under the shade of trees. In cities the abnormally high rents are responsible for the schools to be situated in lanes or by-lanes. In the words of Mr. Weir, there should be good pucca buildings capable of extension. Large schools should be aimed at and attention should be paid to the recommendations of the inspecting authorities.

The provision of the Act and its working have been discussed at length. We have to fight illiteracy with all the force at our command. Apart from other shortcomings the shortage of funds is the greatest handicap. The Government in these provinces is spending a lot on the universities while the primary education is being starved. University education is rather a luxury. The Education Expansion Officer no doubt may help in removing illiteracy, yet the intending amendment in the Act is a necessity. In Malta we know that a person is not obliged to send his child to school, but once admission is asked for and obtained, he has to leave him there until the age of 14 or alternatively until the final examination or the higher standard is passed. This may be considered rather impracticable in India but some such legislation in order to improve on the existing provision of age might bring about the desired result.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rabindranath Tagore : A Memory

Eva Martin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Among his own people Rabindranath Tagore was honoured and loved as artist, philosopher, dramatist, musician, educationalist—as well as poet. The English-speaking world knew him chiefly through his poems and essays, and it was as poet and teacher that I saw him when I was privileged to meet him fifteen years ago. In the summer of 1926, he was spending a few days in a remote corner of Western Cornwall. The sea glowed in the sun with those jade-green pools and purple shadows that haunt the Cornish coast, and scents of wild thyme and heather mingled with the salt breezes. But inside the large stone house built on the very edge of the shore, where Tagore was staying, one stepped into a different world : a world of cool, shaded rooms where white-robed figures moved silently, soft voices spoke in a strange tongue, and faint aromatic fragrances hung in the air.

This Indian poet was a supremely beautiful figure in his graceful cream-coloured robes. The noble, clear-cut features; the snowy hair and beard; the soft, steady gaze of those light brown, almost amber-coloured, eyes; the tranquil voice and manner—all made an impression not easily forgotten. He talked about his own country, about the School he had founded, about the Renaissance of Indian art and poetry in which he took so keen an interest; and presently I ventured to speak of his own poems, and of my great admiration for them; and I was bold enough to ask whether he would read one aloud. He hesitated a moment—then spoke to one of the little group of Indian students who were in the room—and the youth went out and returned with a book which he handed to the poet. Tagore then explained that his poems were really songs—the title *Gitanjali* meaning "Song-Offerings"—and to our great delight he began singing, or chanting, in a deep, resonant voice, one poem after another—in the original Bengali—seeming completely to forget his surroundings; as, indeed, did his hearers.

The effect was indescribably impressive; for though the music sounded unfamiliar to Western ears, the sonorous words and strange cadences were curiously thrilling; and the remarkable beauty of the singer's appearance, the dark, intent faces of the white-robed figures around him. The contrast between the quiet atmosphere of that semi-darkened room and the blazing sun-lit beach outside, with screaming sea-gulls and shouts and cries of playing children . . . all this made it an experience long to be treasured in memory.

On Tagore's Art

Nandalal Bose writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Those who have read the introductory poem in *Chhada* will have some idea as to how stray thoughts come floating into the mind, all disconnected, and how an idea would link them together and how the whole thing would then assume the *chhada* form—stray thoughts lightly strung together and lightly expressed in rhyme. In the process of transition the linking stage is the most important. Without the connecting link the verses would become at best what is called nonsense rhymes. To my mind, Gurudev's art efforts have followed the very same process of birth and transition.

* * *

If you expect to find a purpose behind an art form or even a meaning—using the world in its conventional sense—you will be disappointed. Taj Mahal does not suggest any meaning. It stands as a thing of beauty. It would merely be a stone structure, if the genius of the artist was not behind it—in its conception as well as in its execution. This may profitably be remembered when studying Gurudev's paintings.

* * *

How did Gurudev come to compose pictures? In his early youth he had made some attempts and the pictures which he then produced are, I believe, still preserved somewhere. But his serious attempt began when he was seventy or so and it began in this way. As we all know, Gurudev was in the habit of scoring through rejected or substituted portions of his poems with lines thickly shaded with ink. He found that under his treatment the inked portions, joined together or standing separately, often developed a rhythm of their own and that with a few touches here and there they could be transformed into something concrete, say, a flower or a bird or an animal, etc. His extremely refined mind would not be content with less. It abhorred all clumsiness—even in the matter of scoring out unwanted lines. Thus was born the idea of creating forms and it was allowed to develop till it realized itself in regular painting.

* * *

Rhythm is not confined to poetry only. Art has its own rhythm too. Without rhythm an artistic production is meaningless. The suggestion of beauty contained in a picture is nothing but the resultant effect of a synthesis of diverse rhythms. Rhythms vary, and the synthesis is worked out by the artist on the success or failure of which he is judged. The budding flower is connected with a particular rhythm, the crushed petal with another. These may be blended into a composition to produce a particular effect or used separately as occasion demands.

* * *

Rhythm however, to express itself, must possess a vitality of its own It is the essential vital element, the life principle, the *prana sakti*. In whatever Gurudev has painted, rhythm has found expression in an intensely vitalized form—so much so indeed that even the works of the most famous painters of the age look pale and lifeless by their side. If his pictures contained nothing else, their sheer vital force would have brought them into prominence.

* * *

Another significant fact about Gurudev's pictures is that they always deal with life in its process of un-

foldment, suggesting energy. The depressing mood is absent in his form and colour compositions. This emphasis on what may be called "aliveness" is a natural characteristic of Gurudev's paintings and this is his special contribution to Indian Art. Our modern artists may very well profit by it.

China and India

In the latter part of his article on India's cultural contact with China in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Pandit Kshitimohan Sen deals with the various gifts that India had received from China :

Checnachar, which is so essential for the Tantric form of worship, is to be traced, as its name indicates, to China. In Tantric scriptures we find Cheena Tantra mentioned in many a place. *Hibiscus* which is so closely associated with Tantric forms of worship is a China rose. Chinese silk of which there is reference in Kalidasa is as necessary for people of luxurious habits as for devotees. Palm-leaves which were at one time the sole material for writing purposes for our scholars, were later on replaced by paper which is now one of the essentials of a civilized existence and which originally came from China. Calligraphy and illuminated manuscripts came from the same country. Such fruits as *lichus*, China-nuts (monkey-nuts), etc., trace their origin to China. China-melon, fennel and China rice (Panicum miliaceum) were introdced in India from China. Soyabean is China's latest contribution to our dietary. The origin of China clay, porcelain and "old China" is too well-known to need mention. It will perhaps be not too wrong to infer some connection between *Cheeni* (sugar) and China. The Chinese were masters of the art of laying out parks and gardens. In many Indian works we find mention of an excellent type of steel known as *Cheenaja* (produced in China). The finest gold leaves known as "Cheena-patra" came from China. China taught us calico-printing. She also gave us powder for such innocent recreation as fireworks, which, alas, is being put to very different use and with devastating results these days. Both *cha* (tea) and *hooka* (delight of the young and the old) came from China, where we came across a good few of excellent workmanship belonging to a time when Noorjehan of India was not even born.

According to our Ayurvedic books we have got our camphor and *hingul* (cinnabar) from China. Our pharmaceutical mercury is derived from *hingul*.

Application of musk and other animal products for the alleviation of suffering was long known in China, before their use became current elsewhere in the world. Amongst many other Chinese medicines one that should be especially mentioned is the elixir of life known as Ginseng. In Western India, the bridegroom is carried in a Tanjam ("Tan-Jah") to the place of wedding. This is an ancient custom in China. Moreover, one should remember that the word *Tanjam* is not derived from any of the extant Indian languages, whereas *Tan-jah* in Chinese means conveying. The robe of mourning in China, as in India, is a piece of new and unbleached linen, unseamed and unsewn. A sash of red silk is used to tie the bridegroom's cloth with that of the bride during the wedding ceremony in both the countries. *Che-hi* in Chinese means marriage or to tie the bridal sash.

Vermilion, which is so commonly used by Hindu women as an auspicious symbol of the married state, is also a gift from China.

We have also reason to be grateful to the Chinese for the preservation of many of our classics, now lost to us in our own country. They are still available in translated versions in China. Generally speaking, we know of the existence of six thousand of such translated works, though there are eight thousand in Sung-Pao collection.

Amongst them there are many Brahmanic works written on such widely different subjects as Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Astrology, Mythology, Necromancy, etc.

Let me close this paper with the noble exhortation with which Gurudev closed one of his lectures in China : "Let the awakening of the East drive us consciously to discover the essential and universal meaning in our own civilization, to remove the debris from its path, to rescue it from its bondage of stagnation that produces impurities, to make it a great channel of communication between all human races."

The Problem of a Common Language in India

Melancholy interest attaches to the publication of this article, "The Problem of a Common Language in India," which happens to be the last appearance in print of Prof. Seshadri. A reputed teacher, a profound scholar, a great lover of books, and a man of impressive bearing and personal charm, Principal Seshadri passed away on the 18th of April, 1942, at the age of fifty-five. In the course of the article in *The Twentieth Century* he observes :

One of the chief claims put forward on behalf of Hindustani as a *lingua franca* for India is that it is already widely understood all over India and the ground has therefore been prepared for ushering in the happy day. Apparently, one has only to declare in the wake of God in the Bible, 'let there be light' and a knowledge of Hindustani will flood the Indian continent. But without entering into the complications of statistics, it may be pointed out that the claim is largely exaggerated. In the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Orissa and at least in the Southern half of the Central Provinces, and the Indian States of the area, its knowledge is confined to the Mohammedans, and to a few people of other communities in the large cities. Surprising as it may appear, even in the great tract of territory known as the Nizam's Dominions, only less than ten per cent. of the people understand the language, being all Hindus, in spite of Urdu being the state language. The entire bulk of rural India in these areas speaks its own languages—Telugu, Canarese and Mahrathi, and is blissfully ignorant of this medium.

A rude shock was administered to people who assume that the language is practically understood by all people in India, by what happened in my time at the Benares Hindu University. It was argued that at least religion should be taught through the medium of Hindi, as it seemed unnatural that it should be done through the medium of a foreign language like English, though it was pointed out that in an all-India University, the only possible medium was English. Teaching started in Hindi, but the students from non-Hindi-speaking areas, South Indians, Bengalis, Mahrattas,

Guzeratis, Uriyas, all complained that they could not follow it at all. As could have been anticipated, even if some of them understood a few words of Hindustani, they could not follow a serious discussion on religion and philosophy, except in a language which they understood. You might as well expect a Chinese labourer knowing some "pidgin English" to follow the speculations of a Burke or a Hume or understand the harangues of a Dean Inge or a Winston Churchill. A section had therefore to be started for teaching through the medium of English. Hindi is now the medium of instruction in Intermediate Arts only, but the number of students from non-Hindustani areas can almost be counted on one's fingers, perhaps for this reason, while they are found in large number in other sections of the University, particularly in Science and Engineering in which the medium is English, at least for the present.

For a language to aspire to the position of *lingua franca*, in the higher sense, implies a cultural domination by virtue of its superior qualities of literary expression and achievement, unless it is limited to a mere colloquial vocabulary, to enable people to move about the whole country with a certain amount of increased convenience.

The greatest obstacle to the raising of Hindustani to the position of a *lingua franca* is that amidst the large number of highly evolved Indian literatures, neither Hindi nor Urdu, can lay claim to such position. The achievements of several of them are so high, that they cannot be replaced as media of literary expression and culture, at least among the people concerned. It was the ambition of men of fashion and learning in at least the capitals of Europe in the eighteenth century, to flaunt their knowledge of French as the hall-mark of culture. Those who speak Bengali or Tamil or Telugu or Mahrathi or Guzerati, though it may not be so in the case of some of the other minor languages; cannot be expected, at least today, to bow down to such a position on the part of Hindustani, because their own languages cannot be beaten by the proposed *lingua franca* in many respects.

Bengali can easily lay claim to a superiority in many literary forms, and it has been enriched in recent years by an extensive study of European models.

In point of numbers also, the people speaking constitute a considerable section of the Indian population. Tamil can boast of much greater antiquity, its literary history going back almost to the early centuries after Christ, while the language itself is a model of concentrated elegance, comparable only with Greek in ancient and French in our own times. Telugu has an enviable richness of its own, added to its mellifluousness, which has earned for it the distinction of being called the Italian of the East. Curiously enough, it has exploited Sanskrit literature even more than Hindi, and the great Sanskrit epics can be read in it, in translations which can challenge comparison with the originals. In Mahrathi are enshrined some of the most priceless devotional literature in India and the *abhangs* of Tukaram are only one example. It would be hard to beat Guzerati in its literature of Vaishnavism and the tenderness and delicacy of its lyric feeling. It would be idle to expect the speakers of any of these languages to pride themselves on their knowledge of Hindi or Urdu, except as a mere additional accomplishment. To put the matter plainly, the question of a *lingua franca* should wait, for an exhibition of literary superiority by Hindustani which will sweep people off their feet and recognise a higher realm of beauty and genius.

Non-violence as a Moral and Political Dogma

Humanity must ever press forward to its goal of non-violence. But it is extremely hazardous to have any absolute standard for this. Men differ; and paradoxically enough, friction is often an outer manifestation of a struggle for the realization of greater universality. Ethics has to take cognizance of this dynamism. *Prabuddha Bharata* observes:

"Resist not evil." said Jesus Christ; and Sri Krishna in the Gita said, "Therefore, do thou arise and acquire fame. Conquer the enemies and enjoy an unrivalled domain." (XI 33). "But, after all," writes Swami Vivekananda, "it turned out to be exactly the reverse of what Christ or Krishna implied. The Europeans never took the words of Jesus Christ seriously. . . And we are sitting in a corner, with our bag and baggage, pondering on death day and night, and singing, 'Very tremulous and unsteady is the water on the lotus-leaf; so is the life of man frail and transient.' . . . Who are following the teachings of the Gita? The Europeans! And who are acting according to the will of Jesus Christ? —The descendants of Sri Krishna!"

Non-violence is a help to spiritual progress, since it purifies the mind. But non-violence as an indispensable moral code admits of graded application.

Such a gradation is hardly in evidence in the New Testament. There it is indistinguishable from a religious tenet. It will be a mistake to think, however, that non-violence as an inelastic religious creed, as distinguished from a moral code, was the gift of Christianity. It is equally erroneous to hold that we inherited it from the Buddhists.

We are told that one Senapati Singha, a warrior, asked Buddha whether it was wrong to wage war for the protection of their homes; and Buddha replied: 'He who deserves punishment, must be punished. . . The Tathagata does not teach that those who go to war in a righteous cause after having exhausted all means to preserve the peace, are blameworthy.'

This view approximates to that of the Gita, already mentioned, with this proviso, that, while the physical act is given much importance in all the foregoing views, the Gita judges every act from its spiritual reaction on the agent.

Jesus, a monk, preached the monastic virtue that when one smites on the right cheek the left should also be turned to him. But this can scarcely be the Dharma for a householder.

We must not make a fetish of non-violence and with a proselytizing zeal enforce it on our fellow-beings.

That will be the worst form of violence as it will undermine their personalities, which have to be developed through a process of education along the lines most suited for each. Taking vigorous exercise, for instance, is a very good thing. But can you make an invalid ride for miles together or box and wrestle for hours on

an end? The experiment will end disastrously. In the social field too, any experiment with human souls is equally, if not more emphatically, condemnable.

Among the idols of modern worship are the two Indian terms, non-resistance and non-violence. They are preached as gospel truths with all the fervour of religiosity because statecraft requires it. Individual or group capacity is seldom taken into consideration. It is Buddhist democratization of high ideals, practical patriotism of modern nationalists, and fanaticism of sectarians rolled into one with a leaven of Hindu mysticism.

In a political fight on a big scale, individual consideration is perforce ruled out of court. It is mass psychology, mass appeal, and the reaction of the opponent that are the determining factors. But in so far as this weapon is perfected for an organized political fight it loses its appeal as a moral and spiritual factor.

When every claim made in its favour is conceded, non-violence appears nothing but a negative virtue, and as such it can scarcely claim an equality of status with the more positive ones.

A Vidhi or a positive injunction has something more forceful, more energizing, more elevating than a Nishedha or a prohibition. A positive dynamism, a reaching out for more and more, a balanced evolution, that is the natural concomitant of any real virtue, is sadly lacking in this negation. Through it you may be saved from an imminent danger, but you do not progress. Surely it is far better to take risks and fail than to stagnate and vegetate. Spirituality consists in positive effort for a higher ideal and not in mere withdrawal from the common walks of life.

So far we have considered non-violence as a negative act, mental or physical. Non-violence implies a suppression of an incipient violent tendency. Where there is no such tendency, non-violence is meaningless. That is how a Nishedha is explained by the Mimamsakas. If we insist on applying the term to a neutral state of mind, it may mean either a mental equipoise which accompanies God-realization or an extreme inertia of the mind which moves neither for violence nor for non-violence.

Non-violence, again, must be distinguished from non-resistance.

Non-resistance often takes the form of self-mortification.

It is now being gradually realized that non-resistance is not a moral virtue for all, and that violence in self-protection is not after all so dreadful a sin. As a political weapon, too, its charm seems to have worn out.

Discipline in the Home

The human child today has to be prepared for life in a very different kind of a world. For this he needs training both in self-direction and in the maintenance of conditions congenial to public welfare. This double requirement is met to a large extent by discipline in the home. Dr. G. S. Krishnayya writes in the *Bulletin* of the National Council of Women in India:

DON'T LEAD THEM INTO TEMPTATION

The familiar supplication is not inapplicable to our ordering of our children's lives. A large percentage of discipline problems arises from the failure of parents to

exercise their imagination. They put children in, or allow them to get into, situations where nothing but trouble can result. And then, they are amazed and annoyed that their children are so troublesome!

Reaching out for things, pulling the table cloth, playing with scissors and match boxes scribbling on the walls, are all perfectly natural but wholly undesirable activities. Such problems can be solved, positively, by opening up safe and alternative avenues for these natural tendencies, and negatively, by not dangling before the little one's eyes the glittering bait of forbidden activity. In a sense the child is made, not born!

Don't Punish Children Unreasonably

Punishment is regarded in progressive circles as corrective treatment rather than as a vindictive outburst. We should not punish a child because of the wrong he has done but because we want him to behave differently in the future. In correction we are concerned with the child's growth in desirable directions, not with meting out a graded scale of punishment for offences committed.

Some people believe that they must crush the child's spirit if he is to become half-way decent. So over the life of a child to its close hangs the shadow of parental harshness and mismanagement.

Don't Pamper the Child

As the pendulum swings from one end to the other, so parents who punish their children unreasonably are also often found to pamper them. They go from kicking to kissing and turn from pinching to petting: In the bargain, the children are left with no stable, constant standard to depend on, and become victims of the emotional instability and unintegrated personality of their parents.

Not all instincts and wishes deserve to be expressed. Some must be redirected, some sublimated and some suppressed. He is a wise parent who knows when to do what: The young barbarian must be helped to become a social being.

Don't Expect the Impossible

Many parents fret and fume because their boy or girl is not a corporal representation of their honeymoon dreams: Others worry because childhood behaviour does not conform to adult patterns, and a few—unfortunately too few—that their children are so much like themselves. The cure for these ailments is the facing of reality and a better understanding of Nature's laws.

Don't "Don't" if you can Help it

The world must seem to children a very queer place indeed; for, no matter what they want to do or where they want to go, they are met with a shrill or sonorous "Don't": Adults must appear to be their born enemies for ever dogging their footsteps and checking their desires. This feeling of being hedged in, it must be realized, is as annoying to children as it is to grown-ups.

Positive suggestions are any day better than these everlasting "Don'ts."

Ultimate autonomy being the goal, there should be progressive independence in certain provinces of the child's life. And there can be no better preparation for future self-control and self-reliance and self-respect than an increasing measure of these while children are still under the parental roof.

Functional Representation and its Possibilities in India

With changes in social circumstances, the methods of democracy or the means, processes and institutions established for its realisation must vary. P. N. Masaldan writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

> In the beginning of this century, particularly after 1914-18 war, the existing representative institutions were critically scrutinised, and some new institution and processes were advocated for a better realisation of democracy.
>
> A vocational basis of representation was advocated in place of the territorial. Before the 1914-18 war, the French Syndicalists had emphasised the economic aspect of personality, and after the war, a remedy was proposed by Guild Socialists in England, the most prominent of them being G. D. H. Cole. It was said that for purposes of representation people must be grouped according to their function and not as inhabitants of the same territory.
>
> "True representation is always specific and functional and never general and inclusive. What is represented is never man, the individual, but always certain purposes common to groups of individuals." Thus, there would be representation for doctors, peasants, goldsmiths, domestic servants, and so on.

Name of caste, and its traditional occupation	Total No. including females of earners & working dependants	No. following traditional castes occupation as principal means of livelihood	Following caste occupation as a sibsidiary means
1	2	3	4
Barahi—Carpenters	7,60,060	3,36,176 or 44%	68,920 or 9%
Bhangi—Scavengers	5,55,829	3,10,983 or 60%	10,335 or 1·8%
Chamars—Skinners and Tanners	50,75,307	3,86,197 or 7·6%	89,877 or 2%
Darzi—Tailors	2,12,359	1,23,687 or 58%	15,975 or 7%
Dhobi—Washermen	9,51,058	4,36,699 or 46%	93,631 or 9%
Gujar—Herdsmen	7,12,066	2,69,130 or 38%	12,362 or 1·7%
Jat—Cultivators	26,87,991	17,53,488 or 55%	77,702 or 3%
Khatri—Traders	1,85,173	92,992 or 50%	2,468 or 1·3%
Kurmi—Cultivators	20,58,580	13,35,947 or 65%	33,693 or 1·6%
Kumhar—Potters	9,95,300	36,99,023 or 37%	1,03,091 or 10·3%
Lohar—Blacksmith	7,63,582	2,70,453 or 35·4%	65,168 or 8·5%
Nai—Barbers	10,79,229	5,02,552 or 46·5%	1,06,351 or 9·8%
Sonar—Goldsmith	2,74,134	1,66,256 or 60·6%	16,619 or 6%

The 1931 Census Report summed up the position thus: "In the majority of cases about half the males tabulated retain their traditional occupation...... About a quarter or less or the half that have abandoned their hereditary occupations as their principal means of sustenance, retain them as subsidiary." It is also significant that, "apart from agriculture, the abandonment of caste function is operative in particular directions to the exclusion of others. There is no tendency for instance

for other castes to encroach on the dhobi's monopoly of washing, though all castes aim at entering the learned professions and in particularly Government services, and there is a similar tendency to give up caste calling for trade."

As to how far the Indian castes are conscious today of functional community being the basis or an essential feature of the caste will be revealed best by official figures regarding occupations followed by persons belonging to different castes. The report for the last census was not available to the author, so the following table, in which figures for some of the better known castes only are given, is based on figures of the 1931 census.

The Powers Latent in Man

Insistently and disturbingly, phenomena whose producing cause is veiled press upon man's attention, clamouring for explanation, challenging his trim horizons, hinting at possibilities of flights of consciousness that make him restless in his snug cocoon. *The Aryan Path* observes:

The waking consciousness of man is not inaptly figured by the searchlight's beam on a night of velvet blackness. The limited sphere which it illuminates, and which seems to the man the only reality, is an infinitesimal segment of boundless space, brought into visibility by the focussing upon it of the light of mind. The ancients recognised other potentialities in man than this beam of direct light which brings only objects at a limited distance, of a certain size and of a given density, within the range of vision. The telescope for overcoming distance, for conquering space by bringing far things near, the microscope for transcending the limitations of dimension, making the infinitesimally little large enough to see, the X-rays, lifting the veil of density and breaking the illusion of solid, immobile matter—we think of these as modern inventions or discoveries. Their spiritual and psychic counterparts, however, were well known in antiquity as among the powers latent in man; though nowadays the inner nature of the average man is as blind as is the *Amphioxus* in the ocean, that, lacking the senses possessed by the other creatures of the deep, does not see the shoals of them that surround him.

Since its great upsurge nearly a century ago, interest in the phenomena of mediumship and of psychism has never died out.

Orthodox fulminations and scientific ridicule and denial have only fanned the flame. For, once extra-sensory perception, which science is rather belatedly investigating, is proved beyond a doubt, the way will be open to fruitful exploration into the inner nature of man and the laws of the occult forces involved in superphysical phenomena, including those of the seance room.

Similar effects may be produced by a hundred different causes, but the Spiritists' premise that any and every psychic phenomenon must be ascribed to discarnate human intelligences has served as blinkers, closing their mental vision in all other directions.

They were absorbed at first, like children with a new toy, in the phenomena themselves, both, as the novelty wore off, wonderment gave place, to some extent, to curiosity and ratiocination, and they did attempt to work out a philosophy, though, having to fit arbitrarily into their frame of preconception, the picture is woefully incomplete. It may be possible, in a curtained room, to convince oneself that, the only electricity is that which flows decorously over the wires and into one's waiting lamps, while outside the free lightning laughs at dynamos, and yet works under law; just as the power of the purified and developed human will to produce phenomena deliberately, transcends the *powers* of the helpless medium, by contrast but a pitiable tool.

Psychic studies are important. It is most desirable that the West should awaken to a truer concept of man's nature and powers, but the investigators are evoking forces they do not yet know how to control. The psychology of the ancient East could give them valuable leads as well as warnings which they would do well to heed.

Those who resort to Spiritistic circles can not hope to learn the whole truth.

We would erect a positive danger signal. *Mediumship is a disease;* in its grossest form, that which produces physical manifestations, it is highly infectious, a serious menace to mental and moral equilibrium. It is not in the seance room that the beloved dead can ever be contacted, but only by such purity of life and of thought as will open up the living to their beneficent subjective influence.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Meeting

A Memorial Meeting was held under the auspices of the India Society in the India Room of Overseas House on September 30, under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Younghusband. The was a large and influential attendance, which included, in addition to the members of the India Society, many British and Indian residents in England who are prominent in literature and the arts. We reproduce below extracts from some of the tributes paid to the memory of Rabindranath Tagore, as published in *Indian Art and Letters*, journal of the India Society, London.

Mr. Lawrence Binyon in his speech said:

I had only known the poems in the English prose translation, and was astonished at the difference. The prose rhythms were so different from those of the original verse, with its airy modulations, its rippling lightness of movement. The best part of the meaning of those poems seemed to be carried in the rhythm; and I wished it had been possible to have them translated into English metres. I dare say that is not possible; but I can't help hoping that some records of the poet's voice as he recited have been made to delight our ears. I longed to be able to read Bengali; it seemed a language peculiarly fitted for lyric.

However, as we all know, the spirit of the poetry glowed through the English prose; it captured at once a great audience, which widened every year. It was a fortunate day for us and for the world when William Rothenstein persuaded the India Society to publish *Gitanjali*. The poems found translators in one country after another of Europe and of America; and as the years went on, the poet himself journey from country to country, the lands of the Far East included, speaking, lecturing, reciting. If I may adapt a saying of Mazzini about Byron, Tagore led the genius of India on a pilgrimage not only through Europe, but through the world.

What caused this swift conquest?

The poems answered to a need, however obscurely felt, for fresh life, fresh inspiration, in poetry. Perhaps what took people first was the note of happiness in these radiant lyrics. Not the happiness of mere well-being, but the inner happiness of a secure faith abounding and overflowing into song. Among our English poets there are a few who in their lives and in their art have had the same secret of happiness. Notably William Blake, with whom Tagore has much in common.

There is also Wordsworth, often thought of as austere, who dwells on "the deep power of joy" and even on the virtue of pleasure for its own sake. But Wordsworth, though he shared Tagore's mystical intuitions, was no natural lyrist. You cannot conceive of his poems being chanted by common folk as they work in the fields, as Tagore's have been.

I think we must allow that there is some truth in Shelley's line,

Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought.

Tagore broke with the tradition of asceticism, so powerful in India. He did not refuse and renounce, he embraced life with all its joys. He himself has written: "The West may believe in the soul of man, but she does not really believe that the universe has a soul. Yet this is the belief of the East, and the whole mental contribution of the East to mankind is filled with this idea." Here is the source of that happiness of illumination, that radiant serenity, which flows out from him so spontaneously in such marvellous freshness and abundance. I think of Blake's "Exuberance is beauty."

The Marquess of Zetland in a message said:

For in his understanding of literature and of art, Rabindranath Tagore possessed qualities which entitled him to be regarded as a citizen of the world rather than of any particular country; he was, in some respects, as much at home in Europe and America as he was in Asia. Yet, despite his claims to be regarded as a cosmopolitan, his whole being was permeated with a passionate attachment to his own land. To him the far-reaching plains of Bengal possessed an exquisite beauty; and in the peace of the country-side at Santiniketan he held that close communion with Nature, possible to those only, perhaps, who hold with as firm a conviction as he did that all life is one. The thought that he might be reincarnated in the West with its feverish activity and its highly mechanized existence was, as he once confessed, a nightmare to him.

To the members of the India Society his outstanding achievement in the world of letters and, in more recent times, his impulse towards self-expression through the medium of the painter's palette and brush, will be sufficiently well-known, and I would touch for a moment on another aspect of his life and personality. As I look back on my own acquaintance with him, it is as patriarchal head of a family remarkable for its gifts and its charm that I find myself picturing him. I always thought of him as the central figure of a family group, conspicuous among its members his two nephews, Goganendra and Abanindra, an incomparable artist with his brush. Whether at the family mansion in Calcutta or among the groves of Shanti Niketan, he was the welcoming host, receiving those whom it delighted him to entertain with an old-world courtesy which made so irresistible an appeal. He had a great reverence for the past, and his sense of the continuity of Indian life and history was marked by the alfresco classes at Shanti Niketan, where gatherings of pupils were to be seen seated on the ground—*chelas* grouped round a presiding *guru*.

Not the world of letters only, but a host of humbler folk who yet might call him friend, will for all time be the poorer for his loss.

His Excellency the Ambassador of the U. S. S. R. in a message said:

I send this message to-night to the memory of a great man who so admirably personified the soul of the great Indian people, Rabindranath Tagore, and who belongs not only to the Indian people, but to the whole humanity. In the U. S. S. R. Tagore is well-known, is widely read and is popular with our people. Indeed, we love and respect Rabindranath Tagore as a great creative force whom we cannot help but admire. The name

of Tagore resounds far and wide in many other countries and among many other peoples. On behalf of my country, on behalf of the millions of my countrymen, I wish to pay this tribute of respect and gratitude to the great portrayer of the great Indian people.

His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador said:

With the passing of Rabindranath Tagore not only has India lost a pre-eminent philosopher and poet of world-wide fame, but China has been bereft of a great sympathizer and friend. It is needless for me to dwell upon the charm and versatility of his poetry, his all-embracihg philosophy of blending poetry with religion. and the widespread influence which he was able to exert through his literary genius on the life and thought of the Indian and other Oriental peoples.

China particularly owes a debt to the great poet in recent years for his espousal of the Chinese cause of resistance to aggression. Although his resounding words have gone unheeded, the Chinese people feel that in Tagore's support of their cause they have found an additional source of inspiration and encouragement in their united efforts to bring about a better order of things in the Orient, conformably with the ideals of the ancient civilizations on the Asiatic mainland.

Sir Willian Rothenstein described in his speech how he first came across the writings of the great poet and his subsequent acquaintance with him.

Even in Calcutta in those days nobody told me that Rabindranath Tagore was a great poet and a great man. After I left my new friends, while wandering about Darjeeling, I got a telegram, asking me to visit Rabindranath at Santiniketan. Unfortunately, I had already booked my passage to England, but on the way home, in a copy of *The Modern Review,* I read a striking story and some poems, signed "Rabindranath Tagore." These impressed me so that I wrote to ask if there were any more translation to be had, and I was sent a little exercise book with translations of some of Rabindranath's poems by one of the masters at Santiniketan.

I was again deeply impressed by these poems, and when, during the following year, Rabindranath Tagore was persuaded to come over to England, and came to visit us at Hampstead, he presented me with a small manuscript book, on one side of which were poems written in Bengali script, on the other English translations, saying in that modest way our Indian friends have; "You were good enough to be interested in my poetry. On my way to your country I made for you a few translations." These were the poems, published under the title of *Gitanjali* by the India Society, which later gained for the poet the much-coveted Nobel Prize.

I would like to correct one error which is frequently made about these poems. The first person to whom I sent them was Professor Andrew Bradley. Andrew Bradley wrote at once to say: "It looks as though we have another great poet among us." I sent them to Yeats, too, but he, being careless, did not at once respond. It was when he came soon after to London from Dublin that he read the poems and immediately realized their rare beauty.

I would also like to correct a misstatement which has been made more than once in India: that Tagore owed a great deal to Yeats for the beauty of the language of *Gitanjali.* Yeats, being a poet, had the greatest respect for other people's words; in fact, he suggested but a few small changes: here and there a word, which had perhaps been more used in English poetry than Tagore realized. I have the original manuscript, which can be compared with the published edited copy. The effect of *Gitanjali* was an immediate one. For the first time, people in England realized that there was not only a great man in India, but one of the great spiritual forces of the world. That was the impression that Tagore never failed to carry about with him. His fame spread throughout Europe and the United States. Translations appeared in France and Germany. I used to tease him a little about the growing attitude to him personally, as though he were a sort of saint. "Of course, you are not a saint. You are a poet, which is as good a thing and as sacred a thing."

One thing must not be forgotten—that is, the immense social influence that Tagore had upon Bengal through his wise and enlightened social convictions. Neither a Socialist nor Communist, he was yet the most humane of men and a man of indomitable courage. If he thought many social changes to be urgent, he never failed to put them forward. That I think right for a poet. Knowing, as he did, the joys and sorrows of life, he could not bear that people should suffer through social injustice.

I should again like to say that I think Tagore, above all, was a great lyrical and dramatic poet, an illuminating and humane thinker. I am not sure that his place as a philosopher is likely to prove a substantial one; but he was greater than many philosophers through his sense of the quality of life, and he believed firmly in its spiritual quality. I remember his remark, after a visit to Cambridge, where he had met Lowes Dickinson and Bertrand Russell: "Such nice men; and they would so much like to believe in God, but they want a receipt first!" (Laughter). He did not need a receipt first. His spiritual ideas were based

on immediate experience, and, as Mr. Binyon said, he brought to the knowledge of Europe something which India has treasured, developed and made perfect through the centuries. His influence, too, upon European literature has been a significant one.

Tagore had the courage to assert that the finer elements of the human spirit permeated the world, and not India alone—that the desire for truth and beauty was shared by all men.

Mr. Edward Thomson said :

Three men marked the stages of the pilgrimage of the Indian spirit through the world. One hundred and ten years ago Rammohan Roy came to the West.

Nearly fifty years passed, and Vivekananda came to the West, deliberately, as a missionary, to the World Congress of Religions at Chicago.

Rabindranath Tagore, the third man who took the genius of India on pilgrimage through the world, was also the man who took back to India most from the West. As he put it to me : "I wanted to go to the West because it was there I felt the new spirit of mankind was working. I came to the West, and stayed in an hotel at Hampstead, in the Vale of Health—absurd name !—and I thought to myself, 'It is no use ! No Indian can ever get inside these lives. It is not possible to get to know them.' So I watched people go to their work in the morning and return at night. One day, in despair, I wrote to Rothenstein. He came at once and got me a better place, and was very kind to me. All he knew about me was that I was a member of the Tagore family. But presently, he said he had heard that I had written poetry. Could I show him any of it ? I had the *Gitanjali* translations and I gave them to him. He came back tremendously excited, and they got up a meeting where Yeats read some of my poems. I felt almost angry with Yeats for making such a fool of me. You know, your people are not demonstrative. They sat there and made no sign. That was the first time I met Nevinson and Andrews. May Sinclair was there too. Then I got letters full of enthusiasm from Bradley, Nevinson and others, and I saw they were quite sincere."

His interest in our literature began from reading Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*. "I felt I could have written it myself." But the crudity of Shelley's political ideas made Tagore impatient later, and also he reacted against his own long period of introspection. He told me : "I have long outgrown that enthusiasm." It belonged to his years of adolescence.

But he kept abreast of our literature from beginning to end of his life. I said to him once : "How did you come across Augusta Webster and Ernest Myers ?" He replied : "You do not understand. I always wanted to know who were your latest poets, and they happened to be the latest poets in the seventies, and so I translated them." In recent years he made an admirable translation of Eliot's *The Return of the Magi*.

About our scientific achievement, nothing angered Tagore more than to say that the Europeans had mechanical achievement and the Indians spiritual achievement. He always insisted that the so-called materialism of Europe, our scientific discoveries, was an achievement as essentially spiritual as India's Vedas and Upanishads, however perverted to the uses of war and the ugliness of industrialization.

The Sources of Russia's Strength

The staunch resistance of the Red Army and the considerable success it has achieved during the month of December have strengthened the fire of hope and courage in the hearts of millions throughout the world. What are the sources of Russia's strength ? Hayim Greenberg writes in the *Jewish Frontier* :

Without the ingredient known as "morale" the Soviet armies would have folded up after the first severe defeat, despite all the advantages. . . . We must assume that the technological preparedness of Russia was well-known to the Germans and carefully weighed by them. In past years there has existed a friendly and close co-operation between the Red Army and the German military establishment. From August, 1939, until June, 1941, the period of the "Pact," the Nazis were the only ones who were in a position to obtain military information about the Soviet Union. Whatever miscalculations were made in Berlin about Russia's strength, were chiefly in the field of misunderstanding the political morale rather than the technical preparedness. Berlin expected millions of Russians to take advantage of the war to 'get even" with the Soviet regime for former wrongs, and looked forward to the aid of a Fifth Column more extensive than any it had encountered in the previously occupied countries. The Nazis had hoped that millions of Soviet peasants who had been impressed into collectives would mutiny the moment the government found itself in difficulties, and would even be grateful to the invaders for restoring to them their "private property." An equally important role was assigned to the non-Russian national groups in the Soviet Union who had not yet resigned all hopes of independence. It was expected that tens of millions of Ukrainians, Tartars, Armenians, Georgians, let alone the Soviet citizens of German descent, would willingly co-operate with the invading German army if they were promised liberation from the Russian yoke, and there can be no doubt that the Germans would gladly have offered them a form of "sovereignity" like that granted to Slovakia. But all of these expectations, so warmly cherished in Berlin, did not materialize, just as Trotzky's prophecy that the Red Army would prove its bankruptcy at the first serious military clash was proved to be wrong. The Soviet army displays a will to victory, the peasants show no inclination to rebel and the minority nationalities remain as loyal as the Russians themselves.

Why did the Nazis fail to find in Russia those political sentiments on which they counted so strongly for the attainment of their strategic aims ? How explain the almost universal loyalty and the sound morale of the Red Army and the civilian population in the Soviet Union ?

The spontaneous response to invasion was from very beginning biological—we are attacked, let us de[fend] ourselves and not allow strangers to take by force [what] is ours and become our masters. Such a response [is as] old as life and manifests itself among a savage [tribe as] well as in a modern nation or state, if only [it] has not degenerated and lost its organic vita[lity]. [Why] some national organisms lose this vitality [and in] crisis fail to manifest the bond of strong mutu[al ...] (as was the case with France, the only coun[try] Hitler succeeded in conquering, not only in ove[...]) is a question which it is easier to ask than to [answer]. The Soviet Union proved to be much stron[ger,] organically more integrated than many [had] expected.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.